Iain R Torrance.
from Thomas F Torrance

SCS #578.

# A HIND let loose:

OR, AN

Historical REPRESENTATION of the

# TESTIMONIES

OF THE

Church of *Scotland*, for the Interest of CHRIST;

With the true STATE thereof in all its Periods:

TOGETHER WITH

A Vindication of the present TESTIMONY against the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant Enemies of that Church, as it is now stated, for the Prerogatives of CHRIST, Privileges of the Church, and Liberties of Mankind, and sealed by the Sufferings of a reproached Remnant of Presbyterians there, witnessing against the Corruptions of the Time;

WHEREIN

Several Controversies of greatest Consequence are enquired into, and in some measure cleared; concerning hearing of the Curates, owning of the present Tyranny, taking of ensnaring Oaths and Bonds, frequenting of Field-meetings, defensive Resistence of tyrannical Violence, with several other subordinate Questions useful for these Times.

By Mr. ALEXANDER SHIELS, Minister of the Gospel in St. *Andrews*.

Psal. xciv. 20. *Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a Law?*

Prov. xxviii. 15. *As a roring lion, and a ranging bear; so is a wicked ruler over the poor people.*

Hos. viii. 4. *They have set up kings, but not by me: they have made princes, and I knew it not.*

Revel. xii. 11. *And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.*

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Andrew Gray in
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this Book April 15.

1750

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# THE
# PREFACE to the READER.

*Christian Reader,*

PResuming it is thy desire, to answer the holy and honourable designation I accost thee with, I shall take the confidence to assure thee, it is my design to answer, in some measure, the expectation, which the title of this treatise would offer; in the hope that, wherein I come short (as I indeed confess not only my jealous fears, but my sensible conviction of my insufficiency for such a great undertaking) thy Christian tenderness will impute it to my weakness, and not to any want of worth in the cause I manage; which is truly worthy, weighty, noble, and honourable, in the esteem of all the Lovers of Christ, that have zeal, for his honour, in exercise: and therefore as it gives me all the encouragement I have, in dependence on his furniture, whose cause it is, to make such an essay; so it animates my ambition, albeit I cannot manage it with any proportion to its merit, yet to move the Christian reader to make enquiry about it; and then sure I am he will find it is truth I plead for, though my plea be weak. All I shall further say by way of Preface, is to declare the reason of the title, and the design of the work.

Though Books use not to be required to render a reason of their names, which often are arbitrarily imposed, more for the author's fancy, and the times fashion, than for the readers instruction: yet, seeing the times injuries do oblige the author to conceal his name, the title will not obscurely notify it to some, for whose satisfaction this is mainly intended, and signify also the scope of the subject; which aims at *giving goodly words*, not sugared with parasitick sweetness, nor painted with affected pedantry, but fairly brought forth in an unhampered freedom, for the beauty of the blessing of human and Christian liberty, in its due and true boundaries. This was the subject

of a discourse, as some may remember, on that text whence this title is taken, *Gen.* xlix. 21. *Naphtali is a hind let loose.* In prosecuting of which, the Speaker, with several others, falling at the same time into the hands of the *hunters*, (to learn the worth of that interrupted subject from the experience of the want of it) an occasion was given, and interpreted by the author to be a call, to study more the preciousness of that privilege predicated of *Naphtali*, which is the right and property of the wrestling tribe of *Israel*, the persecuted witnesses of Christ now every where preyed upon. And now, Providence having opened a door, for *delivering himself as a roe from the hand of the hunter*, he thought it his duty, and as necessary a piece of service as he could do to the generation, to bring to light his lucubrations thereupon: with an endeavour to discover to all that are free-born, and are not contented slaves, mancipated to a stupid subjection to tyrants absoluteness; that this character of *Naphtali*, *satisfied with favour and full with the blessing of the Lord*, that he is a *hind let loose* from the yoke of tyrannical slavery, is far preferable, in the account of all that understand to be Christians or men, to that infamous stigma of *Issachar* (the sin, shame, and misery of this age) to be *a strong ass, couching under two burdens; and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.* But to all, that are not altogether strangers in *our Israel*, it will appear, that this title is not ineptly applied to the subject and design of this treatise. The party, whose case and cause, and contendings are here treated of, being known to have the same situation of residence in *Scotland*, that *Naphtali* had in *Israel*, viz. *the west and the south* (*Deut.* xxxiii. 23.) will be found, among all our *tribes*, most appositely to bear the signature of *Naphtali*, who, in their *wrestlings* for the interest of Christ and the liberties of his *Israel*, have mostly *jeoparded their lives in the high places of the fields*; and chiefly to deserve his elogy, being *a hind* (called *wild* by nickname in the scorn of them that are at ease, but) truly *weak* in their present wilderness condition, to *wrestle* against the force and fraud of their cruel and cunning *hunters*, who cease not (when they have

have now got the reſt of the *roes and hinds of the field* made faſt aſleep, under the bondage of the *lions dens and mountains of leopards*, by a pretence of a falſely ſo called *liberty of conſcience*) to ſeek and purſue the chace of them for a prey; yet, really they are *let looſe*, and not only ſuffered to run looſe, as a prey to the hunters, by the unwatchfulneſs of their keepers, but made to eſcape looſe, by the mercy of the *Mighty one of Jacob*, from the nets of the hunters, and ſnares of the fowlers, and from the yoke of the bondage of theſe beaſts of prey, to whoſe *authority* they will not *own* a willing ſubjection: and being ſuch *hinds*, ſo *let looſe*, they make it their work, to *give goodly words*, for the worth and honour, and royalties of their princely Maſter, and for the precious liberties wherewith he hath endoted and entruſted his Spouſe and Children, and to keep the *goodly words* of his patience, until he return *as a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether*. This being the party, who are repreſented as the wild folk of *Scotland*, the deſign of this treatiſe is to hold forth the hiſtory of their manifold *chaces*, the craft, keeneſs, and cruelty of their *hunters*, and the *goodlineſs* of the *words* of their *teſtimony*: which, by reaſon of the likeneſs of the teſtimony of former periods with the preſent, and that the latter may be vindicated by the former, is reſumed from the beginning of the Church of *Scotland's* wreſtlings againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and deduced through all the moſt ſignal ſteps of this long propagated and hereditary War. And, leſt my *words* ſhould not be *goodly* enough, nor my notions grateful to the criticks of this age, who caſt every thing as new and nice, which is ſomeway ſingular and not ſuited to their ſentiments; that it may appear the cauſe here cleared and vindicated is not of yeſterday, but older than their grandfathers who oppoſe it, I dare avouch, without vanity, there is nothing here, but what is confirmed by authors of greateſt note and repute in our church, both ancient and modern, namely; *Buchanan*, *Knox*, *Calderwood*, *Acts of General Aſſemblies*, *Cauſes of Wrath*, *Lex Rex*, *Apologetical Relation*, *Naphtali*, *Jus Populi*, *Hiſtory of the Indulgence*, *Banders disbanded*, *Rectius inſtruendum*, and ſome other authors much reſpected; whoſe authori-

ty, more always repelled by rage, than ever yet resisted by reason, though I value more, than all the vain oblatrations of the opposers of this testimony, and think it sufficient to confute all imputations of its novelty, and to counterballance the weight that may be laid on the contradictions of the greatest that treat on this subject: yet I do not lay so much stress on the reason of their authority, as on the authority of their reason; which is here represented with that candour and care, that, lest any should cavil, that they are wrested or wronged, when made to speak so partly to the present controversies, I have chosen rather to transcribe their words, than to borrow their matter dressed up in my own; except where the prolixity and multiplicity of their arguments, as clearly demonstrating that which I adduce them for, as that for which they were primarily intended, did impose the necessity of abridging them; which yet is mostly in their own words, though reduced into a syllogistical form. But this obloquy of novelty being anticipated, when I reflect on the helps I have collected from so many hands, I am rather afraid, the truths here delivered be contemned as obsolete and antiquate, than cast at for new speculations. However, I am content, yea, it is my ambition, that nothing here be looked upon as mine, but that it may appear this is an old plea; and that the party here pleaded for, who are stigmatized with many singularities, are a people, who *ask the old paths, and the good way, that they may walk therein:* and though their paths be not now much paved, by the frequency of passengers, and multitude of Professors walking therein; and albeit it must indeed be confessed, the word of their testimony is someway singular, that the same things were never the word of Christ's patience, stated as heads of suffering before; yet they are not untrodden paths, but the same way of truth, which hath been maintained by the witnesses of Christ in all the periods of our Church, and asserted by the greatest Confessors, tho' never before sealed by Martyrs. As for the arguments I bring to clear and confirm them, whether they be accounted mine, or borrowed from others, I am very indifferent, if they prove the point they are brought for,

which

which I hope they will be found to do: but of this I am confident, there is nothing here can be condemned, until some one or more of those grave authors be confuted; and, when that is done, (which will be *Never*, or against the 30th of *February*), there is something besides here, which will challenge consideration.

The design then of this work is of great importance: even no less than to essay the discussing the difficulties of all our conflicts with open enemies, about the present state of the testimony; the vindicating of all the heads of sufferings sustained thereupon these twenty seven years past; the proposing of the right state of the testimony for the interest of Christ, not only of this, but of all former periods; with an account of the propagation and prosecution of the witnessings, wrestlings, and sufferings for it from time to time; to the end it may appear, not only how great the sufferings have been, since this fatal catastrophe and overturning of the covenanted reformation, and unhappy restauration of tyranny and prelacy; but that the grounds, upon which they have been stated, are not niceties and novelties, (as they are reproached and reputed by many), but worthy and weighty truths of great value and validity, and of near affinity unto, and conformity with the continued series and succession of the testimonies in all former periods. So that in this little treatise must be contained a compendious history of the Church of *Scotland*, her testimony in all ages, a vindication of the present state of it; yea, in effect, a short epitome of the substance of those famous forecited authors, as far as we need to consult them, concerning the controversies of the present time with adversaries: which is much, and perhaps too much, to be undertaken in so small a volume. But considering, that many who are concerned in this cause, yea the most part, who concern themselves about it, are such who have neither access, nor time, nor capacity to revolve the voluminous labours of these learned men, for light in this case; I have done my best to bring them into one body of a portable bulk, with as great brevity as could consist well with any measure of perspicuity; not medling with any thing but what I thought might some way

way conduce to clear ſome part of the preſent teſtimony.

Every undertaking, of this nature, cannot but be liable to ſeveral diſadvantages that are unavoidable; this hath many diſcouraging and difficult. *One* is, that it ſhall be expoſed to the common fate of ſuch repreſentations, to be ſtigmatized as a ſeditious libel, and ſo may be ſent to the flames to be confuted; and, to inflame the fury of theſe firebrands, already hell-hot, into the utmoſt extremity of rage againſt the author, that ever cruelty itſelf, at its fulleſt freedom, did exert, againſt truth and reaſon arraigned, and caſt for ſedition and treaſon: the only ſanctuary in ſuch a caſe, is, in proſpect of this, to have the greater care that nothing be ſpoken, but what the ſpeaker may dare to affirm in the face of cruelty itſelf. A *ſecond* common diſadvantage is obvious from the conſideration of the humour of the age; wherein fancy hath greater force than faith, and nothing is pleaſing but what is paraſitical, or attempered to the palate of the greateſt, not of the beſt; and naked truth, without the fairdings of flattery, or paintings of that pakineſs which is commonly applauded as prudence now adays, is either boggled at, or expoſed to ſcorn and contempt; and reaſon, if roundly written, except it meet with an honeſt heart, is commonly read with a ſtammering mouth, which puts a T before it, and then it is ſtumbled at as *Treaſon*. This eſſay does expect no entertainment from any, but ſuch who reſolve to harbour truth, be the hazard what will, even when the world raiſes the *Hue* and *Cry* after it, and from ſuch who are really groaning, either by ſuffering or ſympathy, under the ſame grievances here repreſented. There is a *third*, which makes it not a little difficult, the quality, quantity, and intricacy of the matter, here to be confined to ſuch a compend. All which, together conſidered, do infer a *fourth* difficulty, that hardly can it get a *paſs* through the *Preſs*; which is blocked up againſt all ſuch books that may offer a manifeſtation of the innocency of that people, and the injuſtice and inhumanity of their enemies; which is their only hope of preventing the world's knowledge and condemnation of their actings. Yea, there is a *fifth*, that wants not its own difficulty;

ficulty; that though the *Press* were patent, yet an empty *purse*, from a poor impoverished people, will as readily preclude all access to it, as if it were locked up by law; but both together make it hard. But there is a *sixth* disadvantage yet more discouraging, that the *man*, as well as the *money*, is wanting to manage the business: and this needs no other proof, than the necessity of my poor pen to undertake it, instead of a better. It must needs be very low with that people, that stand in need of such a pitiful patrociny as mine is. Our persecuted brethren, elsewhere, have this advantage of us, that they have champions to espouse their quarrel, which we have not; but only such, who, as they are reputed in the world, so, in their own sense, own themselves to be very unaccomplished for such work; and under this invincible disadvantage also, that, being forced to a wandering and unsettled life, they have no conveniency, nor can be accommodated with time, nor helps to perform it; and so circumstantiated, that either it must be done at this time, and in this manner, or not at all. In the *seventh* place, we are at a greater loss than any suffering people; in that, among all other bitter ingredients, we have this gall also in our cup, that they that suffer most among us, have not the comfort and benefit of the sympathy of others, that sufferers use to have from good people. The reason of this makes an *eighth* discouragement, besides what is said above; that not only is the case and cause of that poor persecuted and wasted witnessing remnant, obscure in itself, and not known in the world, nay, not so much as in the very neighbouring churches of *England* and *Ireland*, but also more obscured by the malice of enemies, traducing, calumniating, and reproaching that righteous remnant whom they intend to ruin; not indeed as hereticks (which is the case of other suffering churches, wherein they have the advantage of us also; that though the name be more odious, yet it makes the notion of their cause, and the nature of their enemies, more notour, and is more effectual to conciliate sympathy from all that know that Protestants are persecuted by Papists under the notion of hereticks: but we are at a loss in this, that our persecu-

ters,

ters, at least the most part of the executioners of the persecution, will not as yet avouch that Protestanism is heresy, though we want not this nick-name likewise from the chief of them that are professed Papists) but as *Schismaticks, Seditious, Rebels, Traitors, Murderers, Holding principles inconsistent with Government*, (to wit, their tyranny), and *the peace of human society*, (to wit, their association against religion and liberty), and therefore to be exterminated out of the world. And this imposture, covering all their mischiefs, hath prevailed so far with the blinded world, that under this brand the consideration of their case and cause is buried, without farther inquiry. This were yet more tolerable from open enemies, if there were not another more pressing discouragement, in the *ninth* place, peculiar to them in *Scotland*; that having to do with treacherous as well as truculent enemies, as they have been much destroyed by open force, so much more by fraud; while, by ensnaring favours, some have been flattered from the testimony, others disdaining and suspecting, as well as deprived of, and secluded from, these favours, have stuck to it; hence defection brought on division, and division confusion, which hath reduced the Reformation to a ruinous heap. In the *next* place, as the consequent of the former, while the purer remnant have been resolutely prosecuting the testimony, and not only keeping themselves free of, and standing at the farthest distance from, all degrees of complyance, but also witnessing against their brethren involved in them, and thinking it their duty to discountenance them in these corruptions and backslidings; they have been therefore reproached and misrepresented very industriously, as *Ignorant, Imprudent, Transported with blind zeal, Extravagant, Wild Separatists, Espousing new and nice notions, Rejecters of the Ministry, Imposers on the Ministry, Deniers of all Government, Usurpers of an imaginary Government of their own, That died as fools, and as guilty of their own blood.* By which odious and invidious obloquies, they have easily prevailed with many, both at home and abroad, that are more credulous than considerate, to believe these things of them: hence, with prejudicate people, a contrary representation will find difficult acceptance. However,

ever, this *moreover* is another great disadvantage, and renders an essay to vindicate their sufferings very uneasy; that they are thrust at, and tossed on both hands, by enemies and professed friends: and by enemies that are not all *Papists*, but professed *Protestants*, owning the same fundamentals in opinion, though in practice not holding the same head: and by friends, that not only are *Protestants*, but *Presbyterians*, under the bonds of the same solemn and sacred *covenants*, the obligation whereof they still own; and not only so, but such, whose piety and godliness cannot be doubted. This is a *gravamen* grievous to bear, and greatly aggravates the difficulty. *Finally*, the greatest of all is, that not only their cause is rendered *odious*, but must be confessed truly to be *odd* and some way *singular*; and therefore will seem strange and surprising to strangers, to hear an account of extraordinary sufferings for and upon extraordinary causes, which never were formerly stated as heads of suffering. For now it is the dragon's chiefest stratagem with us, like to be the most subtile, ensnaring, and successful of any, that ever he set on work since ever he began this war with the Lamb, (which yet I hope will prove as fatal to his interest as the former), to bring the sufferings of Christ's witnesses to such a state, that may seem to spectators little or nothing relative to religion, that so he may destroy both them and their testimony unlamented, and by that trick divert others from concerting that same necessary witness in the season thereof. And, for this end, he will change both matter and manner, in managing the war. He will not now persecute for the old controverted heads of Popery, with fire and faggot, as formerly, for refusing to *worship our Lady*, or the *blessed Sacrament of the Altar*. These weapons and engines are so worn out of use, that they will not work now as they did before. And that old bawd of *Babylon* is become so ugly, and out of date; that he does not believe her beauty can be so bewitching, except she put on a new busk: but her eldest daughter, the *Prelatical Church*, of the same complexion with herself, except that she is coloured with *Protestant* paint, is fitter for his service, to allure our land into fornication; and who will not be enticed,

must

must be forced to communion with her, by finings, confinings, exactions, extortions, and impositions of oaths, &c. Religion must be little concerned here; for there is preaching enough, and of Protestant doctrine too, and without the monky-tricks, and montebank-shows, and fopperies of *English-Popish-ceremonies*, and liturgical services: What would they be at? Is it not better to yield to this, than to fall into the hand of the *Scottish-Spanish-inquisition*, that will rack the purse, the body, and conscience, and all? This is one complex head of suffering, and thought a very small one by many. But now, finding this would not do his business yet, it looked too like religion still: he hath therefore invented a new machine: he will not now persecute, nor force the conscience at all (so good natured is the Devil and his Lieutenant grown, in their old age) for *matters of mere religion*. Nay, (if we may believe him, who, when he speaketh a lie, speaketh it of his own) he hath not done it this long time, but only, in all the violent courses exercised against these sufferers, he hath been magistratically chastising the disobedience and rebellion of a few turbulent traitors, who would not own the government. And thus, under the notion of rebellion, and disowning authority, he hath had access and success to destroy almost an innumerable number of honest and innocent, faithful and fruitful, lovers of Christ; who, though indeed they have had their sufferings stated upon those points, yet I doubt not shall be found among the followers of the Lamb, and Confessors and Martyrs of Christ, who have overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, not loving their lives unto the death, whose blood is crying for vengeance against the shedders thereof; and he will make inquisition for it, when he comes to *overturn, overturn*, and take his own *right*, for which they have been contending. Nevertheless this is a prejudice too prevalent with many, to misregard the case and cause of these contenders, or any thing that can be said to represent them favourably. And all these disadvantages, difficulties, and discouragements, together considered, would soon cool my courage, and, at first blush, make me leave off before I begin, were I not persuaded,

ſuaded, that it is the cauſe of Chriſt theſe reproached people are ſuffering for; and that their great ſufferings and reproaches are both alike unjuſt; from both which the Lord will vindicate them, and bring forth their righteouſneſs as the light, and their judgment as the noon-day, in his own time. In confidence of which, depending on his conduct, I ſhall undertake, as briefly as is poſſible for me, to repreſent their caſe, and clear the cauſe, ſo far at leaſt as concerns their conteſt with their perſecuting enemies, with whom I only deal at preſent; it not being my purpoſe to deſcend particularly into their neceſſitated contendings with complying brethren; partly becauſe they would make the volume to excreſce unto too great a bulk, and becauſe they are to be ſeen elſewhere; yet, in effect, theſe alſo are not only here narratively deduced, but whatever is odious in them is vindicated, and what is difficult in ſome meaſure enodated.

But it may be expected and deſiderated, that I ſhould give a diſtinct deduction of all the ſteps of this woful defection, againſt which a great part of the teſtimony hath been ſtated: but I would have the reader advertiſed, I touch only that part of the Teſtimony which hath been ſealed by ſevere ſufferings from enemies. It were a task tranſcending my Capacity, and a theme wherein I have no pleaſure, beſides that it is inconſiſtent with my Leiſure, to inlarge upon ſuch a ſad and ſhameful ſubject: though the world indeed is at a loſs, that they that would do it, cannot, and they that would and ſhould do it, will not; and it is a greater loſs, not only to *Scotland*, but alſo to the whole Chriſtian world, that what hath been done in this kind already cannot ſee the light, or rather that the Church of Chriſt is deprived of its light, which through the injury of the times, and the diſingenuous prudence of ſome, who ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by the patrons of defection, is embezelled and ſuppreſſed. I mean that excellent and faithful *Hiſtory of Defection*, the poſthumous work of the famous Mr. *M'Ward*, whoſe praiſe is in the churches: which if they that have it in keeping, would do themſelves the honour, and the world the happineſs of publiſhing it, there would be no more need to diſcover,

from

from whence, to what, and how, that church hath fallen and degenerate; nor so great difficulty in that indisputable and indispensable duty that such a day calls for, in searching and trying our ways, to the end we may turn again to the Lord; nor any necessity for my poor essay, to invite and incite the people of the Lord to take cognizance and compassion of poor perishing *Scotland*. I wish that they who have it, may consult more their own duty and credit, and what they owe to the memory of the dead, the Church's edification, the day's testimony, and the honour of Christ, than to continue robbing the world of such a treasure; which I doubt not to call treason against Christ, and Sacrilege against the Church, and stick not to tell them, if they will not publish it, the world must know there was such a thing done. But it not being my design now, to detect or reflect upon all the defections of that declining, and by declensions divided, and by divisions almost (only not) destroyed Church; I shall meddle with them no further, than what is necessary to clear the cause; referring the knowledge and account of them, either to the Notoriety of the grossest of them, or to the more particular enarration of them, to be found in papers emitted and published by the contenders against them: Of which one is of this same year's edition, entituled, *The informatory vindication of a poor, wasted, misrepresented remnant*, &c. In which may be evident, that notwithstanding of all this darkness and distress, defection and division, under which the Church of *Scotland* hath been so long, and is still labouring, there is yet a poor wasted, wounded, rent, and almost ruined, but still wrestling and witnessing remnant of Professors and Confessors of Christ there, who though they have not only had their souls exceedingly filled with the scorning of those that are at ease, and with the contempt of the proud; but their bodies also killed all day long, and counted as sheep for the slaughter, have yet through grace endeavoured to overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, and have not loved their lives dear unto the death, and have continued to this day contending both against professed enemies, and also declining

clining friends, sustaining from both the utmost of rage and reproach. And since that little book gives an account, what their contendings have been against their backdrawing brethren on the right and left hand, I shall spare labour to offer a discussion of them, only endeavour to make it not difficult to decide and determine, on whose side truth lies, by what is here hinted.

I shall conclude, with advertising the reader of one thing further; that, as this reproached people, for whose testimony I am pleading, is now the only party that is persecuted in *Scotland*, (some few excepted, who are exempted from the pretended favour of the current Indemnities) and their persecution still continues, notwithstanding of the impudent, as well as insnaring declarations of universal liberty to all Dissenters, which they look upon as their honour and happiness, to be thought incapable of tyrannical and antichristian favours; so their past and present oppressions and sufferings are only here in general aggregated, described as to their kinds, and vindicated as to their causes: the particular deduction of their number, weight, and measure, of their names that have been martyred and murdered, both by formality of law, and without all formality of law, by sea and land, city and country, on scaffolds, and in the fields; of the manner of their sufferings; and of the form of their trials and testimonies, being intended shortly (if the Lord will) to be emitted and published in a book by it self; which will discover to the world as rare instances of the injustice, illegality, and inhumanity of the *Scottish inquisition*, and of the innocency, zeal, ingenuity, and patience of the witnesses of Christ, as readily can be instanced in these latter ages. Only here is a taste till more come: which if the Lord shall bless for its designed end, the glory of God, the vindication of truth, the information and satisfaction of all serious sympathisers with *Zions* sorrows, and the conviction or confutation of reproachers, so far, at least, as to make them surcease from their invidious charge of things whereof the innocency is here vindicated, I have obtained all my design, and shall desire to give the Lord the praise.

It

It will not be unprofitable for the reader, to caſt his eye upon theſe ſentences of great Authors, which relate to ſome heads of the following diſcourſe.

*Tranſlated from their Originals.*

Eraſmus. *AS a Woodcock, otherwiſe loud, being taken, becomes dumb; ſo ſlavery renders ſome men ſpeechleſs, who, if they were free, would tell their minds freely.*

Nazianzen. *Diſcord is better for the advantage of piety, than diſſembled concord.*

Bernard. *But if ſcandal ariſe for the truth, it is better to ſuffer ſcandal, than relinquiſh the truth.*

Bracton. *He is a king who rightly governs, a tyrant who oppreſſes his people.*

Cicero. *He loſes all right to government, who, by that government, over-turns the common-weal.*

Ariſtotle. *He who obeys the law, obeys both God and the law, who obeys the king, a man and a beaſt.*

Sueton. *They are not bound to be loyal to a wicked king, under the pain of perjury.*

Ambroſe. *He that does not keep off injury from his Neighbour, if he can do it, is as much in the fault, as he who does it.*

Chamier. *But all ſubjects have right of reſiſting tyrants, who by open force acquire dominion.*

Barclay. Againſt contenders for Monarchy. *All antiquity agrees, that tyrants can, moſt juſtly, be attack'd and ſlain, as publick enemies, not only by the publick, but alſo by individual perſons.*

AN

A N

*Hiſtorical Repreſentation*

OF THE

# TESTIMONIES

OF THE

## Church of SCOTLAND,

With the true ſtate of the ſame in all the Periods thereof.

WITH

*A Vindication of the preſent Teſtimony.*

THE Church of Chriſt, in the impreſſion of all that have the leaſt ſpark of the day's ſpirit, is now brought to ſuch a doleful and dreadful caſe and criſis, that, if it may not be reckoned *the killing of the witneſſes*; yet all that have or deſire the *knowledge of the times*, will judge it no impeachment to the prophecy to ſay, It is either very like, or near unto it. When now the Devil is come down in great wrath, as knowing his time is but ſhort; and therefore exerting all the energy of the venom and violence, craft and cruelty of the Dragon, and Antichriſt, *alias* Pope, his Captain general, is

now universally prevailing, and plying all his hellish engines, to batter down, and bury under the rubbish of everlasting darkness, what is left to be destroyed of the work of Reformation: and the crowned heads, or horns of the beast, the Tyrants, *alias* Kings, of *Europe*, his council of war, are advancing their prerogatives upon the ruins of the Nations and Churches privileges, to such a pitch of absoluteness, and improving, and employing their power, for promoving their masters (the Devil and Antichrists) interests, to whom they have gifted the Churches, mancipated their own, and sacrificed the Nations interest; and that with such combination of counsels, and countenance of providential success, that all the powers of hell, the principalities of earth, and the Providence of heaven, over-ruling all things for the accomplishment of the divine purpose, and purchase, and prediction, seem to conspire to produce that prodigious period, and *last attempt* of the Church's enemy. And the commencement is so far advanced, that, now in all the Churches of *Europe*, either the Witnesses of Christ are *a killing*, or the Witness for Christ is in a great measure *killed*; either the followers of the Lamb, who are called, and chosen, and faithful, are *killed* for their testimony, or fainting in their zeal, and falling from their first love; they are cooled or cajoled from their testimony. Some are indulging themselves in their ease, settling on their lees, and sleeping in a stupid security; and, while the Lord is roaring from above, and his, and their enemies, raging about them, and designing to raze them after they have ruined their neighbours, they are rotting away under the destructive distempers of detestable neutrality, loathsome lukewarmness, declining, and decaying in corruptions, defections, divisions, distractions, confusions; and so judicially infatuated with darkness and delusions, that they forget and forego the necessary testimony of the day. Others again, outwearied with the length and weight of the trial, under the temptation of Antichrist's formidable strength on the one hand, and a deceitful prospect of an insnaring liberty on the other, are overcome either to be hectored, or flattered from their testimony. And so, in these Churches,

Churches, comprehending all that are free from persecution at this time, the Witness for Christ is in a great measure killed. Other Churches, which are keeping and contending for the word of Christ's patience, are so wasted, and almost worn out, with persecutions, afflictions, and calamities, that, after they have been, and are (so much) daily killed for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus, it may well be said, there hath been, and is, a great slaughter of the Witnesses. And it were hard to determine, which of them can give the largest and most lamentable account of their sufferings; or which of them have had the greatest and most grievous experiences of the treachery and truculency, violence and villany of Atheistical and Papistical enemies: whether the reformed Church of *France*, howling under the paw of that devouring lion, the *French* Tyrant; or the Protestants of *Hungary*, under the tearing claws of that ravenous eagle the Tyrant of *Austria*; or those of *Piedmont*, under the grassant tyranny of that little Tyger of *Savoy*. The accounts they give in print, the reports they bring with them in their flight from their respective countries, and the little hint we have in *Gazettes*, and News Letters, must needs enforce a conviction, if not extort a compassion of the greatness of their pressures; and that with such a parity, that it is doubtful which preponderates. I shall not make comparisons, nor aggravate, nor extenuate the sufferings of any of the Churches of Christ, beyond or below their due measures: but will presume to plead, that *Scotland*, another ancient, and sometimes famous reformed Church, be inrolled in the catalogue of suffering Churches, besides these mentioned; and crave, that she may have a share of that charity and sympathy, which is the demand and desire of afflicted Churches of Christ, from all the follow members of that same Body: and so much the rather is this her due; that, whereas, among all the rest of the Churches, Christ's Witnesses are killed in some particular respect, and each of them have their own proper complaint of it; some upon the account of persecution, some of defection, division, &c. of this it may be said, in all respects, both the Witnesses of Christ, and a Witness for Christ, are killed with a wit-

ness. This is the case of the sometimes renouned, famous, faithful, and fruitful, reformed, covenanted Church of *Scotland*, famous for unity, faithful for verity, fruitful in the purity of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; which now, for these 27 years past, under the domination of the late Tyrant, and present Usurper of *Britain*, hath been so wasted with oppression, wounded with persecution, rent with division, ruined with defection, that now she is as much despised, as she was before admired: and her witness and testimony for Reformation, is now as far depressed, and suppressed, in obscurity, as it was formerly declared and depredicated in glory and honour. And yet, which should move the greater commiseration, her witnessings and wrestlings, trials and temptations, have not been inferior, in manner or measure, quality or continuance, to any of the fore-mentioned Churches, though in extent not so great; because her precinct is not so large, whereby the number of her oppressed and murdered children could not be so multiplied, though her *Martyrs* be more, and the manner of their murder more illegal, than can be instanced in any of them, during that time. A particular enumeration or enarration whereof, cannot be here exhibited, but is referred and reserved to a peculiar treatise of that subject, which ere long the world may see. Only I shall give a compendious account of the kinds and causes, grounds and heads of their sufferings, who have been most slighted, and least sympathised with, though they have sustained the greatest severities of any; and, in end, endeavour to vindicate the merit of their cause, in the most principal heads, upon which their sufferings have been stated: whereby it will appear to impartial men, that will not be imposed upon, there hath been, and yet is, a great and grievous, and some way unparallelled, persecution in *Scotland*, at least inferior to none: which hath not hitherto been duly considered, with any proportion to the importance thereof.

But tho' this be the scope, it is not the sum of what is intended in this discourse. The method I have proposed to prosecute it withal, will discover it: which is, *first*, To give a brief and summary account of the series and

and succession, success and result of the several contendings of the Witnesses of Christ, against his enemies in *Scotland* from time to time; that it may appear, whether or not the present sufferings, as now stated, can be condemned, if the former be approven. 2. To rehearse some of the chief means, methods and measures, that the Popish, Prelatical and Malignant faction have managed, for the ruin of this witnessing remnant, and some of the most signal steps of sufferings sustained by and from these within these 27 years; by which it will appear, that the persecution in *Scotland* hath been very remarkable (though little regarded) both in respect of the injustice, illegality and inhumanity of the persecutors, and in respect of the innocency, zeal and ingenuity of the persecuted. 3. To clear the state, and vindicate the merit of the cause of their sufferings, as to the most material heads of it, that are most controverted at this time. In the *first* of these, I must study all compendious brevity, as may consist with the clearing of my scope; which is not to enlarge an historical deduction of the rise and result, progress and prosecution, occasion and continuation of every controversy the Church hath had with her several adversaries in several periods; but only to hint at the chief heads of their contendings, with a design to make it appear, that the most material heads of sufferings that are now condemned, as new and nice notions, have been transmitted from age to age, from the beginning even to this present time, through all the periods of this Church.

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# PERIOD I.

## *Comprehending the Testimony of the* Culdees.

IT is not without reason reckoned among the peculiar prerogatives of the renowned Church of *Scotland*, that Christ's conquest in the conversion of that nation, is one of the most eminent accomplishments of Scripture prophecies, of the propagation of his kingdom in the New Testament dispensation; not only because it was, when

called out of Gentile Paganism, among the rudest of *Heathen* nations, and in the acknowledgment of all, among the *uttermost parts of the earth*, which were given to Christ for his inheritance and possession; whereunto he had, and hath still undoubted right, by his Father's grant, and by his own purchase; and took infeofment of it by a glorious conquest of that land, which the *Roman* arms could never subdue; and erected his victorious trophies there, whither their triumphs could never penetrate; obtaining and thereby accomplishing that predicted song of praise, *From the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs, even glory to the righteous.* Which gives us ground to expect, that however Christ's Interest there be now very low, and like to be lost as a prey in the Dragon's mouth, yet Christ, having such undoubted and manifold right to it, will not so easily quit or forego his possession; but also, because he hath so constantly continued his possession, and maintained his title, by a long course of contendings, by the testimonies of his Witnesses, against the Invaders thereof, through all the periods of the Church, from the very infancy of this new Dispensation; and because, *Scotland*'s conversion unto the Christian Faith was among the first fruits of the Gentiles, of the oldest date, that any standing Church holding the head Christ this day can deduce its original from. For it is clear from ancient records, the Christian Faith was embraced here a few years after the ascension of our Saviour, being taught by the disciples of *John* the Apostle; and received afterwards great increment from the *Britons* flying to *Scotland*, to escape the persecution of the Emperor *Domitian*, and was long promoted by the ancient *Culdees*, or (*Worshippers of God*) men, whose memory is still fragrant for piety and purity of faith and life, who continued some hundreds of years, under various vicissitudes of Providence, before either *Prelacy* or *Popery* was known in *Scotland*. They were first universally encouraged by King *Cratilinth*, in the time of the last persecution under *Diocletian*, which brought many of Christ's Witnesses hither for shelter, who were very helpful for the settling of Truth, and the total extirpation of the Idolatry of the *Druides*, the heathen priests, whereby the pure doctrine, worship and govern-

government and of Christ's institution, was established and continued many years, while these Witnesses of Christ had no other emulation but of well-doing, and to advance piety. In this period, these ancient, and first Confessors and Witnesses of Christ, did wrestle strenuously, according to their strength and light, for the Truths and Words of Christ's patience, controverted in their day, both against professed enemies, Pagan Persecutors and Priests, and pretended friends, corrupters of the Faith. Their Testimony was stated, in a peculiar manner, for the verity, value and virtue of Christ's Natures and Offices, in asserting his truths relative to either, against the Malignants and Sectaries of their time; particularly for the concerns of his Prophetical Office. And though we be at a loss, that for the most part their witness is buried in oblivion, through the darkness of the times succeeding; yet the scrapes and fragments that are left, do furnish us with these few remarks.

I. They maintained the verity of the Christian doctrine, against both Pagan Persecutors and heretical perverters; and the purity of his instituted worship, without the vanity of human inventions, or conformity with, either the *Druides* on the one hand, or the Hereticks on the other, with which, sometime before the end of that period, they were infested; chiefly the *Pelagians*, with whom the faithful would have no communion, but abstracted themselves in a monastical life, living and exercising their religion in Cells, from whence many places in the country yet retain the name, as *Kilmarnock*, *Kilpatrick*, &c. that is the Cells of these eminent men among the *Culdees*. And their government also was that of the primitive order, without *Bishops*, with little vanity, but great simplicity and holiness. Many authors do testify, that near about 400 years, the Church of *Scotland* knew nothing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, until *Palladius* brought it in, and not without great opposition.

II. In these recesses, they had the advantage, both of outward peace, when others were in trouble, and of inward peace of conscience, when others were debauched with many conjurations and abjurations, combinations and confederacies, imposed and exacted by them that prevailed

prevailed for the time, whereby they might both keep themſelves free of enſnaring *oaths*, perfidious compliances, and *aſſociations* with the wicked, and alſo entertain and encourage the oppreſſed for equity, who fled unto their ſanctuary for ſafety. We find they refuſed to enter into league with malignant enemies. One memorable paſſage I ſhall inſert (though ſtrictly it belong not to this *period*, as I diſtinguiſh it, yet falling out, within 80 years thereafter, in the time of the *Culdees*, it will not obſcurely evidence the truth of this) *Goranus* the 45th king of *Scots*, earneſtly diſſuaded *Lothus* king of *Picts* to entertain the league with the *Saxons*, not only becauſe they were treacherous and cruel, but becauſe they were enemies to the country and to the religion they profeſſed, concluding thus: *Homini vero Chriſtiano id longe omnium videri*, &c. *But to a Chriſtian nothing muſt ſeem more grievous, than to conſent to ſuch a covenant, as will extinguiſh the Chriſtian religion, and reduce the profane cuſtoms of the heathen, and arm wicked tyrants, the enemies of all humanity and piety, againſt God and his laws.* Whereupon *Lothus* was perſwaded to relinquiſh the *Saxons*, *Buchan. Hiſtor. Rer. Scotic.*

III. Though they were not for partaking in wicked unneceſſary wars, without authority, or againſt it; yet we have ground to conclude, they were for war, and did maintain the principle of reſiſting Tyranny; ſince there was never more of the practice of it, nor more happy reſiſtances in any age, than in that; where we find, that, as their anceſtors had frequently done before, ſo they alſo followed their footſteps, in reſiſting, reducing to order, repreſſing, and bringing to condign puniſhment Tyrants and Uſurpers; and thought thoſe actions, which their fathers did by the light of nature and dictates of reaſon, worthy of imitation, when they had the advantage of the light of revelation and dictates of faith; the one being indeed moderate and directed, but noways contradicted by the other. Therefore we read, that, as their predeceſſors had done with *Thereus* the 8th king of *Scotland*, whom they baniſhed in the year before Chriſt's incarnation 173; with *Durſtus* the 11th king, whom they ſlew in battle in the year before Chriſt 107; *Evenus* the 3d, who

who was impriſoned, and died there, in the year before Chriſt 12; *Dardanus* the 20th king, who was taken in battle, beheaded by his own ſubjects, his head expoſed to mockage, and his body caſt into a ſink, in the year of Chriſt 72; *Luctatus* the 22d king, who was ſlain for his leachery and Tyranny in the year 110; *Mogaldus* the 23d king, ſlain in the year 113; *Conarus* the 24th king, a leacherous Tyrant, died in priſon in the year 149; *Satrael* the 26th king hanged in the year 159. So, after the Chriſtian faith was publickly profeſſed, they purſued *Athirco* the 29th king, when degenerate into Tyranny, who was forced to kill himſelf in the year 231. They ſlew *Nathalocus* the 30th king, and caſt him into a privy in the year 241. They beheaded *Romachus* the 36th king, and carried about his head for a ſhow in the year 348. As they did with many others afterwards, as witneſſeth *Buchanan*, book 4th, *Scottiſh* hiſtory.

IV. Whence it is evident, that as they attained, even in theſe primitive times, and maintained the purity and freedom of their Miniſtry, independent on Pope, Prelate, or any human ſupremacy (that Antichriſtian Hierarchy and Eraſtian blaſphemy not being known in thoſe days) ſo they contended for the order and boundaries of the Magiſtracy, according to God's appointment, and the fundamental conſtitutions of their government; and thought it their duty to ſhake off the yoke, and diſown the authority of theſe Tyrants that deſtroyed the ſame. Yea, we find, that even for incapacity, ſtupidity and folly, they diſowned the relation of a Magiſtrate, and diſpoſed of the government another way, as they did with *Ethodius* the 2d, whoſe authority they did own, but only to the title. See *Buchanan* in the before cited place.

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# PERIOD II.

*Comprehending the Teſtimony of the ſame* Culdees, *with that of the* Lollards.

THE following period was that fatal one, that brought in univerſal darkneſs on the face of the whole

whole Church of Christ, and on *Scotland* with the first of them; which, as it received very early Christianity, so it was with the first corrupted with Antichristianism. for that *Mystery of Iniquity* that had been long working, till *he who letted* was taken out of the way, found *Scotland* ripe for it when it came; which, while the Dragon did persecute the Woman in the wilderness, did valiantly repel his assaults; but when the Beast did arise, to whom he gave his power, he prevailed more by his subtilty, than his rampant predecessor could do by his rage. *Scotland* could resist the *Roman legions*, while heathenish, but not the *Roman locusts*, when Antichristian. At his very first appearance in the world, under the character of Antichrist, his harbinger *Palladius* brought in *Prelacy* to *Scotland*, and by that conveyance the contagion of Popery; which hath always been, as every where, so especially in *Scotland*, both the mother and daughter, cause and effect, occasion and consequence of *Popery*. These rose, stood, and lived together, and sometimes did also fall together; and we have ground to hope, that they shall fall again; and their final and fatal fall is not far off. Whatever difficulty authors do make, in calculating the Epocha of the 42 *months* of Antichrist's duration in the world, because of the obscurity of his first rise; yet there needs not be much perplexity in finding out that Epocha in *Scotland*, nor so much discouragement from the fancied permanency of that kingdom of wickedness. For if it be certain, as it will not be much disputed, that Popery and Prelacy came in by *Palladius*, sent legate by Pope *Celestine*, about the year 450: then if we add 42 *months*, or 1260 *prophetical days*, that is, years, we may have a comfortable prospect of their tragical conclusion. And though both clashings and combinations, oppositions and conjunctions, this day may seem to have a terrible aspect, portending a darker hour before the dawning; yet all these reelings and revolutions, though they be symptoms of wrath incumbent upon us for our sins, they may be looked upon, through a Prospect of faith, as presages and prognosticks of mercy impendent for his name's sake, encouraging us, when we see these dreadful things come to pass in our day, to lift up our heads, for the day

of

of our redemption draweth nigh. This dark period continued nigh about 1100 years, in which, though Christ's Witnesses were very few, yet he had some witnessing and prophesying in sackcloth all the while. Their testimony was the same with that of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, stated upon the grounds of their secession, or rather abstraction from that *Mystery Babylon, mother of harlots*, Popery and Prelacy, for their corruption in doctrine, worship, discipline and government. And did more particularly relate to the concerns of Christ's Priestly office, which was transmitted from the *Culdees* to the *Lollards*, and by them handed down to the instruments of Reformation, in the following period. Their testimony indeed was not *active*, by way of forcible resistance against the sovereign powers; but *passive*, by way of confession and martyrdom, and sufferings and verbal contendings, and witnessings against the prevailing corruptions of the time. And no wonder it should be so, and in this someway different from ours, because that was a dispensation of suffering, when Antichrist was on the ascendant, and they had no call or capacity to oppose him any other way, and were new spirited for this passive testimony, in which circumstances they are an excellent pattern for imitation, but not an example for confutation of that principle of defensive resistance, which they never contradicted, and had never occasion to confirm by their practice. But, as in their managing their testimony, their manner was someway different from ours on this respect; so they had by far the advantage of us, that their cause was so clearly stated upon the greatest heads of sufferings, having the clearest connexion with the fundamentals of religion; yet we shall find in this period our heads of suffering someway homologated, if we consider,

I. That as they did faithfully keep and contend for the word of Christ's patience under that dispensation, in asserting and maintaining both the verity of Christ's doctrine, and the purity of his worship, by testifying against the corruptions, errors, idolatries and superstitions of Popery; so they did constantly bear witness against the Usurpation and Tyrannical Domination of the Antichristian Prelates. And as the *Culdees* did vigorously

oppose

oppose their first introduction, and after-aspiring domination, as well as the corruptions of their doctrine, as we have the contendings of eminent witnesses recorded from age to age; in the fourth and fifth age, *Columbe*, *Libthac*, *Ethernan*, *Kintegern* or *Mungo*; in the sixth and seventh age, *Colmanus*, *Clemens* and *Samson*, with others; in the eighth and ninth age, *Alcuin*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Joannes Scotus Ærigena*, are noted in history. And the *Lollards*, by their examinations and testimonies, are found to have witnessed against the exercise of their power, and sometimes against the very nature of their power itself: so in their practice, they condemned Prelacy as well as Popery, in that their ministers did in much painfulness, poverty, simplicity, humility and equality, observe the institution of our Lord. And so far as their light served, and had occasion to enquire into this point, they acknowledged no officer in the house of God superior to a preaching minister, and according to this standard, they rejected and craved reformation of exorbitant Prelacy. And it is plain, that they were frequently discovered, by discountenancing and withdrawing from their superstitious and idolatrous worship: for all which, when they could not escape nor repel their violence, they cheerfully embraced and endured the flames.

II. That their adversaries did manage their cruel craft, and crafty cruelty, in murdering those servants of God, much after the same methods that ours do; except that they are many stages outdone by their successors, as much as perfect artists do outstrip the rude beginnings of apprentices. But, on the other hand, the sufferers in our day, that would follow the example of those worthies under Popery, would be much condemned by this generation, even by them that commend the matter of their Testimony, tho' they will not allow the manner of it to be imitated in this day. The adversaries of Christ, in this and that generation, are more like than his Confessors and Witnesses are. The adversaries then, when constrained by diversions of the time's troubles, or when their designs were not ripe, prerended more moderation and aversation from severity; but no sooner got they opportunity, (which always they sought), but so soon they renewed the battel against Jesus Christ; so now: when they

they had seven abominations in their hearts, and many cursed designs in their heads, they always spoke fairest; so now: when they had a mind to execute their cruelty, they would resolve before-hand whom to pitch upon before conviction; so now: and when so resolved, the least pretence of a fault, obnoxious to their wicked law, would serve their design; so now: they used then to forge articles, and falsely misrepresent their answers, and declarations of their principles; so now. Yet, on the other hand, if now poor sufferers should glory in that they are counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Christ, as they did then; if now they should suffer with as great cheerfulness, for the smallest points as for the greatest heads, as they did then, who endured the flames as gallantly, for eating a goose upon *Friday*, as others did for the doctrine of justification, or purgatory, or indulgences, or worshipping of images and saints; if now they should speak for every truth in question, with all simplicity and plainness, without reserves or shifts declining a testimony, as they did; if they should supersede from all application to their enemies for favour, and not meddle with either petitioning or bonding with them, as they did; nay, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection: then they might expect the severe censure of ignorant and precise fools, as the most part who suffer now are counted.

III. That they stood aloof from every appearance of a base *complyance* with them; not so much as to give them an interpretative sign of it; which, in their meaning, might be thought a recantation, though, abstractly considered, it might be capable of a more favourable construction; as the required *burning of their bill* was; which might have been thought a condemning of their accusations: but because that was not their adversaries sense of it, they durst not do it. Not like many now a-days, who will not be solicitous to consult that. Neither would they take any of their *oaths*, nor pay any of their ecclesiastical exactions, as we find in the articles brought in against the *Lollards* of *Kyle*, *Knox's History of Reformation*. These things are easily complied with now: and such as will suffer upon such things are condemned.

IV. That

IV. That while the love of God, and his blessed truth, and the precepts, promise, and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, did enable them unto all patience with joy, in a passive testimony, being by the call of a clear and necessary providence sent and set forth to be his witnesses; they did not indeed endeavour any resistance: yet we find they never resigned nor abandoned that first and most just privilege of *resistance*; nay, nor bringing publick *beasts of prey* to condign punishment, in an extraordinary way of vindictive justice, for the murder of the saints. As, upon the murder of Mr. *George Wiseheart*, was done with Cardinal *Beaton*, who was slain in the Tower of *St. Andrew's* by *James Melvin*: who, perceiving his consorts in the interprise, moved with passion, withdrew them, and said, *This work and judgment of God, although it be secret*, ought to be *done with greater gravity*. And, presenting the point of the sword to the Cardinal, said, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr.* George Wiseheart, *which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet it cries for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it; for here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee, but only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel.* Of which fact, the famous and faithful historian Mr. *Knox* speaks very honourably, and was so far from condemning it, that while, after the slaughter, they kept out the castle, he, with other godly men, went to them, and stay'd with them, till they were together carried captives to *France*. Yet now such a fact, committed upon such another bloody and treacherous beast, the Cardinal *Prelate* of *Scotland*, eight years ago, is generally condemned as horrid murder.

V. However, though in this dark period there be no noted instances of these Witnesses resisting the superior powers, for reasons above hinted: yet, in this period, we find many instances of noble and virtuous patriots, their not only resisting, but also revenging to the utmost

of

of severity, rigorous and raging Tyrants: as may be seen in histories. For, before the corruption of Antichrist came to its height, we find *Ferchardus* 1st, the 52d King, was drawn to judgment against his will, great crimes were laid to his charge, and among others the *Pelagian* heresy, and contempt of Baptism, for which he was cast into prison, where he killed himself, in the year 636; *Eugenius* 8th, the 62d King, degenerating into wickedness, and rejecting the admonitions of his friends, and especially of the Ministers, was killed in a convention of his Nobles, with the consent of all, in the year 765; *Donaldus* 7th was imprisoned, where he killed himself, in the year 859; *Ethus*, surnamed *Alipes*, the 72d King, was apprehended, and his wicked life laid out before the people, and then compelled to resign the government, and died in prison, in the year 875. Afterwards, when the government was transmitted to the *Stewarts*, *James* the 2d, the 103d King, who killed *William* Earl of *Douglas* in the castle of *Stirling*, most treacherously, after he had pretended a civil treatment, was publickly defied by the Earl's friends; who took the King's publick writ and subscription made to the said Earl, and tied it to a horse tail, dragging it through the streets; and, when they came to the market-place, they proclaimed *both King and Nobles perjured covenant-breakers:* and thereafter, when Earl *James* his brother was desired to submit, he answered, *He would never put himself in their reverence, who had no regard to shame; nor to the laws of God or man, and who had so perfidiously and treacherously killed his brother and his cousins.* *James* 3d, the 104th King, for his treachery and tyranny, was opposed and pursued by arms by his own subjects; who, finding himself under disadvantages, sent to the rebels (as he thought them, and called them) an offer of peace, and received this answer; "That, seeing "the King did nothing honestly, a certain war seemed "better to them then a peace not to be trusted, that "there was no other hope of agreement but one, that "he should quit the government, otherwise it was to "no purpose to trouble themselves with treaties." Thereafter, in a battel, he was slain at *Bannockburn* by *Gray*, *Ker*, and *Borthwick*. The same King,

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was alſo conſtrained, by the valour of *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, called *Bell the Cat*, to reform the court, and put away ſome wicked ſycophants from his counſel, and give way, though againſt his will, to the execution of judgment upon others: which was the occaſion of that foreſaid *agnomen* to the Earl: for he, with other Nobles, in a meeting at *Lawder*, conſulting how to reform and repreſs the inſolency of the court, had the apologue of the *mice* laid out before them; that the mice fell upon deliberating how to be rid of the cat, and concluded the beſt way was to put a bell about her neck; but when it came to be put in execution, never a mouſe durſt undertake it: the Earl quickly made application, ſaying, *I will bell the cat*; and forthwith went out, and meeting *Cochran*, one of theſe wicked counſellors, took hold of him, and hanged him with a horſe-halter over the bridge of *Lawder*; and, ruſhing into the King's preſence, proceeded to ſnatch *Ramſay*, another of the country's enemies, out of the King's arms; but that he yielded at length to the King's earneſt entreaties to ſpare him. How ever we ſee how generouſly zealous theſe noble patriots were for the country's good, againſt Tyranny, though they were ignorant of religion: yet this all along was ſtill the character of the *Scots* in theſe days, none more terrible to Tyrants, none more loyal to Kings than they.

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# PERIOD III.

## *Containing the Teſtimony of the Reformation from Popery.*

AS in the former, the teſtimony was moſtly *paſſive*; ſo, in the following period, when they were increaſed in number and ſtrength that embraced the goſpel, the Lord called, and ſpirited to an *active* teſtimony, for theſe two *twins*, *Religion* and *Liberty*, that were then ſought to be ſtifled in the birth, and are now deſigned more declaredly to be deſtroyed, after they have grown up

up to some maturity: which, as it renders the cruelty of the present destroyers the more grassant and grievous, so it rubs the more indelible infamy, on the shameful security and ass-like stupidity of this generation, that have received such an excellent testimony deposited to their trust, transmitted to them through a continued tract of the witnessings and wrestlings of their worthy ancestors, and now let it slip and slide through their feeble fingers; and does the more justify, yea magnify, the poor endeavours of the present sufferers, who, at least, when they cannot react these mighty works in defending religion and liberty, do chuse rather to die than to resign the testimony, or quit the least privilege that their progenitors possessed them of: and though they be superciliously despised, as little insignificant nothings, in the eyes of the bulk of the big boasters of this blind age; yet, if these valiant heroes, who did such exploits for their God, in commencing and carrying on the work of Reformation, were now to see the dull dotages of this dreaming generation, (not only suffering and consenting to, but congratulating and applauding, the introduction and re-establishment of Idolatry and Tyranny, Popery and Slavery, upon the ruins of the work they built with so great expence); and were to read the pitiful *Petitions*, and airy and empty, flattering and fawning *Addresses*, to this Antichristian Tyrant, for the *Toleration* of that religion and liberty, under the odious notion of a *Crime*, which they had conveyed to them under the security of a fundamental *Law*; they, if any, would be acknowledged as their children who disdain and disown such dishonourable and dastardly yieldings, and are therefore most despised with disdain and despight. A brief rehearsal of their contendings will clear the case.

While the *Queen Dowager* Regent reigned by the curse of God, and employed all her power and policy to suppress the gospel in *Scotland*; God so counteracted her, that the *blood of the Martyrs*, she caused to be murdered, proved the *seed of the Church*; and the endeavours of his servants had such success, that no small part of the Barons and Gentlemen, as well as Commons, began to abhor the tyranny of the Bishops: yea, men almost uni-

versally began to doubt, whether they could without sin give their bodily presence "to the *Mass*, or offer their "children to the Papistical Baptism? Whether these, that "were in any publick trust, could with safe conscience "serve the higher powers, in maintaining of Idolatry, "persecuting their brethren, and suppressing Christ's "truth? Or whether they might suffer their brethren "to be murdered in their presence, without any declara-"tion that such Tyranny displeased them?" And, from the Scriptures, they were resolved, That *a lively Faith requires a plain confession, when Christ's truth is impugned*; and that *not only they be guilty that do evil, but also they that consent to evil, and this they should do, if seeing such things openly committed, they should be silent, and so allow whatsoever was done.* From doubts they came to determinations, to endeavour that *Christ Jesus His glorious Gospel should be preached, His holy Sacraments truly ministred, Superstition, Idolatry, and Tyranny should be suppressed in this realm*; and that *both as to the Worship, Discipline, and Government, the Reverend face of the first primitive and Apostolick Church should be reduced again to the eyes and knowledge of men.* And in this they never fainted till the work was finished. To accomplish this, famous and faithful Mr. *Knox*, and other servants of the Lord, did preach diligently in *private Meetings.* And for that, when they were summoned before the Queen; several zealous and bold men repaired to her, and plainly in the hearing of the Prelates, did charge them with the cruel device intended, and told her with a vow, *They should make a day of it, because they oppressed them and their tenants, for feeding of their idle bellies, they troubled the Preachers, and would murder all; Should they suffer this any longer? No; it should not be.* Thereafter, the more effectually to prosecute the Reformation begun, they entered into *Covenants, to maintain and advance that work of Reformation*, and to *stand to the Defence thereof; and of one another, against all wicked power, that might intend Tyranny or trouble against them, and to resent any injury done to any of their Brethren, upon the account of the Common Cause, as done to all.* Of which covenants they entered into many very solemnly; one was at *Edinburgh* in the year

*anno* 1557; another at *Perth* 1559, another at *Stirling* 1559, binding, that none should have any correspondence with the Queen, without notifying it to one another; and that nothing should proceed therein, without *common Consent* of them all. Another at *Leith*, in the year 1560; another at *Air*, in the year 1562, of the same tenor. By which covenants, as their conjunction was the more firm among themselves, so was it the more fearful to their Adversaries; when, according to the tenor of them, they kept their conventions, and held counsels with such gravity and closness, that the enemies trembled. I mention these things more particularly, because these same very things commended in our Fathers, are now condemned in a poor handful, that would aim at imitating their example, in renewing and reiterating such covenants of the same nature and tenor, and binding to the same very duties, and prosecute in the same methods of keeping *general Meetings* for correspondence, and consultation about common mutual duties in common danger; whereunto they have not only present necessity to urge them, but also preterite examples of these worthies to encourage them, and their experience of comfort and tranquillity they reaped, *by these Christian Assemblies and Godly Conferences, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of their body.* These beginnings, the zealous covenanted Reformers left no means unessayed to promote, by Protestations to the Parliament, and petitions, and many reiterated addresses to the Queen *Dowager:* from whom they received many renewed fair promises; which she had never mind to keep, and wanted not the impudence, when challenged for breaking them, to declare, *It becomes not Subjects to burden their Princes with promises, further than it pleased them to keep the same:* and, at another time, that *she was bound to keep no Faith to Hereticks:* and again, that *Princes must not be strictly bound to keep their promises*; and that *herself would make little Conscience to take from all that sort their lives and inheritance, if she might do it with an honest excuse.* Wherein she spoke not only the venome of her own heart, but the very soul and sense, principle and project, of all Popish Princes: whereby we may see what security we have for religion and liberty this day,

though the most part make such a pretence a pillow to sleep on. But, after many discoveries in this kind of the Queen's treachery, at length they would no more be bribed by promises, blinded by pretences, nor boasted by her proclamations, (slandering their enterprise, as if it pertained nothing to religion), from their endeavours to prosecute the same: but finding themselves compelled to take the sword of just defence, against all that should pursue them for the matter of religion, they first signified unto her; "that they would notify to the King of *France*, "and all Christian Princes, that her cruel, unjust, and "most tyrannical murder intended against towns and "multitudes, was and is the only cause of their revolt "from their accustomed obedience, which they owned "and promised to their Sovereign; provided they might "live in peace and liberty, and enjoy Christ's gospel, "*without which they firmly purpose never to be subject to* "*mortal man*; and that better it were to expose their "bodies to a thousand deaths, than to deny Christ; "which thing not only do they, who commit open Ido-"latry, but also all such, as, seeing their Brethren pur-"sued for the Cause of Religion, and having sufficient "means to comfort and assist them, do nevertheless with-"draw from them their dutiful support." And thereafter, they published a *Declaration* to the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent *Prelates*, and their Shavelings within *Scotland*. "That they should not be abused, "thinking to escape just punishment, after that they, in "their blind fury, had caused the blood of many to be "shed; but if they proceeded in this their malicious "cruelty, they should be dealt with all, wheresoever "they should be apprehended, as Murderers, and open "enemies to God and to mankind. And that with the "the same measure they had measured, and intended to "measure to others, it should be measured to them; "—— that is, they should, with all force and power "they had, execute just vengeance and punishment upon "them; yea begin that same war which God com-"mandeth *Israel* to execute against the *Canaanites*; that "is, Contract of Peace should never be made, till they "desist from their open Idolatry and cruel Persecution "of

"of God's Children." I rehearse this declaration the more expressly; because in our day *Declarations* of this stile and strain, and aiming at the same scope, is hideously hissed and houted at as unheard of novelties. Finally, when by all their Letters, Warnings, Admonitions and Protestations, they could obtain no redress, but rather an increase of insupportable violence; they proponed the question in a general meeting: *Whether she, whose pretences threatened the bondage of the whole Commonwealth, ought to be suffered so Tyrannically to domineer over them?* Unto which the Ministers, being required to give their judgment, answered, That she ought not. And accordingly they declared her *deposed* from all government over them; "because of her persecuting the Professors of "the true religion, and oppressing the liberties of the "true lieges, never being called nor convinced of any "crime; because of her intrusion of Magistrates against "all order of election; because of her bringing in strangers to suppress the liberty of the country, and placing "them in greatest offices of credit; because of her alter-"ing and subverting the old laws of the realm, *&c.*" Which I mention, because hence we may see what things, our Fathers judged, did dissolve the relation between the people and their Rulers: and, when applied to our case, will justify their reasons that have renounced the present Tyranny. This was done at *Edinburgh* in the year 1559. And thereafter, while they vindicated themselves, and went on with the work of Reformation, throwing down all monuments of Idolatry, and propagating the reformed religion; God so blessed their endeavours, that their Confession of faith, and all articles of the Protestant religion, was read and ratified by the three Estates of Parliament, at *Edinburgh*, *July* 1560. And the same year the book of discipline, containing the form and order of Presbyterial government, was subscribed by a great part of the Nobility. Thus, through the wisdom and power of God alone, even by the weakness of very mean instruments, against the rage and fury of the Devil, and of all the powers of Hell, was this work of Reformation advanced and effectuated; and came to the establishment of a law, which did not only ratify and confirm

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the Protestant religion, but abolish Antichristian Popery, and appoint punishment for the Professors and promoters thereof. Which law, often confirmed and ratified afterwards, though it be now casted and rescinded by the Prerogative of the present Tyrant; because it annuls and invalidates his pretence to succession in the government, (it being expressly enacted afterwards, by a Parliament at *Edinburgh* 1567, confirming this, that all Princes and Kings hereafter, before their coronation, shall take oath to maintain the true religion then professed, and suppress all things contrary to it), yet is still in force in the the hearts of all honest men, that will not prostitute religion, law and liberty to the lusts of Tyrants; and will be accounted a better bottom to build the hope of enjoying religion upon, than the perfidious promises of a Popish Usurper, pretending a liberty to dissenting Protestants, by taking away the Penal Statutes, the legal bulwark against Popery: all which yet, to the reproach of all Protestants, some are applauding and congratulating in this time by their addresses and petitions, to this destroyer of law and religion. I wish they would look back to see what the building of this bulwark cost our Fathers, before they sell it at such a rate: and compare the present addresses, courting and carressing the Papists, with the addresses of these worthy builders of what they are destroying. There is one dated, *Edinburgh*, *May* 27. 1561, presented to the Council, shewing, that honesty craved them, and conscience moved them, to make the secrets of their heart patent, which was; "That, before ever these Tyrants and dumb Dogs empire over them professing "Christ Jesus within this realm, they were fully determined to hazard life, and whatsoever they had received of God in temporal things.-----And let these enemies of God assure themselves, that if their Council put not order unto them, that they should shortly take such order, that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the brows of such as are no debters to them." And when the mischievous *Mary*, the daughter of the degraded Queen, returning from *France*, set up the Mass but in her own family, the Godly at that time gave plain signi-

ſignification, that they could not abide, that " the land, " which God by his power had purged from Idolatry, " ſhould in their eyes be polluted again. Shall that I- " dol (ſay they) be ſuffered again to take place within " this realm? It ſhall not." The *idolatrous Prieſts ſhould die the death according to God's Law.* And a Proclamation being iſſued to protect the Queen's domeſtick ſervants, that were Papiſts; there was a proteſtation given forth preſently, " That if any of her Servants ſhall commit I- " dolatry, ſay Maſs, participate therewith, or take the " defence thereof, in that caſe this Proclamation was not " extended to them in that behalf, nor to be a ſafeguard " to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit " murder; ſeeing the one is much more abominable in " the ſight of God than the other; but that it may be " lawful to inflict upon them, the pains contained in " God's word, againſt Idolaters, wherever they may be " apprehended, without favour." The words of *John Knox* upon the following Sabbath may be added, That *one Maſs was more fearful unto him, than if ten thouſand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpoſe to ſuppreſs the whole Religion: for (ſaid he) in our God there is ſtrength to reſiſt and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him; but when we join Hands with Idolatry, it is no doubt, but both God's amiable preſence and comfortable defence will leave us, and what ſhall then become of us?* Yea, when it was voted in the General Aſſembly, whether they might take the Queen's Maſs from her? Many frankly affirmed, " That as the Maſs " is abominable, ſo it is juſt and right, that it ſhould be " ſuppreſſed: and that in ſo doing, men did no more " hurt to the Queen's Majeſty, than they that ſhould by " force take from her a poiſoned cup, when ſhe were " going to drink it." Thus we have ſome ſpecimen of the zeal of our fathers againſt Idolatry. But in a little time, Court-favours blunted it in many; and then had the Servants of God a double battle, fighting on the one hand againſt Idolatry, and the reſt of the abominations maintained by the court. And upon the other hand, againſt the unfaithfulneſs of falſe brethren, and treachery of ſycophants, who informed the Court againſt the Miniſters, for their free and faithful Preaching and warnings

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on all occasions; yet they sustained the brunt of all these assaults, and came off with honour. At length, to be short, in process of time, this *Mary*, a woman of a proud and crafty wit, and an indured heart against God and his Truth, insisted in the same steps of Tyranny and Treachery (but with greater aggravations) that her Mother walked in, and was served according to her desert. For after that her Darling *Davie Rizio*, the *Italian* Fidler (whom most men then supposed, and do still suspect to be the Father of King *James*, this man's Grandfather; and some do think it not unlikely, that his Successors have derived from this stock the *Italian* complexion and constitution, both of body and mind, spare and swarthy, cruel and crafty) received his due rewards in her presence, by the King's consent and counsel; she conceived such contempt of, and indignation against the poor uxorious young King, *Henry* of *Darnely*, that she never rested, till she and *Bothwel* contrived and executed his murder, and then she married that murdering Adulterer, the said Earl of *Bothwel*: whereupon the Protestant Noblemen pursuing the murder, took her, and sent her prisoner to *Lochlevin*, where they made her resign the government to her Son *James*, then an infant, and afterwards she was beheaded by *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*. We see now by this deduction, what was the Testimony of this Period, and how in many things it confirms the heads of the present Sufferings, which we may particularly remark.

I. The Reformation of *Scotland* had this common with all other *Protestant* Churches, that it was carried on by resisting the opposing powers; but it had this peculiar advantage above all, that at once, and from the beginning, both doctrine and worship, discipline and government were reformed: as Mr. *Knox* witnesseth, that there was no realm upon the face of the earth at that time, that had Religion in greater Purity. *Yea*, says he, *we must speak the Truth, whomsoever we offend, there is no Realm that hath the like Purity; for all others how sincere soever the Doctrine be, retain in their Churches and the Ministry thereof, some footsteps of Antichrist, and dregs of Popery; but we (praise to God alone) have nothing in our Churches, that ever flowed from that Man of Sin.*

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The Doctrine was purely reformed, according to the Rule of Chriſt, both as to matter and manner of delivery. As to the *Matter* of it, what it was, the Confeſſion of Faith ratified in Parliament in the year 1560 doth witneſs. In the *Manner* of it, they ſtudied not the ſmooth and pawky prudence, that is now ſo much applauded, for not obſerving which, ſuch as would fain be honeſt in this duty, are ſo much condemned; but they cried aloud againſt, and did not ſpare the ſins of the time, with application to every degree of men; as we have it publiſhed and vindicated in Mr. *Knox* his Hiſtory. They cried, " that the ſame God who plagued " *Pharaoh*, repulſed *Sennacherib*, ſtruck *Herod* with worms, " and made the bellies of dogs the grave and ſepulchre " of the ſpiteful *Jezebel*, will not ſpare miſled princes, " who authorize the Murderers of Chriſt's Members in " this our time. Many now a-days will have no other " Religion than the *Queen*; the Queen no other than " the *Cardinal*; the Cardinal no other than the *Pope*; " the Pope no other than the *Devil*: let men therefore " conſider what danger they ſtand in, if their Salvation " ſhall depend upon the Queen's faith." And they uſed to defend ſuch manner of free dealing, from the examples of the Prophets reproving Kings perſonally. " Now, " if the like and greater corruptions be in the world this " day, who dare enterprize, to put to ſilence the Spirit " of God, which will not be ſubject to the appetites of " miſled Princes." Mr. *Knox* his defence before the Queen, when rebuked for ſpeaking of her Marriage in the pulpit, was: " The Evangel, ſaith he, hath two " points, Repentance and Faith; in preaching Repen- " tance, of neceſſity it is, that the ſins of men may be " noted, that they may know wherein they offend." And in his diſpute with *Lethingtoun*, requiring where any of the Prophets did ſo uſe Kings and Rulers; he gave the example of *Elias*, " reproving *Ahab* and *Jezebel*, that " *dogs ſhall lick the blood of* Ahab, *and eat the fleſh of* Je- " zebel; which was not whiſpered in their ears, but " ſo as the people underſtood well enough, for ſo wit- " neſſed *Jehu* after the accompliſhment." *Elizeus* reproved *Jehoram*, ſaying, " *What have I to do with thee,*

" *if*

" *if it were not for* Jehoshaphat, *I would not have looked* " *toward thee*; though a subject, yet he gave little reverence to the King." These were their arguments for faithfulness then, which are now exploded with contempt. Their *Worship* was also reformed from all dregs of Popery, and sopperies of human Ceremonies, retained in many other Churches, especially in *England*; to whose Bishops, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the Assembly wrote; " That if *Surplice*, *Corner Cap*, *Tippet*, &c. have been " the badges of Idolaters in the very act of Idolatry, " what have Preachers to do with the dregs of that *Ro-* " *mish* Beast? Yea, what is he that ought not to fear to " take, either in his hand or forehead, the mark of that " odious Beast?—— We think you should boldly op- " pose yourselves to all power, that will dare extol itself " against God, and against all such as do burden the " Conscience of the faithful, further than God hath bur- " dened them by his own Word." The *Discipline* and *Government* was from the beginning *Presbyterial*, even before the establishment: both in *Practice*, among the persecuted Ministers, who kept their *private Meetings*; and in their *Doctrine*. This was one of Mr. *Knox*'s Articles he sustained at St. *Andrews*, upon his first entry unto the Ministry. *Art.* 8. *There is no Bishop, except he preach even by himself, without any substitute.* But so soon as they attained any settlement, they assembled in their first National Synod in the year 1560, by virtue of that intrinsick Power granted by the Lord to his Church; nor did they so much as petition for the Indulgence of the then Authority; but upon Christ's warrant, they kept and held their Courts in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ only; and in his sole Authority, by direction of his word and Spirit, concluded all their Counsels, Votes and Acts. And as they knew nothing of an Exotick *Supremacy*, so they put out and held out *Prelacy*, and kept a perfect *Parity*; which was nothing infringed by the extraordinary Imployments and Commissions delegated to some *Superintendents*, upon the account of the particular exigence of these times.

II. Next we find in the Practice of these renowned Reformers, many demonstrations of pure zeal, worthy of

of all imitation; which I remark the rather, becauſe poor Sufferers that would now imitate it, are condemned as blind and ignorant zealots. But why are not the Reformers condemned for the ſame things? We find in the firſt place, that they were ſo far from *complying* with, or conniving at, or countenancing publick ſins, that they could not contain themſelves from declaring their Deteſtation of the ſight of them; yea the very boys did abominate it, as at the Reformation of St. *Johnſtoun*, a boy cried with a bold voice, *This is intolerable, that when God by his Word hath plainly condemned Idolatry, we ſhall ſtand and ſee it uſed in deſpight.* Whereupon he and others threw down all the monuments of Idolatry in the place. Bnt if now any ſhould enterprize ſuch a thing, when the Idol of the Maſs is ſet up in every City, they might expect *Jerubbaal*'s cenſure of the *Abiezrites*; tho' it is true they might have the ſame encouragement, becauſe they have the ſame Command as he had, to wit, the perpetual precept of throwing down idolatrous Altars. Next, they were ſo far from complying with the Enemies, in *keeping the peace* with them, that they thought it a great ſin nor to oppoſe them, when their brethren were forced to take the ſword of ſelf-defence, being perſwaded by theſe arguments: " That by their fainting, " and abſtracting their ſupport, the Enemies would be " encouraged; and thereby they ſhould declare themſelves both Traitors to the Truth once profeſſed, and " Murderers of their Brethren, whom their preſence and " concurrence might preſerve; and that if they ſhould " deny their Brethren ſuffering for his Name's ſake, they " ſhould alſo deny Chriſt, and be denied of him; and " that God hath often puniſhed ſubjects with their " Princes, for winking at, and not reſiſting their mani" feſt iniquity: and therefore, as he is immutable in Na" ture, ſo would he not pardon them in that which he " hath puniſhed in others, &c." Which Arguments prevailed with the noble Earl of *Glencairn*, in zeal to burſt forth in theſe words: —— *Albeit never man ſhould accompany me, yet I will go to my Brethren, and if it were but a Pike upon my ſhoulder, I had rather die with that company, than live after them.* But now Profeſſors cannot only ſit

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at home in their shops and cieled houses, when the Lord's people are pursued and murdered in the fields, but also can hire their Murderers, and strengthen their hands, by paying them *Cesses* and *Localities*, and what they require for help to do their work, and maintaining them in their iniquity. Which famous Mr. *Knox* disproveth very much in his day, arguing, " That if peo-
" ple thought they were innocent, because they were
" not the actors of such iniquity, they were utterly de-
" ceived; for God doth not only punish the chief offen-
" ders, but the Consenters to such iniquity; and all are
" judged to consent, who give not Testimony against it;
" as the Rulers and Bishops are criminal of all the innocent
" blood that's shed for the Testimony of Christ's Truth;
" so are all who assist and maintain them in their blind
" rage, and give no declaration, that their Tyranny dis-
" pleaseth them. This doctrine is strange to the blind
" world, but the verity of it hath been declared in all
" notable punishments from the beginning. When the
" old world was destroyed by water, *Sodom* and *Je-*
" *rusalem* were destroyed, Were all alike wicked?
" Yet all perished: Why? All kept silence, or did
" not resist; by which all approved iniquity, and
" joined hands with the Tyrants, as it had been in
" one Battle against the Omnipotent." Which words, if impartially applied, will condemn and confute the dull Daubings of the present Compliances, in maintaining Tyrants and their Emissaries, by Emoluments which they require and exact, and that professedly, for promoting their accursed projects; and will justify conscientious sufferers, for refusing to pay these impositions. And this will the more appear, if we add some more of his pithy expressions in the same place, clearing the subject he is upon, and answering an objection, what poor people might do, when compelled to give obedience to all their Rulers demanded? Ye may, saith that Author, without sedition, " Withhold the fruits and profits,
" which your false Bishops and Clergy most unjustly re-
" ceived of you: Upon which he subjoins the preceed-
" ing Arguments". Yet now a days these have no weight, but such as refuse either to pay Oppressors exactions,

actions, or *Curates* stipends, are condemned for giddy fools. Again we find, that when they were challenged for duty, they would never decline a declaration of its righteousness, nor do any thing directly or indirectly, which might seem a condemning of it. And therefore they would receive no *Pardons* for these things which they could not confess to be *Offences*. *John Knox*, challenged for offending the Queen, had her promise, that if he would confess an offence, his greatest punishment should be, but to go within the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and immediately to return to his own house; he refused absolutely. But now, if our *Pardon-mongers*, and prudent men had been so circumstantiate, surely they could have helped themselves with their distinctions, they might confess and be pardoned for offending the Queen, tho' not confess it to be a fault in their Conscience: But Mr. *Knox* had not learned that then. When they were pursuing the murder of King *Henry* of *Darnely*, the Queen finding her self not strong enough, offers to forgive and pardon that insurrection: The Earl of *Morton*, in name of all the rest, did not only refuse a Cessation, but told her they would not ask a pardon. But now sufferers, for refusing of these base and unmanly, as well as unchristian Compliances, are much condemned. *Finally*, Because this strictness, especially in their severity against their Enemies, may be accused of *Jewish Rigidity*, inconsistent with a Gospel Spirit of *Lenity*, which also is imputed to the much condemned sufferers of *Scotland* at this time, for their Testimonies against *Toleration*, and *Liberty of Conscience:* Let us hear what *Knox* says, "whatsoever God required of the civil Magistrate in *Israel* "or *Judah*, concerning the observation of true Religion "during the time of the Law, the same doth he re"quire of lawful Magistrates, professing Christ Jesus, "in the Time of the Gospel: And cites a large Testi"mony out of *Augustine* to this purpose". And afterward objecting to himself the practice of the Apostles, who did not punish the idolatrous *Gentiles:* He answers, "That the Gentiles, being never avowed to be God's "people before, had never received his Law, and there"fore were not to be punished according to the rigour "of

" of it, to which they were never subject, being strangers " from the Common-wealth of *Israel*; but if any think, " after the Gentiles were received in the number of *A-* " *braham's* children, and so made one people with the " *Jews* believing; then they were not bound to the " same obedience of *Israel's* Covenant, the same seems " to make *Christ* inferior to *Moses*, and contrary to the " Law of his heavenly Father; for if the contempt and " transgression of *Moses's* Law was worthy of death, " what judge we the contempt of Christ's ordinance to " be? And if Christ be not come to dissolve, but to ful- " fil the Law of his heavenly Father, shall the Liber- " ty of his Gospel be an occasion that the special glory " of his Father be troden under foot, and regarded of " no man? God forbid; and therefore I fear not to " affirm, that the Gentiles be bound by the same Cove- " nant that God made with his people *Israel*, in these " words, *Beware that thou make not any Covenant with* " *the inhabitants of the Land, but thou shalt destroy their* " *Altars*, &c. When therefore the Lord putteth the " sword in the hand of a people, they are no less bound " to purge their cities and countries from Idolatry, than " were the *Israelites*, what time they received the pos- " session of the Land of *Canaan*."

III. For the head of *Resistance* of superior powers, we have no clearer instances in any Period than in this, whereof the above-mentioned hints give some account, to which their sentiments and arguments may be here subjoined. They prized and improved this principle so much, that they put it in their *Confession of faith Art.* 14. *To save the Lives of Innocents, to repress Tyranny, to defend the oppressed*, are among the good works of the second Table, which are most pleasing and acceptable to God, as these works are commanded by himself; and *to suffer innocent Blood to be shed, if we may withstand it*, is affirmed to be sin, by which God's hot Displeasure is kindled against the proud and unthankful world. And if there were no more to render the late *Test* of *Scotland* detestable, that condemns all resistence of Kings upon any pretence whatsoever, this may make all Christians, and all Men, abhor the contrivance of it; that that same

*Test*

*Teſt* that confirms this *Theſis*, doth alſo impoſe the *Anti-theſis* upon Conſcience. It obliges to this Confeſſion in the firſt part of it, and to deny it in the latter. But no wonder, that men of ſeared Conſciences can receive any thing, tho' never ſo contradictory to it ſelf, and that men who deny ſenſe, and that principle radicated in human nature, may alſo deny Conſcience, and make a tool of it in ſoldering Contradictories. But not only did our Reformers aſſert this truth, for which now their children adhering to their Teſtimony, ſuffer both rage and reproach; but alſo gave their reaſons for it. As (1) Mr. *Knox*, in his firſt conference with the Queen, argues thus, " There is neither greater honour nor obedience to " be given to Princes than Parents; but ſo it is, that " the Father may be ſtricken with a phrenſy, in the " which he would ſlay his own children; now if the " children ariſe, take his weapon from him, bind his " hands, do the children any wrong? It is even ſo with " Princes, that would murder the children of God ſub-" ject to them, their blind zeal is nothing but a very " mad phrenſy; and therefore to take the ſword from " them, and caſt them into priſon till they be brought " to a more ſober mind, is no diſobedience againſt Prin-" ces." (2) In his Conference with *Lethingtoun*, he proves the ſame point, from the conſideration of the juſtice of God, puniſhing the people for not reſiſting the Prince. The Scripture of God teacheth me (ſaith he) " *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* were puniſhed for the ſins of *Ma-*" *naſſeh*; if you alledge they were puniſhed, becauſe " they were wicked, and not becauſe the King was " wicked; the Scripture ſays expreſly, *for the ſins of Ma-*" *naſſeh*; yet will I not abſolve the people, I will grant " the whole people offended with their King, but how? " To affirm that all *Judah* committed the acts of his im-" piety, hath no certainty; who can think, that all *Je-*" *ruſalem* ſhould turn Idolaters immediately after *Heze-*" *kiahs* notable Reformation? One part therefore willing-" ly followed him in his Idolatry, the other ſuffered " him, and ſo were criminal of his ſin; even as *Scot-*" *land* is guilty of the Queen's Idolatry this day." In the ſame Diſcourſe he makes it plain, that all are guilty of

of innocents murder who do not oppose it, from *Jeremies* words in his defence before the Princes. ——— *Know ye for certain, if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon the City, and upon the Inhabitants thereof:* Now, if the Princes, and the whole people should have been guilty of the Prophets blood; how shall others be judged innocent before God, if they suffer the blood of innocents to be shed, when they may save it? (3) *Ibid.* He argues from the distinction between the person placed in Authority, and the ordinance of God, the one may be resisted, the other cannot. The plain words of the Apostle makes the difference, " The ordinance is of God, for preservation " of mankind, punishment of vice, which is holy and " constant: Persons commonly are profane and unjust; " he that resisteth the power there, is only meant of the " just power wherewith God hath armed his Magi- " strates, which whoso resists, resists God's ordinance; " but if men, in the fear of God, oppose themselves to " the fury of Princes, they then resist not God, but the " Devil, who abuses the sword and Authority of God: " It is evident the people resisted *Saul*, when he had " sworn *Jonathan* should die, whom they delivered: " The Spirit of God accuses them not of any crime, but " praises them, and condemns the King: This same " *Saul* again commanded the Priests of the Lord to be " slain, his guard would not obey, but *Doeg* put the " King's cruelty in execution; I will not ask, whether " the King's servants, not obeying, resisted the ordi- " nance of God; or whether *Doeg*'s murdering gave o- " bedience to just Authority? The spirit of God con- " demns that fact, *Psal.* lii. that God would not only " punish the Commander, but also the merciless executer; " therefore they who gainstood his command, resisted " not the ordinance of God. (4) *Ibid.* He argues from " examples, not only of resisting, but of punishing Ty- " rants; chiefly the example of *Uzziah* is pertinent to " this purpose, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. who after his usurping the " Priest's office, was put out of the Temple." When it was replied, that they were the Priests that withstood the King, not simple people: He answered, " The " Priests

" Priests were subjects, as *Abiathar* was deposed by *So-*
" *lomon*, &c. yet they made him go out of the Temple
" for his Leprosy, and the people put him from the
" Kingdom." It is noted also, That Mr. *Knox*, in that discourse, adduces examples of those, who use to be brought in as objections against defensive Arms, even the *primitive Christians*, before that Passage last cited: " what
" precepts, says he, the Apostle gave, I will not affirm;
" but I find two things the faithful did, the one was
" they assisted their Preachers even against the rulers,
" the other was they suppressed Idolatry wheresoever
" God gave unto them force, asking no leave of the Em-
" peror, nor of his deputies: Read the *Ecclesiastical* Hi-
" stories, and ye shall find examples sufficient."

IV. In the next place, we may enquire into the judgment of these Reformers, concerning that question that is now so puzzling to many; which indeed was never started before this time, as a head of suffering; but now, when it is started, we may gather from our Ancestors actings and determinations about it, how it ought to be answered. They were indeed in capacity, and accordingly did improve it, for *disowning the Authority* of both the Queens; but their capacity was not the thing that made it duty, if it had not been so before. Capacity makes a thing possible, but not lawful: It does indeed make a duty seasonable, and clears the call to it, and regulates the timing of affirmative duties, but the want of it can never dispense with negative Precepts: and a duty, negative especially, may become necessary, when it hath not the advantage of seasonableness or capacity; certainly it were duty to depose the *Pope* from his usurped authority, and to disown it even in *Rome* it self, but there it would not be thought very feasible or seasonable, for twenty or thirty people to avouch such a thing there; yet, at all times, it is a duty never to own it. It is thought unseasonable and unfeasable to disown the Tyrants authority; but it is made necessary, when urged, never to own it. And for this we have the grounds of our Ancestors, shewing who may be disowned, and must not be owned. I shall first insert here *John Knox*'s propositions, prosecuted in his *second Blast*,

extant at the end of *Anton. Gilbies* Admonition to *England* and *Scotland*. 1. *It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a King lawfully to reign over a people professing Christ Jesus and his eternal verity; but, in his Election, the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferior judges, must be observed.* 2. *No manifest Idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any publick regiment, honour, or dignity, in any realm, Province, or City, that hath subjected themselves to Christ Jesus, and his blessed Evangel.* 3. *Neither can Oath, or Promise, bind any such people to obey and maintain Tyrants, against God and his Truth known.* 4. *But if rashly they have promoted any manifest wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such an one, as after declareth himself unworthy of regiment above the people of God, (and such be all Idolaters and cruel Prosecuters) most justly may the same men depose and punish him, that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint and elect.* Accordingly this was done in deposing both the Queens; which is fully vindicated by the Earl of *Morton*, in his discourse to the Queen of *England*, as *Buchanan* relates it, Book 20. *Pag.* 746. " The deed it self, neither the Custom of " our Ancestors of taking a Course with their Go- " vernors, will suffer it to be accounted new, nor the " moderation of the punishment to be odious; for it " were not needful to recount so many Kings punished " by death, bonds, and exile by our Progenitors. For " the *Scottish* Nation, being from the beginning always " free, hath created Kings upon these conditions, that " the Government entrusted to them by the peoples suf- " frages, might be also (if the matter required) remov- " ed by the same suffrages: of which Law there are " many footsteps remaining even to our day; for both " in the Isles about, and in many places of the conti- " nent, in which the old Language and institutions have " any abode, this Custom is kept, in creating their Go- " vernors of *Clanns*: And the Ceremonies, used at the " entering into Government, do yet retain the expres- " representation of this Law. Whence it is evident, that " the Government is nothing else but a mutual stipulati- " on between Kings and people: Which further ap-

" pears,

" pears, from the inviolated tenor of the ancient Law,
" since the beginning of the *Scottish* Government, reser-
" ved even unto our memory, without the least essay
" either to abrogate it, or disable, or diminish it. Yea,
" even when our fathers have deposed, banished, and
" more severely punished so many Kings, yet never was
" any mention or motion made of relaxing the rigour of
" that Law: and not without reason, seeing it was not
" of that kind of Constitutions, that change with the
" times, but of those which are engraven in the minds of
" men from the first original, and approved by the mu-
" tual consent of all Nations, and by nature's Sanction
" continued inviolable and perpetual, which, being sub-
" ject to no other Laws, do command and rule all.
" This, which in every action doth offer itself to our
" eyes and minds, and whether we will or not, abides
" in our breasts, our Predecessors followed; being al-
" ways armed against violence, and ready to suppress
" Tyrants.——— And now for the present, what have
" we done, but insisting in the footsteps of so many
" Kingdoms and free Nations, suppressed Tyrannical
" Licentiousness, extolling it self above all order of Laws,
" not indeed so severely as our Predecessors in like cases;
" if we had imitated them, not only would we have
" been far from all fear of danger, but also have escaped
" the trouble of Calumnies.———What would our Ad-
" versaries be at? Is it that we should arm with Au-
" thority Tyrants convicted of grievous Crimes, main-
" tained by the spoils of the subjects, having hands em-
" brued in loyal blood, and hearts gaping for the op-
" pression of all good men? And shall we put them up-
" on our head, who are infamously suspected of Parri-
" cide, both projected and perpetrated?" To which we may add, a foreign conclusion indeed, but adduced and maintained by Mr. *Craig*, in the Assembly, in the 1564. which had been determined by learned men in *Bononia*, *All Rulers, be they supreme or subordinate, may and ought to be reformed, or bridled (to speak moderately) by them, by whom they are chosen, confirmed, or admitted to their Office; so oft as they break that promise made by Oath to their subjects, because Princes are no less bound by Oath to their*

*ſubjects, than are the ſubjects to their Princes: and therefore ought it to be kept and performed equally, according to Law and condition of the Oath that is made of either Party.* By comparing which two Teſtimonies together, we may ſee the reaſons, why neither of the two *Royal Brothers*, that have ruled in our day, could be conſcientiouſly owned as Magiſtrates, in the Caſe they have been in for ſeveral years paſt: The firſt Teſtimony is for the ſecond Brother, the latter is for the firſt that's gone. But, as for Mr. *Knox*'s opinion, it is evident he had written a book *againſt the Government of women*; which though he did not intend it particularly againſt *Mary* of *Scotland*, yet it did invalidate her authority as well as other womens. This book he owns and maintains, in his firſt conference with her, and conſequently could not own her authority as of the Lord, though he gave her common reſpect, as the title of Majeſty, *&c.* yet when he was particularly urged by the Queen's queſtion, *you think*, ſaid ſhe, *That I have no juſt Authority*; he would not anſwer in the affirmative, but ſhifted it, by telling her; 'That learned men, in all ages, have had their judgment free, and moſt commonly diſagreeing from the common judgment of the world. And tho', he ſays, 'He could live under her Government (ſo may, and would the greateſt diſowners of Tyranny, if they be not troubled with queſtions about owning it) yet he affirms that with the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, he had communicate his judgment to the world, and that if the realm found no inconveniencies in her Government, he would no further diſallow than within his own breaſt." Certainly then, in his Conſcience, he did not, and could not own her, as the Magiſtrate of God; and that though many things which before were holden ſtable, had been called in doubt, yet neither Proteſtant nor Papiſt could prove, that any ſuch queſtion was, at any time, moved in publick or private. Neither could ever ſuch a queſtion be moved, if the Conſcience were not poſed; and then, when it muſt ſpeak, it muſt of neceſſity be unpleaſant to Tyrants. Thus we have heard both the poſitions and ſcruples of this Witneſs; let us alſo hear his arguings, that people may puniſh Princes for

for their Idolatry and murder, &c. And therefore much more may disown them: And therefore again much more may they forbear to own them, when called; for can a dead man, by Law, be owned to be a Magistrate, and Keeper of the Law. *Idolatry* (saith he, in his conference with *Lethington*) 'Ought not only to be suppressed, but the Idolater ought to die the death; but by 'whom? By the people of God, for the Commandment 'was given to *Israel*; yea, a Command, that if it be 'heard that Idolatry is committed in any one City, that 'then the whole body of the people arise and destroy 'that City, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. 'But shall the King also be punished? If he be an Idolater, I find no privilege granted unto Kings more than 'unto people, to offend God's Majesty. But the people 'may not be Judges to their King. —— God is the 'universal Judge; so that what his word commands to 'be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the 'other; and that the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute God's judgments against their 'King, being an offender; I am sure you have no other 'warrant, except your own imaginations, and the opinion of such as more fear to offend their Princes than 'God.' In the same Conference we have the instance of *Jehu* adduced to prove that Subjects may execute God's judgments upon their Princes. It was objected, *Jehu* was a King before he executed judgment upon *Ahabs* house, and the fact was extraordinary, and not to be imitated. He answered, He was a mere subject; 'No doubt *Jezabel* both thought and said he was a 'Traitor, and so did many others in *Israel* and *Samaria*. 'And whereas it was said, That the fact was extraordinary; I say, It had the ground of God's ordinary 'judgment, which commandeth the Idolater to die the 'death; and therefore I yet again affirm, it is to be imitated of all those that prefer the true honour of the true 'Worship and Glory of God, to the affection of flesh 'and wicked Princes. We are not bound, said *Lethington*, to follow extraordinary examples, unless we have 'the like Commandment and Assurance. I grant, said 'the other, if the example repugne to the Law, but

'where

'where the example agrees with the Law, and is, as it 'were, the execution of God's judgment expressed with- 'in the same; I say, That the example approved of God, 'stands to us in place of a Commandment; for as God, 'in his Nature, is constant and immutable, so cannot 'he condemn, in the ages subsequent, that which he 'hath approved in his servants before us.' Then he brings another Argument from *Amaziah* who fled to *Lachish*, but the people sent thither and slew him there. *Lethington* doubted whether they did well or not: He answered, 'Where I find execution according to God's 'Law, and God himself not accuse the doers, I dare 'not doubt of the equity of their Cause: And it ap- 'pears, God gave them sufficient evidence of his approv- 'ing the fact, for he blessed them with peace and pro- 'sperity. But prosperity does not always prove that 'God approves the fact: Yes, when the acts of men a- 'gree with the Law, and are rewarded according to 'the promise in that Law, then the prosperity succeed- 'ing the fact is a most infallible assurance that God hath 'approved it; but so it is, that there is a promise of 'lengthening out prosperity to them that destroy Idola- 'try. And again, concluding *Uzziahs* example, he says 'there, The people ought to execute God's Law, even 'against their Princes, when that their open crimes, by 'God's Law, deserve punishment; especially when 'they are such as may infect the rest of the multitude.'

V. There is another thing for which people have suffered much in our day of blasphemy, rebuke and trouble, which yet we find was not so odious in our Reformers eyes as this dull and degenerate age would represent it. That in some cases it is lawful and laudable for private persons, touched with the zeal of God and love to their country, and respect to justice trampled upon by Tyrants, to put forth their hand to execute righteous judgment upon the enemies of God and mankind, intolerable Traitors, Murderers, Idolaters; when the ruin of the Country, destruction of religion and liberty, and the wrath of God is threatened, in and for the impunity of that vermin of villains, and may be averted by their destruction, always supposed, that these, whose office it is to do it,

decline

decline their duty. The mind of our Reformers as to this is manifeſt, both in their practice and opinion. We heard before of the ſlaughter of Cardinal *Beaton*, and of the fidler *Rizio*: we ſhall find both commended by Mr. *Knox*, giving account how theſe that were carried captives to *France* for this cauſe from *St. Andrew's* were delivered. "This (ſaith he) we write, to let the poſteri-"ty to come to underſtand, how potently God wrought "in preſerving and delivering of thoſe that had but a "ſmall knowledge of his truth, and for the love of the "ſame hazarded all; that if we in our days, or our po-"ſterity that ſhall follow, ſhall ſee a diſperſion of ſuch "as oppoſe themſelves to impiety, or take upon them to "puniſh the ſame otherwiſe than laws of men will per-"mit, if ſuch ſhall be left of men, yea as it were deſpiſed "and puniſhed of God: yet let us not damn the perſons "that puniſh vice, (and that for juſt cauſe), nor yet de-"ſpair, but that the ſame God that dejects will raiſe up a-"gain the perſons dejected, to his glory and their com"fort: and to let the world underſtand in plain terms what "we mean; that great abuſers of this Commonwealth, "that Pultron and vile Knave *Davie* was juſtly puniſhed, "*March* 9. 1565, by the Counſel and hands of *James* "*Douglas* Earl of *Morton*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindſay*, *&c.* "who, for their juſt act, and moſt worthy of all praiſe, "are now unworthily left of all their Brethren." This is not only commended by the Author alone, but we find it concluded by all the Brethren at that time, when the Queen brought in the Idol of the Maſs again, and the proud Papiſts began to avow it: then let it be marked that, "The Brethren univerſally offended, and "eſpying that the Queen by Proclamation did but de-"lude them, determined to put to their own hands, "and to puniſh for example of others; and ſo ſome "Prieſts in the *Weſt* Land were apprehended, Intimation "was made to others, as to the Abbot of *Coſragnel*, the "Parſon of *Sanquhar*, and ſuch, that they ſhould nei-"ther complain to the Queen nor Council, but ſhould "execute the puniſhment that God has appointed to I-"dolaters in his Law, by ſuch means as they might, "where-ever they ſhould be apprehended." Upon this the

the Queen sent for Mr. *Knox*, and dealt with him earnestly, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people not to put hand to punish. He perceiving her craft, willed her Majesty to punish malefactors according to law, and he durst promise quietness, upon the part of all them that professed Christ within *Scotland*; but if her Majesty thought to delude the laws, he feared some would let the Papists understand, that without punishment they should not be suffered so manifestly to offend God's Majesty. Will ye (quoth she) allow they shall take my sword in their hand? "The Sword of Justice (said he) "Madam, is God's, and is given to Princes and Rulers "for one end; which, if they transgress, sparing the "wicked, and oppressing the innocents, they that in the "fear of God execute judgment, where God hath commanded, offend not God, although Kings do it not: "the examples are evident, for *Samuel* spared not to "slay *Agag* the fat and delicate King of *Amalek*, whom "King *Saul* had saved; neither spared *Elias Jezabel's* "false Prophets, and *Baal's* Priests, albeit that King *A-*"*hab* was present; *Phineas* was no Magistrate, and yet "feared he not to strike *Zimri* and *Cozbi* in the very act "of filthy fornication; and so, Madam, your Majesty "may see that others than Magistrates may lawfully pu-"nish, and have punished the vice and crimes that God "commands to be punished." He proved it also at more "length in his *Appellation*, from *Deut.* 13. *If thy Brother solicite thee secretly, saying, Let us go serve other Gods, consent not to him, let not thine eye spare him, but kill him; let thy hand be first upon him, and afterward the hand of the whole people.* Of these words of *Moses*, two things appertaining to our purpose are to be noted: "The first is, "that such as solicitate only to Idolatry ought to be pu-"nished to death, without favour or respect of person; "for he that will not suffer man to spare his son, wife, "*&c.* will not wink at the Idolatry of others, of what "state or condition soever they be: it is not unknown "that the Prophets had Revelations of God, which "were not common to the people; now, if any man "might have claimed any privilege from the rigour of "the law, or might have justified his fact, it should

"have

" have been the Prophet, but God commands, that the
" Prophet that shall so solicitate the people to serve
" strange gods, shall die the death, notwithstanding
" that he alledge for himself, dream, vision, or Reve-
" lation, because he teacheth Apostasy from God: here-
" by it may be seen, that none, provoking the people to
" Idolatry, ought to be exempted from the punishment
" of death. Evident it is, that no state, condition, nor
" honour can exempt the Idolater from the hands of God,
" when he shall call him to an account: how shall it then
" excuse the people, that they, according to God's com-
" mand, punish not to death such as shall solicitate or
" violently draw the people to Idolatry? The second is,
" that the punishment of such crimes, as Idolatry, Blas-
" phemy, and others that touch the Majesty of God,
" doth not appertain to Kings and chief Rulers only,
" but also to the whole body of the people, and to every
" Member of the same, according to the vocation of e-
" very man, and according to that possibility and occasion
" which God doth minister, to revenge the injury done
" against his Glory: and that doth *Moses* more plainly
" speak in these words of the same chapter, *If in any ci-*
" *ty which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt hear this*
" *bruit, there are some men sons of Belial.* —— Plain it
" is, that *Moses* speaks not, nor giveth charge to Kings,
" Rulers, and Judges only; but he commands the whole
" body of the people, yea and every member of the
" same, according to their possibility. And who dare
" be so impudent as to deny this to be most reasonable
" and just? For seeing God had delivered the whole
" body from bondage, and to the whole multitude had
" given his Law, and to the twelve Tribes had distribu-
" ted the Land of *Canaan*; was not the whole and every
" member addebted to confess the benefits of God, and
" to study to keep the possession received? which they
" could not do, except they kept the Religion establish-
" ed, and put out iniquity from amongst them. To the
" carnal man this may seem to be a rigorous and severe
" judgment, that even the Infants there should be ap-
" pointed to the cruel death: and as concerning the Ci-
" ty, and spoil of the same, man's reason cannot think

" but

" but that it might have been better bestowed, than to " be consumed. But in such cases, let all creatures stoop, " and desist from reasoning, when Commandment is " given to execute his Judgment. I will search no o- " ther reasons, than the Holy Ghost hath assigned; first, " That all *Israel* should *fear to commit the like abominati-* " *on*; and, secondly, *That the Lord might turn from the* " *fury of his anger*: which plainly doth signify, that, by " the defection and Idolatry of a few, God's wrath is " kindled against the whole, which is never quenched, " till such punishment be taken upon the offenders, that " whatsoever served them in their Idolatry be brought " to destruction, &c. I have inlarged so far upon this " Period, that it may appear, there is nothing now in controversy, between the suffering and reproached party now in *Scotland*, and either their friends or enemies, which could fall under our Reformers inquiry; but they have declared themselves of the same sentiments that are now so much opposed: and therefore none can condemn the present heads of suffering, except also they condemn the Reformers judgment; and consequently the imputation of novelty must fall.

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# PERIOD IV.

## *Containing the Testimony of the first Contenders against Prelacy and Supremacy, from the Year* 1570, *to* 1638.

HItherto the Conflict was for the Concerns of Christ's *Prophetical* and *Priestly* Office, against *Paganism* and *Popery*. But from the Year 1570, and downward, the Testimony is stated, and gradually prosecuted for the Rights, Privileges and Prerogatives of Christ's *Kingly* Office; which hath been the peculiar Glory of the Church of *Scotland*, above all the Churches in the Earth, that this hath been given to her as the word of her Testimony; and not only consequentially and reductively, as all other Churches may challenge a part of this dignity, but for-

formally and explicitely to contend for this very Head, *The Headship and Kingship of Jesus Christ*, the Prince of the Kings of the Earth, and his Mediatory *Supremacy* over his own Kingdom of Grace, both visible and invisible. This is Christ's Supremacy, a special radiant Jewel of his imperial Crown, which, as it hath been as explicitely encroached upon in *Scotland*, by his insolent Enemies, as ever by any that enter'd in opposition to him; so it hath been more expressly witnessed and wrestled for, by his suffering Servants in that Land, than in any place of the world. This was in a particular manner the Testimony of that *Period*, during the Reign of King *James* the 6th; as it hath been in a great measure in our day, since the year 1660. Which as it is the most important cause, of the greatest consequence that mortals can contend for; so it hath this peculiar glory in it, that it is not only for the truth of Christ, of greater value than the standing of Heaven and Earth, but also it is the very Truth for which Christ himself died, considered as a *Martyr*; and which concerns him to vindicate and maintain as a *Monarch*. The Witnesses of that day made such an high account of it, that they encouraged one another to suffer for it, as the greatest concern; "being a Witness for Christ's glorious and free "Monarchy, which, as it is the end of the other two "offices, so the Testimony is more glorious to God, "more honourable to his Son, and more comfortable to "them, than the Testimony either for his Prophetical "office, or for his Priesthood, because his Kingdom "was specially impugned at the time;" as Mr. *Forbes* and Mr. *Welch* wrote in a Letter to the Ministers at Court. The corruptions and usurpations wronging this Truth, that they contended against, were *Prelacy* and the King's *Supremacy* in Ecclesiastical matters; which will be useful to hint a little, how they prosecuted the Conflict. When Satan (whose kingdom was then declining) by several instruments and means, both by force and fraud, did endeavour to put a stop to the Reformation, by re-introducing the Antichristian Hierarchy of *Prelacy*, when he could not re-establish the Antichristian doctrine of Popery; he left no means unessayed to effectuate

effectuate it. And first he began to bring the name *Bishop* in request, that was now growing obsolete and odious, by reason of the abuse of it (as it ought to be still; for though the name be found in the Scriptures, yet neither is that Catechrestical application of it to Prelates to be found, nor was there any other reason for the translation of it after that manner, except it were to please Princes; seeing the native signification of it is *an Overseer*, proper and common to all faithful Pastors). And indeed his first essay reached little further than the bare name, for they were to be rejected to, and tried by Assemblies, and hardly had so much power as Superintendents before. But it was a fine Court-juggle for Noblemen to get the Church-revenues into their hands, by restoring the Ecclesiastical Titles, and obtaining from the Titulars either temporal Lands, or Pensions to their Dependers; so they were only *Tulchan* Bishops, a Calf-skin to cause the Cow give milk. Yet, though this in our day would have been thought tolerable; the faithful Servants of Christ did zealously oppose it. Mr. *Knox* denounced *Anathema* to the Giver, and *Anathema* to the Receiver. And the following Assembly condemned the office itself, "as having no sure warrant, authority, nor ground in the "Book of God, but brought in by the folly and corruption of mens invention, to the overthrow of the "Church; and ordained all that bruiked the office, to "demit *simpliciter*, and to desist and cease from preaching, while they received *de novo* admission from the "General Assembly, under the pain of excommunication." Hereby they were awakned and animated to a more vigorous Prosecution of the establishment of the House of God in its due Government. In pursuance whereof, the Assemblies from that time, until the year 1581, did with much painfulness and faithfulness attend the work; until, by perfecting of the *Second Book of Discipline*, they compleated their work, in the exact Model of *Presbyterial Government*, in all its Courts and Officers; which was confirmed and covenanted to be kept inviolate, in the *National Covenant*, subscribed that year by the King, his Court and Council; and afterwards by all ranks of People in the Land. Whence it may be doubted, whether

ther the impudence of the succeeding Prelates, that denied this, or their perjury in breaking of it, be greater. This was but the first brush. A brisker assault follows; wherein, for the better establishment of Prelacy, that what it wants of Divine Right, might be supplied by the accession of human Prerogative, and not only *Diocesan* but also *Erastian* Prelacy might be set up, to destroy Christ's Kingdom, and advance Satan's; the Earl of *Arran*, and his wicked Complices move the King, contrary both to the Word and Oath of God, to usurp the Prerogative of Jesus Christ, and assume to himself a blasphemous Monster of *Supremacy, over all Persons, and in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil.* But this also the faithful Servants of God did worthily and valiantly resist; and at the very first appearance of it, gave in a Grievance to the King in the year 1582, "That he had "taken upon him a spiritual Power, which properly "belongs to Christ, as only King and Head of the "Church; the Ministry and Execution whereof is only "given to such as bear office in the Ecclesiastical Government in the same: so that in the King's Person, some "men press to erect a new *Popedom*, as though he could "not be full King of this Commonwealth, unless as "well the spiritual as temporal Sword be put in his "hand, unless Christ be reft of his Authority, and the "two Jurisdictions confounded, which God hath di-"vided, which directly tendeth to the wreck of all true "Religion." Which being presented by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, the Earl of *Arran* asked with a frowning Countenance, Who dare subscribe these treasonable Articles? Mr. *Andrew Melvin* answered, we dare, and will subscribe, and render our Lives in the Cause. And afterward, that same Assembly presented Articles, shewing, 'That seeing the spiritual Ju-'risdiction of the Church is granted by Christ, and 'given only to them, that by preaching, teaching, and 'overseeing, bear Office within the same, to be exer-'cised, not by the injunctions of men, but by the only 'Rule of God's word. —— Hereafter, no other of what-'soever degree, or under whatsoever pretence, have any 'colour to ascribe, or to take upon them any part thereof, 'either

'either in placing or displacing of Ministers, without 'the Church's Admission, or in stopping the mouths of 'Preachers, or putting them to silence, or take upon 'them the judgment of trial of Doctrine, *&c.*" But in contempt and contradiction to this, and to prosecute and exert this new usurped Power, Mr. *Andrew Melvin* was summoned before the secret Council, for a Sermon of his, applying his doctrine to the Times Corruptions; whereupon he gave in his declinature against them, as incompetent Judges, and told them, 'They were too bold, in 'a constitute Christian Church, to pass by the Pastors, 'Prophets and Doctors, and to take upon them to judge 'the Doctrine, and to controul the Ambassadors of a 'Greater than was there, which they neither ought nor 'can do. There are (saith he, loosing a little Hebrew 'Bible from his girdle) my Instructions and Warrant: 'see if any of you can controul me, that I have past my 'injunctions." For this he was decerned to be warded in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; but he being informed, that if he enter'd in ward, he would not be released, unless it were for the Scaffold, he conveyed himself secretly out of the Country. Hereafter when the Parliament 1584 had enacted this Supremacy, and submission to Prelacy, to be subscribed by all Ministers; the faithful first directed Mr. *David Lindsay* to the King, desiring, that nothing be done in Parliament prejudicial to the Church's liberty, who got the Prison of *Blackness* for his pains. And then when they could not get access for shut doors to protest before the Parliament; yet when the Acts were proclaimed at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, they took publick Documents in name of the Church of *Scotland* (though they were but two) that they protested against the said Acts, and fled to *England*, leaving behind them reasons that moved them to do so. And Mr. *James Melvin* wrote against the subscribers at that time very pertinently; proving first, 'That they had not only set 'up a new *Pope*, and so become Traitors to Christ; and 'condescended to that chief error of Papistry, whereupon 'all the rest depend; but further, in so doing, they 'had granted more to the King, than ever the Popes of '*Rome* peaceably obtained, *&c.*" And in the end, as

for

for those that lamented their own weakness and feebleness, he adviseth them, to remove the publick slander, 'by going boldly to the King and Lords, and shew them 'how they had fallen through weakness, but by God's 'power are risen again; and there by publick note and 'witness taken, free themselves from that subscription, 'and to will the same to be delete, renouncing and de-'testing it plainly, and thereafter publickly in their Ser-'mons; and by their Declaration and Retractation in writ, 'presented to the faithful, manifest the same, let them 'do with stipend, benefice, and Life itself, what they 'list.' This I insert, because this Counsel is now condemned; and when poor people, offended with Ministers subscriptions of Bonds and other Compliances, desire acknowledgments of the offence, they reject it as an impertinent imposition, and plead they are not obliged to manifest any retractation but to an Ecclesiastical Judicatory. To which I shall say nothing here, but this is no novelty. After this, it is known what bickerings the faithful Witnesses of Christ had, in their Conflicts with this Supremacy, upon the account of Mr. *David Black*'s Declinature, which they both advised him to, and approved when he gave it in, against the King and Council, as Judges of his Doctrine. And the Commissioners of the General Assembly ordained all, to deal mightily with the power of the Word, against the Council's encroachments; for which they were charged to depart forth of *Edinburgh*. After which he added a second Declinature: 'Declaring, there are two Jurisdictions in 'this Realm; the one Spiritual, the other Civil; the 'one respecting the Conscience, the other externals, *&c.* '———Therefore, in so far as he was one of the spiri-'tual Office-bearers, and had discharged his spiritual 'Calling in some measure of grace and sincerity, should 'not, nor could not be lawfully judged for preaching and 'applying the word, by any Civil Power; he being an 'Ambassador and Messenger of the Lord Jesus, having 'his Commission from the King of Kings, and all his 'instructions set down and limited in the Book of God, 'that cannot be extended, abridged, or altered by any 'mortal Wight, King or Emperor; and seeing he was 'sent

'sent to all Sorts, his Commission and Discharge of it 'should not, nor cannot be lawfully judged by them to 'whom he was sent; they being Sheep, and not Pastors, 'to be judged by the Word, and not to be Judges there-'of in a judicial way.' The *Interlocutor* being past against him for this, the Brethren thought it duty, that the Doctrine of the Preachers should be directed against the said *Interlocutor*, as against a strong and mighty hold set up against the Lord Jesus, and the freedom of the Gospel; and praised God for the force and unity of the Spirit that was among themselves. And being charged to depart out of Town, they leave a faithful Declaration at large, shewing how the Liberties of the Church were invaded and robbed. But all this was nothing, in comparison of their wrestlings for the Royalties of their Princely Master, and Privileges of his Kingdom, against that Tyrant's Insolencies, after he obtained the Crown of *England*; for then he would not suffer the Church to indict her own Assemblies. And when the faithful thought themselves obliged to counteract his Encroachments, and therefore conveened in an Assembly at *Aberdeen* in the year 1605, they were forced to dissolve, and thereafter, the most eminent of the Ministers there assembled were transported Prisoners to *Blackness*: whence being cited before the Council, they decline their Judicatory. And one of their Brethren, Mr. *Robert Youngson*, who had formerly succumbed, being moved in Conscience, returned; and when the rest were standing before the Council, desired to be heard, and acknowledged his fault; and therefore, howbeit not summoned by the Lords, was charged by the living God, and compelled to compear that day, to justify that Assembly, to the great astonishment of the Lords, and comfort of his Brethren; he subscribed the Declinature with the rest: and for this they were arraigned, and condemned, as guilty of Treason, and banished. Before the execution of which sentence, Mr. *Welch* wrote to the Lady *Fleming*, to this effect: 'What am I, that he should first have called me, 'and then constituted me a Minister of glad things of the 'Gospel of Salvation, these fifteen years already, and 'now last of all to be a sufferer for his Cause and King-'dom?

'dom? To witness that good Confession, that Jesus 'Christ is the King of Saints, and that his Church is a 'most free Kingdom; yea, as free as any Kingdom un- 'der Heaven, not only to convocate, hold and keep her 'Meetings, Conventions and Assemblies; but also to 'judge of all her affairs in all her Meetings and Conven- 'tions among his Members and Subjects. These two 'points, (1.) That Christ is the Head of his Church. '(2.) That she is free in her Government from all other 'jurisdiction except Christ's, are the special Cause of our 'imprisonment, being now convict as Traitors, for 'maintaining thereof. We have now been waiting with 'joyfulness to give the last Testimony of our blood in 'confirmation thereof, if it would please our God to be 'so favourable, as to honour us with that dignity.' After this, the King resolving by Parliament to advance the estate of Bishops again, as in the time of Popery, with- out Cautions as before; and further to establish not only that Antichristian Hierarchy, but an Erastian Supremacy: the faithful Ministers of Christ thought themselves bound in Conscience to protest; and accordingly they of- fered a faithful Protestation to the Parliament *July* —— 1606, obtesting, 'That they would reserve into the 'Lord's own Hands, that Glory which he will commu- 'nicate neither with Man nor Angel, to wit, to prescribe 'from his holy Mountain a lively pattern, according to 'which his own Tabernacle should be formed: remem- 'bring always, that there is no absolute and undoubted 'Authority in this world, except the sovereign Authori- 'ty of Christ the King; to whom it belongeth as pro- 'perly to rule the Church, according to the good plea- 'sure of his own will, as it belongeth to him to save his 'Church by the Merit of his own Sufferings: All other 'authority is so intrenched within the marches of Divine 'Command, that the least overpassing of the bounds, set 'by God himself, bring men under the fearful expecta- 'tion of temporal and eternal judgment.--- -If ye should 'authorize Bishops, ye should bring into the Church the 'ordinance of man, which experience hath found to have 'been the ground of that Antichristian Hierarchy, which 'mounted up on the steps of Bishops pre-eminence, un-

'til that man of sin came forth, as the ripe fruit of man's 'wisdom, whom God shall consume with the breath of 'his own Mouth. Let the sword of God pierce that 'belly, which brought forth such a monster; and let the 'staff of God crush that Egg, which hath hatched such a 'Cockatrice: and let not only that *Roman* Antichrist be 'thrown down from the high bench of his usurped au-'thority, but also let all the steps, whereby he mounted 'up to that unlawful pre-eminence, be cut down and ut-'terly abolished in this Land: and beware to strive a-'gainst God with an open displayed banner, by building 'up again the walls of *Jericho*, which the Lord hath not 'only cast down, but also hath laid them under an hor-'rible interdiction and execration; so that the building 'of them again must needs stand to greater charges to 'the builders, than the re-edifying of *Jericho*, to *Hiel* the '*Bethelite* in the days of *Ahab*.' Yet notwithstanding of all opposition, Prelacy was again restored in Parliament. And to bring all to a Compliance with the same, Presbyteries and Synods universally charged, under highest pains, to admit a *constant Moderator* without change; which many refused resolutely, as being the first step of Prelacy. Upon this followed a great Persecution of the faithful, for their *Non-conformity*, managed by that mongrel and monstrous kind of Court, made up of Clergymen and Statesmen, called *The High Commission Court*, erected in the year 1610, whereby many honest men were put violently from their charges and habitations; the generality were involved in a great and fearful Defection. But the Cope-stone of the wickedness of that *Period*, was the Ratification of the *five Articles of* Perth, *kneeling at the Communion*; *private Communion to be given to the sick*; *private Baptism*; and *Confirmation of Children by the Bishop*; and *Observation of festival Days*: which were much opposed and testified against by the faithful, from their first hatching in the year 1618, to the year 1621, when they were ratified in Parliament; at what time they were also witnessed against from Heaven, by extraordinary Lightnings and Tempests. And against this the Testimony of the faithful continued, till the Revolution in the year 1638. Here we see how the Cause was stated in this

this *Period*; and may gather also; wherein it agrees; and how far it differs from the present Testimony, now suffered for under all rage and reproach.

I. The matter of the Testimony was one with that that we are suffering for, against Popery, Prelacy and Supremacy; except that it was not so far extended against *Tyranny*, because that Tyrant was not such an usurper, nor such a Violater of the fundamental constitutions of the Civil Government, as these that we have had to do withal. But as to the managing the Testimony; they far outstripped their successors in this generation, in conduct and courage, prudence and zeal, as is above hinted in many instances; to which we may add some more. When several Plots of Papist Lords had been discovered, conspiring with the King of *Spain*, and they were by the King's indulgence favoured, and some were also perswaded to treat with them, famous Mr. *Davidson* opposed with great Resolution; declaring before the Synod of *Lothian*, 'That 'it savoured much of defection in these days, that such 'notorious rebels to God, his Church, and the Country, 'should be so treated with; we should not rashly open a 'door to God's Enemies, without better proof of their 'manners nor were yet seen.' And when a Convention in *Falkland* was consulting to call home these conspiring Traitors, Mr. *Andrew Melvin* went thither uncalled; and when found fault with by the King for his boldness, he answered, 'Sir, I have a Call to come here from Christ 'and his Church, who have special Interest in this Turn, 'and against whom this Convention is assembled directly: 'I charge you, and your Estates, in the Name of Christ 'and his Church, that ye favour not his Enemies whom he 'hateth, nor go about to call home, nor make Citizens 'of these, who have traiterously sought to betray their 'City and native Country, with the overthrow of Christ's 'Kingdom.' And further challenged them of *Treason against Christ*, his Church and the Country, in that purpose they were about. About the same time, in a private Conference with the King, he calls the King *God's silly Vassal*; and taking him by the sleeve, told him, 'Sir, 'you, and Church and Country is like to be wrecked for 'not telling the Truth, and giving you faithful Counsel;

'we must discharge our duty, or else be Enemies to 'Christ and you: therefore I must tell you, there are 'two Kings and two Kingdoms; there is Christ and 'his Kingdom, whose Subject King *James* VI is, and 'of whose Kingdom he is not a King, nor a Head, nor 'a Lord, but a Member; and they whom Christ hath 'called to watch over and govern his Church, have suf-'ficient Authority and Power from him, which no Chri-'stian King should controul, but assist, otherwise they 'are not faithful Subjects to Christ. Sir, when you were 'in your swaddling clouts, Christ reigned freely in this 'Land, in spight of all his Enemies; but now the wis-'dom of your Council, which is deviliſh and pernicious, 'is this, that you may be served of all sorts of men to 'your purpose and grandeur, *Jew* and Gentile, Papist 'and Protestant, because the Ministers and Protestants in '*Scotland* are too strong, and controul the King, they 'must be weakened and brought low, by stirring up a 'party against them; and the King being equal and in-'different, both shall be fain to flee to him, so shall he 'be well settled: but, Sir, let God's wisdom be the 'only wisdom, this will prove meer and mad folly; for 'his curse cannot but light upon it; so that in seeking 'both, you shall lose both.' To the like effect Mr. *Robert Bruce*, in a Sermon upon *Psal* li. gives faithful warning of the danger of the times. 'It is not we (says 'he) that are Party in this Cause; no, the quarrel is be-'twixt a greater Prince and them. What are we, but sil-'ly men? Yet it has pleased him to set us in this Of-'fice, that we should oppone to the manifest usurpation 'that is made upon his spiritual Kingdom. Is there a 'more forcible mean to draw down the wrath of God, 'than to let *Barabbas* that nobilitate Malefactor pass free, 'and to begin the war against Christ and his Ministry. 'It putteth on the Cope-stone, that so many of our bre-'thren should not be so faithful, as their Calling and this 'Cause craveth. Fy upon false brethren, to see them 'dumb, so faint-hearted, when it comes to the Shock; 'not only are they ashamed to speak the thing they think, 'which is a Shame in a Pastor, but speak directly against 'their former Doctrine. They will speak the Truth a

'while

'while, till they be put at, but incontinent they will 'turn, and make their gifts weapons to fight against 'Christ; for there is none so malicious as an Apostate, 'when he begins to slide back, *&c.*' The same faithful witness, because he would not preach as the King would have him, against his own conscience, to justify and proclaim the King's Innocency, in a forged Conspiracy against him, was put from his Church in *Edinburgh*; and being requested in an insinuating manner to desist from preaching but for nine or ten days; he condescended at first, thinking the matter of no great importance; yet that night his body was cast in a fever, with the terror of his conscience, and he promised he should never obey their Commandment any more. These were faithful men, yet we find they challenge themselves, in deep humiliation, for their short-comings and defections. At the renovation of the National Covenant, *March* 30th, 1596, was the greatest Solemnity ever had been seen in *Scotland* before that time; so that the place might worthily have been called *Bochim*. O when shall we see such a day, when even the most faithful among us, shall mourn over our far more aggravated defections! but if they mourned then for these first degrees of Declensions; we may say, *How heavily would these valiant Men groan, who formerly contended so stoutly for the Liberty of the Church of* Scotland, *if they beheld this our Laziness* (*that I may call it by no worse Name*!) I know notwithstanding of all this, that some encourage themselves in a base Compliance with the present corruptions of our Church, from the practice of these Worthies; alledging, they did not scruple to hear and join with Prelatical Men, dispensing the Ordinances. But this Objection will be easily refelled, if we consider, first, the *Period* wherein they were but growing up to a more perfect Reformation, and therefore might bear with many things which we cannot, after we have been reformed from them: they were then advancing, and still gaining ground, we are now declining, and therefore should be more shy to lose what we have gained. They had then of a long time enjoyed their Judicatories, unto which they might recur for an orderly redress of such Grievances that offended them; and when

they were deprived of them, yet they were still in hopes of recovering them; and so suspended their total secession from that corrupt Church, until they should recover them; in the mean time still holding their Right, and maintaining their cause against these Invaders. But we were, at the very first beginning of this unhappy Revolution, totally deprived of our Judicatories, and denuded of all expectation of them in an ordinary way, and of all place, but what they are Masters of to contend with them that way; therefore must keep our selves free of their Communion. But next, if we consider their practice, we shall find these Worthies were not such *Conformists*, as our Complyers would make them. What if we find among them *Meetings*, that were called and counted as Seditious and Schismatick, as ours are now? We find a *field Meeting*, yea, a General Assembly, at *Dumfermling*, without and against the King's warrant, when the ports were shut against them, in the 1585. But that is not so pat to the purpose, as that we find *Private Meetings* at *Edinburgh*, and that in the very time of publick Service in the Churches, discharged by open Proclamation, in the 1624. wherein it is charged, that they had no respect to the ordinary Pastors, contemned and impugned their Doctrine, disobeyed and controlled their Discipline, abstained to hear the Word preached, and to participate of the Sacraments. And long before that, we find the sincerer Sort scrupled to hear Bishop *Adamson*, notwithstanding that he was absolved in the Assembly. And that afterwards, the doubt being proponed to the Assembly, if it be a slander to a Christian, to absent himself from the Sermons of them that are suspended from all function in the Ministry? The Assembly answered, there is no slander in the case, but rather it is slanderous to resort. And why is not this ground to think it slanderous, or scandalous to resort to them, who deserve to be suspended (all of them by a spiritual cognizance, and some of them to be *suspended* corporally for their villany) when there can be no access orderly to do it. And the rather, because we find in this Period, that sometimes Ministers were so faithful and zealous against the Corruptions of the Ministry, that they deemed Ministers

nisters to be suspended for far smaller faults, than many now could exempt themselves from, *viz.* if they were not powerful and spiritual; if they did not apply their Doctrine to corruptions; if they were obscure and too scholastick before the people; cold and wanting zeal, flatterers, dissembling at publick sins for flattery or fear, *&c.* As we may read in the *Advice of the Brethren, deputed for penning the Corruptions in the Ministry*, in the 1596. I wish our silent prudent Ministers now would consider the justness of this Censure, and what ground people have to be offended at such censurableness. But not only this may answer the false imputation of conformity on these Witnesses of Christ at that time; but I shall set down a part of a letter of one of the banished Ministers at that time, discovering his mind about *hearing* these men, that were then serving the times. Mr. *John Welch*, writing to Mr. *Robert Bruce*, ——— 'What my 'mind is concerning the root of these branches, the bearer will shew you more fully. They are no more to 'be counted Orthodox, but Apostates; they have fallen 'from their callings, by receiving an Antichristian, and 'bringing in of Idolatry, to make the Kingdom culpable, and to expose it to fearful judgments, for such an 'high perfidy against an Oath so solemnly enacted and 'given; and are no more to be counted Christians, but 'strangers, Apostates, and Persecuters; and therefore '*not to be heard any more*, either in publick, or in Consistories, Colleges, or Synods; for what fellowship hath 'light with darkness?" We see then as to that part of the Testimony, they were not dissonant to the Witness of the present reproached sufferers.

II. As the matter and manner of their Testimony against all the invaders of the Churches privileges, did speak forth a great deal of sincere and pure zeal; so their *practice* was conform, shewing forth a great deal of strictness, and averseness from all sinful Compliances, even with things that would be now accounted of very minute and inconsiderable consequence, and for which honest sufferers now are flouted at as fools. When that Oath was formed for acknowledging the Supremacy, there was a Clause added which might have been thought to salve

salve the matter, *according to the Word of God.* I fear many now would not stand to subscribe, with such a qualification. Yet the faithful then perceived the Sophistry, that it made it rather worse, affirming that that brat of Hell was according to the word of God: and therefore, though there were several eminent men to persuade them to it, both by advice and example, yet they could not, in conscience, comply; and pleaded also from the illegality of that imposition, that they should be charged with the subscription of Laws, a thing never required before of any subject; if they offended against the Laws, why might they not be punished according to the Laws? When many honest faithful Patriots, for their attempt at *Ruthven* to deliver the Country from a vermine of Villains that abused the King, to the destruction of the Church and Kingdom, were charged to crave *Pardon*, and take remission; they would do neither, judging it a base condemning of duty; which puts a brand upon our sneaking Supplicators, and Petitioners, and Pardon-mongers, as unworthy to be called the race of such Worthies, who scorned such baseness, and choosed rather to endure the extremity of their unjust Sentences of intercommuning and banishment, *&c.* And when the Earl of *Gowrie* accepted of a remission, he afterwards condemned himself for it, and desired that his old friends would accept of his friendship, to whom he had made himself justly suspected. Mr. *Black*, when he had the same favour offered to him, refused altogether, lest so doing he should condemn himself, and approve the Courts proceedings: and the Brethren, conferring with the Counsellers, craving that some penalty should be condescended unto for satisfying his Majesty in his honour, would not condescend to any how light soever; lest thereby they should seem to approve the Judicatory and their proceedings. The imprisoned Ministers, for declining the Council, had it in their offer, that if they would, without any confession of offence, only submit themselves to his Majesty, *for scandal received, not given*, they should be restored to their places: but it pleased God so to strengthen them, that they stopped their mouths, and convinced them in their Consciences, that they could not

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do it without betraying of the cauſe of Chriſt. Again, in another caſe, we have inſtances of ſuch ſtrictneſs, as is much ſcorned now a-days. The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* were committed to Ward, for refuſing to pray for the Queen, before her execution in *Fotheringham* Caſtle 1586. they refuſed not ſimply to pray for her, but for the preſervation of her life, as if ſhe had been innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, which had imported a condemnation of the proceedings againſt her. Afterwards, in the year 1600. the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* would not praiſe God for the delivery of the King from a pretended conſpiracy of the Earl of *Gowrie* at that time, of which they had no credit nor aſſurance; and would not crave pardon for it neither. For this Mr. *Robert Bruce* was deprived of the exerciſe of his Miniſtry, and never obtained it again in *Edinburgh*: but now, for refuſing ſuch compelled and impoſed dovotion, to pray or praiſe for the King, poor people are much condemned. I know it is alleadged, that theſe faithful ſufferers in thoſe days, were not ſo ſtrict as they are now, in ſubmitting to unjuſt ſentences, and obeying and keeping their confinements. I ſhall grant, there was much of this, and much might be tolerate in their circumſtances, when the Court's procedure againſt them was not ſo illegal, their authority was not ſo Tyrannical, nor ſo neceſſary to be diſowned, and they were ſo ſtated, that they were affraid to take guilt upon them, in making their eſcapes; whereas it is not ſo with us. Yet we find very faithful men broke their confinements; as Mr. *John Murray*, confined about *Dumfries*, perceiving there was no end of the Biſhop's malice, and that he would be in no worſe caſe than he was, he reſolved without licence, either of King or Council, to tranſport himſelf: ſo did alſo Mr. *Robert Bruce*.

III. For reſiſtence of ſuperior powers, we have in this Period, firſt the practice of ſome Noblemen at *Ruthven*, in the 1582. who took the King, and ſeized on that arrant Traitor, Enemy to the Church and Country, the Earl of *Arran*; declaring to the world the cauſes of it, the King's correſpondence with Papiſts, his uſurping the ſupremacy over the Church, and oppreſſing the Miniſters,

sters, all by means of his wicked Counsellers, whom therefore they removed from him. The King himself emitted a declaration allowing this deed. The General Assembly approved of it, and persuaded to a concurrence with it, and nothing was wanting to ratify it, as a most lawful and laudable action. At length the Fox escapes, and changes all, and retracts his former declaration. The Lords again rally, and interprise the taking of the Castle of *Stirling*, and gain it; but afterward surrender it: after which the Earl of *Gowrie* was executed, and Ministers are commanded to retract the approbation of *Ruthven* business, but they refused; and many were forced to flee to *England*, and the Lords were banished. But, in the year 1585, they return with more success, and take the Castle of *Stirling*. The cowardly King does again acknowledge and justify their enterprise, *that they needed no apology of words, weapons had spoken well enough, and gotten them audience to clear their own cause*: but his after carriage declared him as crafty and false, as he was cowardly and fearful. Again, we have the advice of the General Assembly, for resisting, when the Ministers were troubled upon Mr. *Black*'s business, and there was an intention to pull them out of their Pulpits: they advised them to stand to the discharge of their calling, if their flocks would save them from violence, and yet this violence was expected from the King and his Emissaries. As to that point then there can be no dispute.

IV. There was little occasion for the question about the King's authority in this Period, but generally all acknowledged it; because they were not sensible of his usurpation, and his cowardice made him incapable of attempting any thing that might raise commotions in civil things. Yet we remark, that whatsoever authority he usurped beyond his sphere, that was disowned and declined by all the faithful, as the Supremacy. Next that they resented, and represented very harshly, any aspiring to *Absoluteness*; as Mr. *Andrew Melvin* could give it no better name, nor entertain no better notion of it, than to term it, *The bloody Gully*, as he inveighs against it in the Assembly 1582. And next, in this same Period,

riod, we have a very good description of that authority, which the King himself allows not to be owned, which out of a King's mouth abundantly justifies the disowning of the present Tyranny: this same King *James*, in a speech to the Parliament, in the year 1609, saith, *A King degenerateth into a Tyrant, when he leaveth to rule by Law, much more when he beginneth to invade his subjects persons, Rights and Liberties, to set up an arbitrary Power, impose unlawful taxes, raise forces, make war upon his subjects, to pillage, plunder, waste, and spoil his Kingdoms.*

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# PERIOD V.

*Containing the Testimony for the last Reformation from Prelacy, in all its steps, from the year* 1638, *to* 1660.

THE following *Period*, from the year 1638 to 1660, continues and advances the Testimony, to the greatest height of purity and power, that either this Church, or any other did ever arrive unto, with a gradation, succession, and complication of wonders, of divine wisdom, power, justice, and mercy, signally and singularly owning and sealing it, to the confusion of his enemies, comfort of his people, conviction of indifferent neutrals, and consternation of all. Now after a long winter, and night of deadness and darkness, the sun returns with an amiable approach of light and life: now the winter was past, the rain was over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our Land. Now the second time, the Testimony comes to be managed in an *active* manner, as before it was *passive*: as the one hath been always observed to follow interchangeably upon the other, especially in *Scotland*, and the last always the greatest; which gives ground to hope, though it be now our turn to suffer, that when the summer comes again after this winter, and the day after this night, the next active Testimony shall be more notable

notable than any that went before. The matter of the Testimony was the same as before, for the concerns of Christ's *kingly* prerogative, but with some more increase as to its opposites; for these grew successively in every Period, the last always including all that went before. The first Period had *Gentilism* principally to deal with; the second *Popery*; the third *Popery* and *Tyranny*; the fourth *Prelacy* and *Supremacy*; this fifth hath all together, and *Sectarianism* also, to contend against. The former had always the opposites on one hand, but this hath them in extremes on both hands; both fighting against one another, and both fighting together against the Church of *Scotland*, and she against both, till at length one of her opposites prevailed, *viz.* the *Sectarian* Party, and that prevailing brought in the other, to wit, the *Malignant*, which now domineers over all together. Wherefore, because this Period is in it self of so great importance, the Revolutions therein emergent so eminent, the Reformation therein prosecuted wanting little of its perfect complement, the Deformation succeeding in its Deviation from the pattern being so destructive; to the end it may be seen from whence we have fallen, and whether or not the present reproached Sufferers have lost or left their ground, we must give a short deduction of the rise, progress, and end of the contendings of that Period.

In the midst of the forementioned miseries and mischiefs, that the pride of Prelacy and tyrannical Supremacy had multiplied beyond measure upon this Church and Nation, and at the height of all their haughtiness, when they were setting up their *Dagon*, and erecting Altars for him, imposing the *Service-Book*, and Book of *Canons*, &c. the Lord in mercy remembred his people, and surprised them with a sudden unexpected deliverance, by very despicable means; even the opposition of a few weak women, at the beginning of that contest, which, ere it was quashed, made the Tyrant tumble headless off his throne. The zeal against the *English Popish Ceremonies*, obtruded on *Edinburgh*, did first inflame some feminine hearts to witness their detestation of them; but afterwards was followed out with more masculine

fervor,

servor, accosting King and Council with Petitions, Remonstrances, Protestations and Testimonies against the Innovations, and resolving upon a mutual conjunction, to defend religion, lives and liberties, against all that would innovate or invade them. To fortify which, and conciliate the favour both of God and man in the Resolution, all the Lovers of God, and friends to the liberty of the nation, did solemnly renew the *National Covenant*, (wherein they were signally countenanced of the Lord), which, though in itself obliging to the condemnation of Prelatical *Hierarchy*, and clearly enough confirming Presbyterial government, yet they engaged into it with an inlargement, to suspend the practice of novations already introduced, and the approbation of the corruptions of the present government, with the late places and power of Church-men, till they be tried in a free General Assembly. Which was obtained that same year, and indicted at *Glasgow:* and there, notwithstanding all the opposition that the King's Commissioner could make, by Protestations and Proclamations to dissolve it, the six preceeding Assemblies establishing Prelacy were annulled, the *Service-Book*, and *High Commission* were condemned; all the *Bishops* were deposed, and their government declared to be abjured in that National Covenant; though many had, through the Commissioners persuasions, subscribed it in another sense without that application: as also the *five Articles of Perth* were there discovered to have been inconsistent with that Covenant and Confession, and the civil places and power of Church-men were disproved and rejected: on the other hand *Presbyterial Government* was justified and approved, and an act was passed for their keeping yearly General Assemblies. This was a bold beginning, into which they were animated with more than human resolution, against more than human opposition, Hell as well as the powers of the earth being set against them. But when the Lord gave the call, they considered not their own deadness, nor were daunted with discouragements, nor staggered at the promise through unbelief, but gave glory to God, out braving all difficulties. Which in the following year were much increased, by the

the Prelates and their Popish Partakers rendevouzing their Forces under the King's personal Standard, and menacing nothing but misery to the zealous Covenanters; yet when they found them prepared to resist, were forced to yield to a Pacification, concluding, that an Assembly and Parliament should be held, for healing all Grievances of Church and State. In which Assembly at *Edinburgh*, the Covenant is ratified and subscribed by the Earl of *Traquair* Commissioner, and enjoined to be subscribed by the body of the whole Land, with an explication, expresly condemning the five *Articles of Perth*, the Government of Bishops, the civil places and power of Churchmen: but the sons of *Belial* cannot be taken with hands, nor bound with bonds of faith, humanity, or honour; for in the year following, King and Prelates, with their Popish Abettors, go to arms again; but were fain to accommodate the matter by a new Pacification, whereby all Civil and Religious Liberties were ratified. And in the following year 1641, by Laws, Oaths, Promises, Subscriptions of King and Parliament, fully confirmed, the King, *Charles* I. being present, and consenting to all; though in the mean time he was treacherously encouraging the *Irish Murderers*, who by his Authority made a *Massacre* of many thousand innocent Protestants in *Ireland*. But in *Scotland* things went well, the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus was greatly advanced, the Gospel flourished, and the Glory of the Lord did shine upon us with such a splendour, that it awaked *England*, and animated the Lord's People there, then groaning under those Grievances from which *Scotland* was delivered, to aspire to the like Reformation. For advice in which, because though all agreed to cast off the yoke of *Prelacy*, yet sundry forms of Church-government were projected to be set up in the room thereof, chiefly the *Independent* Order, determining all Acts of Church-government, as Election, Ordination, and Deposition of Officers, with Admission, Excommunication, and Absolution of Members, to be done and decided by the voices of every particular Congregation, without any authoritative Concurrence or Interposition of any other, condemning all imperative and decisive power of Classes, *&c.* as a mere Usurpa-

Usurpation: Therefore the Brethren in *England* wrote to the Assembly then sitting at *Edinburgh*, who gave them answer, 'That they were grieved, that any of the godly 'ly should be found not agreeing with other Reformed 'Churches, in point of Government, as well as Doctrine; 'and that it was to be feared, where the Hedge of Discipline and Government is different, the Doctrine and 'Worship shall not long continue the same without 'change; That the Government of the Church, by compound Presbyteries and Synods, is a help and strength, 'and not a hindrance to particular Congregations and 'Elderships, in all the parts of Government; and are 'not an extrinsical Power set over particular Churches, 'but the intrinsical Power wherewith Christ hath invested his Officers, who may not exercise it independently, but with subordination unto Presbyteries, &c. which 'as they are representative of particular Churches, conjoined together in one under their Government; so 'their determination, when they proceed orderly, whether in Causes common to all, or brought before them 'by reference in case of aberration, is to the several 'Congregations authoritative, and not consultatory only. And this subordination is not only warranted by 'the Light of Nature, but grounded upon the Word of 'God, and conform to the Pattern of the Primitive and 'Apostolick Church, for the Preservation of Verity and 'Unity, against Schism, Heresy and Tyranny, which 'is the fruit of this Government wheresoever it hath 'place. So from henceforth the Assembly did incessantly urge *Uniformity* in Reformation with their Brethren in *England*, as the chiefest of their Desires, Prayers and Cares. And in the year 1643, prevailed so far, that the *English* Parliament did first desire, that the two Nations might be strictly united for their mutual Defence, against the Papists and Prelatical Faction, and their Adherents in both Kingdoms; and not to lay down Arms, till these implacable Enemies should be brought in subjection: and did instantly urge for help and assistance from *Scotland*. Which, being sent, did return with an Olive branch of peace, and not without some beginnings of a Reformation in *England*. And afterwards,

a bloody war beginning between the King and Parliament, with great success on the King's side, whence the Papists at the time got great advantage, (witness the cessation of arms concluded in *Ireland*), Commissioners were sent from both houses to *Scotland*, earnestly inviting to a nearer union of the kingdoms, and desiring assistance from this nation to their brethren in that their great distress. And this, by the good hand of God, produced the *solemn League and Covenant* of the three kingdoms, first drawn up in *Scotland*, and approven in the Assembly at *Edinburgh*, and afterward embraced in *England*, to the terror of the Popish and Prelatical party, and to the great comfort of such as were wishing and waiting for the Reformation of Religion, and the recoveries of just Liberties. The tenor whereof did import, *Their sincere and constant endeavours, in their several Places and Callings, for preservation of the Uniformity in Reformation, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government; the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Error and Profanity; the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the people; and of the Magistrates authority, in defence of the true Religion and Liberty; the discovery and punishment of Incendaries; the retaining of the Peace and Union of the Kingdoms; the mutual assistance and defence of all under the bond of this Covenant; and the performing all duties we owe to God, in the amendment of our Lives, and walking exemplarily one before another.* This is that *Covenant* comprehending the purpose of all prior, and the pattern of all posterior Covenants, to which Christ's Witnesses did always adhere, for which the present Witnesses do suffer and contend; that Covenant, which the Representatives of Church and State in the three Nations did solemnly subscribe and swear, for themselves and posterity, of which the obligation, either to the duty or the punishment, continues indispensibly on the Generation; which for the moral equity of its matter, the formality of its manner, the importance of its purpose, the holiness of its solemn engagement, and the glory of its ends, no power on earth, can disannul, disable, or dispense; that Covenant, which the Lord did ratify from Heaven, by the conversion of many thousands at their entering under the bond of it,

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securing and establishing unto them, and all the faithful, the blessings and privileges therein expressed, and avouching himself to be their God, as they had avouched themselves to be his people; that Covenant, which, in all the Controversies it hath occasioned, did never receive a greater confirmation than from the malice and opposition of its Adversaries; that Covenant, which Malignants do malign and deny, and Sectaries scorn and lay aside, as an *Almanack out of date*; which hath been many ways traduced and reproached by enemies, and yet could never be reflected on by any serious in this Land, without a honourable and fragrant remembrance: especially that Retortion of Adversaries of the rigour of its imposition upon Recusants, to justify their cruelty upon its Asserters now, is to be refelled, not with confutation of its importance, but with disdain of its impudence. For who were the Recusants; but wicked enemies to God, and Church, and Nation, who for their malignancy were then to be prosecuted, not for their scrupling at a Covenant, but for their contumacious contempt of a Law? This was no violence done to their conscience; for as they had none, and could not pretend to any, so they were never troubled for that, but for their opposition and conspiracy against the common cause. However, it went through at that time: and that the Covenanted Reformation, in a nearer conjunction betwixt the united Churches, might be promoted, the Parliament of *England* called an Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and desired the Assembly of *Scotland* to send thither their Commissioners; which accordingly nominated and elected Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, Mr. *Robert Balzie*, Mr. *George Gillespie*, Ministers; and *John* Earl of *Cassils*, *John* Lord *Maitland*, and Sir *Archibald Johnston* of *Wariston*, ruling Elders; to propone, consult, treat, and conclude in all such things as might conduce to the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Heresy, Schism, Superstition, and Idolatry; and for the settling of the so much desired union of the whole Island, in one form of Church government, one Confession of Faith, one common Catechism, and one Directory for the Worship of

God. Forces were also sent, to assist the Parliament of *England*: which were favoured with great success in their enterprizes, till that war was ended by the total overthrow of Tyranny at that time, and all its upholders. But that Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant faction, being brought much under in *England*, attempted (not unlike the *Syrians*, who thought the God of *Israel* was not God of the Hills and Valleys both) to try the fortune of war in *Scotland*, under the conduct of that treacherous and truculent Traitor *Montrose*, gathering an Army of wicked Apostates and *Irish* Murderers: who prevailing for a time, did punish, in the justice of God, the Hypocrisy and self-seeking of such in this Land, whose hearts were not upright in his Covenant; at length was defeat at *Philiphaugh*, in the year 1645. Yet certain it is, that they had commission and warrant from the King: as the Assembly that year, *February* 13. remonstrates it to himself; warning him, in the name of their Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, 'That the guilt, which 'cleaved to his throne, was such, as (whatsoever flat-'tering Preachers, or unfaithful Counsellers, might say 'to the contrary) if not timely repented, could not but 'involve himself and his posterity, under the wrath of 'the everliving God, for his being guilty of the shedding 'of the blood of many thousands of his best Subjects, 'for his permitting the Mass and other Idolatry in his 'family and dominions, *&c.*' At the same time also, the Assembly did zealously incite the Parliament to a speedy course of Justice, against these Incendiaries and Murderers, as the only mean of cleansing the Land from that deluge of blood then current, and of appeasing the wrath of God: and solemnly and seasonably warned all ranks, to applaud the glory and righteousness of that judgment of the sword, in the hands of these Apostates and Murderers, and to search to understand the language of that dispensation; wherein many publick sins and breaches of Covenant are pointed at, as the causes of that desolation; and the Covenant it self is there very encomiastically vindicated. 'We are so far from repenting 'of it (say they) that we can not mention it without 'great joy and thankfulness to God, as that which hath

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'drawn many bleſſings after it, and unto which God 'hath given manifold evident Teſtimonies: for no ſoon-'er was the Covenant begun to be taken in *England*, 'but ſenſibly the condition of affairs there was changed 'to the better, and our forces ſent into that Kingdom, 'in purſuance of that Covenant, have been ſo mercifull-'ly and manifeſtly aſſiſted and bleſſed from Heaven, 'that we have what to anſwer the enemy that reproacheth 'us concerning that buſineſs, and that which may make 'iniquity it ſelf to ſtop her mouth: but which is more 'unto us than all victories, the Reformation of Religi-'on in *England*, and Uniformity therein between both 'Kingdoms (a principal end of that Covenant) is ſo 'far advanced, that the Government of the Church by 'Congregational Elderſhips, Claſſical Presbyteries, Pro-'vincial and National Aſſemblies, is agreed upon by the 'Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, and voted and 'concluded in both houſes of Parliament.' After this the Malignants in *England* being cruſhed in all their projects, the King renders himſelf to the *Scots* in *Newcaſtle*: by whom (becauſe by Covenant they were not obliged to defend him, but only in defence of Religion and Liberty, which he had been deſtroying, and they defending; becauſe in this war he did directly oppoſe and oppugn theſe conditions, under which they were only to defend him; and therefore they had all alongſt carried towards him as an enemy, as he to them; and becauſe, by the ſame Covenant, they were obliged to diſcover, and render to condign puniſhment all Malignants and Incendiaries, of whom he was the chief, and to retain the Peace and Union of the Kingdoms, which could not be retained in maintaining their deſtroyer, and to aſſiſt mutually all entred into that Covenant, which he was fighting againſt) he was delivered up into the *Engliſh*, and kept under reſtraint in the Iſle of *Wight*, until he received his juſt demerit, for all his Oppreſſions, Murders, Treachery, and Tyranny; being condemned and execute *January* 30th, in the 1648-9. Which fact, though it was proteſted againſt, both before and after, by the Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, out of zeal againſt the *Sectarians*, the executioners of

that extraordinary act of justice; yet it was more for the manner than for the matter, and more for the motives and ends of it, than for the grounds of it, that they opposed themselves to it, and resented it. For they acknowledged and remonstrated to himself, the truth of all these things upon which that sentence and execution of justice was founded. And when a wicked Association, and *unlawful Engagement* was on foot to rescue him, they opposed it with all their might: shewing, in their answers to the Estates that year 1648. and Declarations and Remonstrances, the sinfulness and destructiveness of that engagment; that it was a breach of the Commandments of God, and of all the Articles of the Covenant; declaring withal, they would never consent to the King's restitution to the exercise of his power, without previous assurance, by solemn Oath, under his hand and seal, for settling of Religion according to the Covenant. By which it appears, they were not so stupidly loyal, as some would make them. Yet indeed it cannot be past without regrate, that there was too much of this plague of the *Kings-evil* even among good men: which from that time forth hath so infected the heads and hearts of this Generation, that it hath almost quite extinct all loyalty to Christ, and all zeal for Religion and Liberty. Then it began to infuse and diffuse its contagion, when after the death of *Charles* the *first*, in the year 1649. they began, after all that they had smarted for their trusting these treacherous Tyrants, and after that Grace had been shewed them from the Lord their God, by breaking these mens yokes from off their necks, and putting them again into a capacity to act for the good of Religion, their own safety, and the peace and safety of the Kingdom, to think of joining once more with the people of these abominations, and taking into their bosom these serpents which had formerly stung them almost to death. *Hence these tears, lo the origine and spring of our defection!* There was indeed at that time a party faithful for God, who considering the many breaches of the Solemn League and Covenant, and particularly by the late engagement against *England*, did so travel, that they procured the Cove-

Covenant to be renewed, with the *solemn acknowledgment of sins and engagment to duties*, which was universally subscribed and sworn through all the Land; wherein also they regrate this tampering with Malignants. And therefore the Lord did mightily save and defend them from all their Adversaries, subdued them at *Stirling*, and in the North. They did also give warning concerning the young King, 'That notwithstanding of the Lord's hand against his Father, yet he 'hearkens unto the Counsels of these, who were Authors of these miseries to his Father; by which it hath 'come to pass, that he hath hitherto refused to grant 'the just and necessary desires of the Church and Kingdom, for securing of Religion and Liberty: And it 'is much to be feared, That these wicked Counsellers, 'may so far prevail upon him, as to engage him in a 'war, for overturning the work of God, and bearing down all those in the three Kingdoms that adhere 'thereto. Which if he shall do, cannot but bring great 'wrath from the Lord upon himself and throne, and 'must be the cause of many new and great Miseries and 'Calamities to these Lands.' And, in the same warning, by many weighty reasons, they prove, that he is not to be admitted to the exercise of his power, without security for Religion and Liberty. And when the bringing home of the King came to be voted in the Assembly, there was one faithful Witness, Mr. *Adam Kae*, Minister in *Galloway*, protested against it; fore-shewing, and fore-telling, what mischief and misery he would bring with him when he should come. These things might have had some weight, to demur the Nation from meddling with that perfidious Traitor. But all this serves only to aggravate the sin and shame of that distraction, which hath procured all this destruction, under which the Land mourns to this day: that notwithstanding of all these convictions, warnings; yea, and discoveries of his Malignancy, Treachery, and inclinations to Tyranny; they sent Commissioners, and concluded a Treaty with him at *Breda*. During which Treaty, the Commissions which he had sent to that bloody villain *Montrose*, and his cut throat Complices,

to

to raise an Army, and waste, and invade the Country with fire and sword the second time; were brought to the Committee of Estates, discovering what sort of a King they were treating with. Whereupon, after serious consulting, not only together, but with the Lord; and after many debates what to do in such a doubtful case, wherein all was in danger, the Estates concluded to break off the Treaty, and recall their Commissioners. To which intent, they sent an express with Letters to *Breda*; which, by providence, falling into the hands of *Libberton*, a true Libertine, and false betrayer of his trust and Country, was by him, without the knowledge of the other Commissioners, delivered unto the King; who consulting the Contents of the Packet with his Jesuitical and hypocritical Cabal, found it his Interest to play the Fox (being disappointed at that time to play the Tyger) and dissemble with God and Man. And so sending for the Commissioners, he made a flattering speech to them, shewing, that now after serious deliberation, he was resolved to comply with all their Propositals. Whereupon the poor cheated Commissioners dispatch the Post back with Letters full of Praise and Joy, for the Satisfaction they had received. The Estates, perceiving themselves imposed upon, consulted again what to do; and in End, being overswayed more with respect to their own Credit (which they thought should be impeached, if they should retract their own plenipotentiary Instructions, to conclude the Treaty, upon the King's Assent to their Conditions) than to their reclamant Consciences, they resolved to bring home that Pest, and thereby precipitated themselves and us into ineluctable Misery. Yet they thought to mend the Matter, by binding him with all Cords, and putting him to all most explicite Engagements, before he should receive the Imperial Crown. Well, upon these Terms, home he comes, and, before he set his foot on *British* Ground, he takes the Covenant: And thereafter, because the Commission of the General Assembly, by the Act of the *West-kirk*, *August* 13th, 1650, precluded his Admittance unto the Crown, if he should refuse the then required Satisfaction, before his Coronation, he emits that Declaration at *Dunfermling*;

*fermling*; wherein, 'Profeſſing and appearing in the full 'perſwaſion and love of the Truth, he repenteth (as having to do with and in the ſight of God) his Father's 'oppoſition to the Covenant and Work of God, and his 'own reluctancies againſt the ſame, hoping for Mercy 'through the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and obteſting the 'Prayers of the Faithful to God for his Stedfaſtneſs. 'And then proteſteth his Truth and Sincerity in entring 'into the Oath of God, reſolving to proſecute the Ends 'of the Covenant to his outmoſt, and to have with it the 'ſame common Friends and Enemies, exhorting all to 'lay down their Enmity againſt the Cauſe of God, and 'not to prefer Man's Intereſt to God's, which will prove 'an Idol of Jealouſy to provoke the Lord: and he himſelf accounteth to be but ſelfiſh Flattery.' A Declaration ſo full of Heart-profeſſions, and high Atteſtations of God, that none, conſidering what followed, can reflect thereon, without horrour and trembling from the holy Jealouſy of the Lord, either for the then deep Diſſimulation, or the after unparallelled Apoſtaſy. I know it is objected by Court-paraſites, that the King was then compelled to do theſe things. To which I ſhall only ſay, It would have coſt any of them their Head at that time, to have aſſerted, that he did upon Deliberation and Choice mock God and Man, and entred into theſe Engagements, only with a purpoſe to be thereby in better Capacity to deſtroy what he ſwore to maintain, only becauſe he could not have the Crown without this way, which, in the Confeſſion of the Objectors themſelves, was only deliberate and premeditate Perjury. Next, if it ſhould be granted he was compelled; let it be alſo conſidered who compelled him; and theſe will be found to be the deceitful Courtiers. For, let it be adverted, what Mr. *Gilleſpie* declares of the Caſe, who put the Pen in his Hand when he ſubſcribed that Declaration: He, perceiving there was ſufficient ground to jealouſe his Reality, and ſeeing evidently that the Courtiers prevailed with the King on a ſudden to offer to ſubſcribe the Declaration (when they obſerved that the Commiſſioners of Church and State were reſolute, and ready to go away in a Fixedneſs, to leave out the putting of his Intereſt in the

the state of the Quarrel) and being afraid of the sad Consequences of it, spoke his mind plainly to the King: 'That if he was not satisfied in his Soul and Conscience, 'beyond all hesitation, of the Righteousness of the Sub-'scription, he was so far from over-driving him to run 'upon that, for which he had no Light, as he obtested 'him, yea, he charged him in his Master's name, and in 'the name of those who sent him, not to subscribe this 'Declaration, no not for the three Kingdoms.' Whereupon the King answered, *Mr* Gillespie, *Mr.* Gillespie, *I am satisfied, I am satisfied with the Declaration, and therefore will subscribe it.* Upon which some of the Courtiers swore, that Mr. *Gillespie* intended simply to dissuade the King from subscribing it, that so Church and State might professedly lay aside his Interest; which would have defeat their hopes to make up themselves, as now they have done, upon the then designed Ruin of the Interest of Truth. Then at his Coronation, we have again his reiterated confirmations of that Covenant; *first*, he is desired in name of the people to accept the Crown, and maintain Religion according to the National, and Solemn League and Covenant; whereunto he gave his apparently cordial Consent (the words are in *the Form and Order of the Coronation* with the whole Action.) Then *next*, a Sermon, being preached upon 2 *Kings*, xi. 12 and 17; the action commenceth with his most solemn renewing of the National, and solemn League and Covenant, by Oath. *Then*, he is presented to the people, and their willingness demanded to have him for their King on these terms. At the same time, in the *next* place, he took the Coronation-Oath. *Then*, on these terms, he accepted the Sword. And after the Crown is set upon his Head, the Peoples obligatory Oath is proclaimed on the terms foresaid, otherwise he is not that King to whom they sware subjection. *Then* being set upon the Throne, he was by the Minister put in mind of his Engagements, from 1 *Chron.* xxix. 33. And then the Nobles of the Land came one by one, kneeling, and lifting up their hands between his hands, swore the same Oath. These things done, the whole Action was closed with a most solid and severe exhortation from several instances, *Neh.* v. 13.

*Jer.*

*Jer.* xxxiv. 18, 19, 20, *&c.* Thereafter, in the year 1651, followed the Ratification of all these preceeding Treaties, Transactions and Engagements, concluded and enacted by the King, and the Parliament then fully and freely conveened; whereby the same did pass into a perpetual Law. And this Covenant, which from the beginning was, and is the most sure and indispensible Oath of God, became at length the very fundamental Law of the Kingdom, whereon all the rights or privileges, either of King or People, are principally bottomed and secured. This might seem security sufficient; but considering the former discoveries and experiences they had of his Treachery, and the visible appearances (in the mean time) of his Refusals, visible Reluctancies, manifest Resilings, open Counteractings, and continued Prejudices against the Covenant, and his following unprecedented avowed Perjury, every thing doth indelibly fasten upon them the weakness at least of an overweening Credulity, and upon him the wickedness of a perfidious Policy in all these Cendescensions. After this it came to pass, that zeal for the Cause, rightly stated, was suddenly contracted to a few, and the flame thereof extinguished in many, and Court Wild-fire substitute in its place; whereby a plain defection was violently carried on by the *Publick Resolutioners*, who relapsing into that most sinful Conjunction with the People of these abominations, so solemnly repented for and resolved against, did notwithstanding bring in notorious *Malignants* into places of Power and Trust, in Judicatories and Armies, in a more politick than pious way of requiring of them a constrained and dissembled Repentance, to the mocking of the God of Truth, and Scorn of all our holy Engagements. Which defection did not only cause for a long time an incurable Division, the first of that kind, and most permanent of any that ever was in the Church of *Scotland*, by reason of the surcease of General Assemblies, stopped and hindred by the yoke of the *Sectarian* Usurpation; but also was the spring and source of all our defections since, all flowing from, and fomented by that same spirit that fostered that: and for that, since that time, the Lord hath been contending with this Church and

and Nation, bringing us under the bondage of these Malignant Enemies, whom we suffered them then to encourage and introduce. And both at that time, and since that time, the Lord never countenanced an Expedition, where that Malignant Interest was taken in unto the state of the quarrel. Upon this our Land was invaded by *Oliver Cromwel*, who defeat our Army at *Dumbar*, where the Anger of the Lord was evidently seen to smoke against us, for espousing that Interest. And remarkable it is, how in that very day wherein the *Publick Resolutions* were concluded in the Assembly at *St. Andrews*, the Lord then shed the blood of his People at *Inverkeithing*; so as that the Assembly, having in great haste hurried through this Approbation, were all made to run for it, and adjourn themselves to *Dundee*, where they met and compleated that step of defection. And afterwards 'tis known, what a peculiar vengeance fell upon that City, where this deed was done, beyond all the Cities of the Nation. Next, an Army being raised, according to these unhallowed *Resolutions*, and the Lord putting remarkable Discountenance upon them in their attemptings at home, as was manifest in their attemptings at *Torwood*, &c. They march into *England*; and there did the Lord continue, by his leaving our Army to the Sword, to preach that Doctrine to the world, *Josh.* vii. 10, 11, 12. [*Israel hath sinned and transgressed the Covenant,——have taken the accursed thing,——and dissembled also, and have put it even amongst their own stuff; therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they were accursed: Neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed thing from among you.*] an Army of near 30,000 was totally routed at *Worcester*; and the *Achan*, the Cause of the overthrow, was forced to hide himself in the *Oak*, and thence to transport himself beyond sea, where he continued a wandering Fugitive in *Exile*, till the year 1660. In the mean time the *Sectarian* Army here prevailed, till, after the Usurper *Cromwel* his death, the false *Monk*, then General, with a Combination of *Malignants* and publick *Resolutioners*, did machinate our misery, and effectuated it, by bringing home the

the King to *England* from his Baniſhment: wherein he was habituate into an implacable hatred againſt the Work of God. Yet, though ſince the King's firſt reception into *Scotland*, our Declenſions were ſtill growing, until they produced this fearful Revolt from God, wherein the Nation is now involved; there was ſtill a faithful Remnant of Miniſters and Profeſſors, zealous for the Cauſe, keeping their Integrity; who, in their Remonſtrances and Teſtimonies, witneſſed againſt both their Malignant Enemies, and their backſliding Brethren the Reſolutioners, and alſo againſt the Sectarians their Invaders; whoſe vaſt *Toleration* and *Liberty of Conſcience*, which they brought in to invade our Religion, as they had invaded our Land, and infect it with their multifarious Errors, was particularly by the Synod of *Fife*, and other Brethren in the Miniſtry that joined themſelves to them, teſtified againſt, and demonſtrated to be wicked and intolerable. Now, to ſee how far the preſent Teſtimony is confirmed by the witneſſes of this Period, we may reſume ſome Reflections on it.

I. They impartially carried on the Teſtimony againſt Prelacy, and the *Popiſh*, *Prelatical* and *Malignant* Factions on the one hand, and the *Sectarians* on the other, without ever waving the Teſtimony againſt either, or at the leaſt winking at the one to weaken the other; both which Teſtimonies they thought of ſo great Importance, that they could not diſpenſe with, but faithfully maintain both, in their witneſſings and warnings. In that *ſeaſonable and neceſſary Warning and Declaration concerning preſent and imminent Dangers*, given at *Edinburgh*, *July* 27th, *Seſs.* 27. They ſay firſt of the *Sectaries*, "That 'prevailing Party of Sectaries in *England*, who have 'broken the Covenant, and deſpiſed the Oath of God, 'corrupted the Truth, ſubverted the fundamental Go'vernment, look upon us with an evil eye, as upon theſe 'who ſtand in the way of their monſtrous and new'fangled devices in Religion and Government; and 'though there were no Cauſe to fear any thing from 'that party, but the Gangreen and Infection of thoſe ma'ny damnable and abominable errors which have taken 'hold on them; yet our vicinity unto, and daily com-

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'merce with that Nation, may justly make us afraid, 'that the Lord may give up many in this Land unto a 'spirit of delusion, to believe Lies, because they have 'not received the Love of the Truth.' In that same *Warning* they say, 'We are not so to have the one of our 'eyes upon the *Sectaries*, as not to have the other upon '*Malignants*, they being an Enemy more numerous, and 'more dangerous than the other; not only because expe-'rience hath proven, that there is a greater aptitude and 'inclination in these of our Land to comply with Ma-'lignants than Sectaries, in that they carry on their wic-'ked design, under a pretext of being for the King, but 'also because there be many of them in our own bowels.' By which we may see, how impartially they opposed both; and that this cannot be condemned in the Testimonies of the present Sufferers, except the Assembly be condemned. And because many now a-days have extenuating notions of those debates, against *Prelacy* and *Sectarianism*, about the Government of the Church, *&c.* and condemn these that would adhere to, and suffer for the *Punctilio's* of it, as rigid nicety; I shall, for seeing what account the Assembly had of them, cite their words in a *Letter to the Assembly of Divines at* Westminster, dated *Edinburgh, June* 18th, 1646: 'The smallest (say 'they) of Christ's Truths (if it be lawful to call any of 'them small) is of greater moment than all the other bu-'sinesses, that ever have been debated since the beginning 'of the world to this day; but the highest of honours, 'and heaviest of burdens is put upon you, to declare, out 'of the sacred Records of Divine Truth, what is the Pre-'rogative of the Crown and Extent of the Sceptre of 'Jesus Christ; what bounds are to be set between him 'ruling in his House, and Powers established by God 'on Earth; how, and by whom his House is to be go-'verned; and by what ways a restraint is to be put on 'these, who would pervert his Truth, and subvert the 'faith of many.'

II. In the manner of maintaining this Testimony, these famous Fathers, while faithful for God, gave us a perfect pattern of purity and strictness, in opposition to all degrees of conformity and complyance with the corruptions

ruptions of the time; and laid down such rules and constitutions, as might regulate us in our contendings about present defections, and teach us what account to make of them, and how to carry towards them: which, if adverted unto, would evince how manifest and manifold the declinings of many have been from the late Reformation, that yet pretend to adhere unto it, and how justifiable the aversation and abstraction of the present reproached suffering party is, from all these defections and the daubings of them, because so much deviating and declining from the attained Reformation. I need not repeat how Prelacy, and all the parts and pendicles of that Antichristian Hierarchy, were abjured in the National Covenant, and condemned in the Acts of Assemblies, and re-abjured in the Solemn League and Covenant, and in the Solemn Acknowledgement of sins and Engagement to duties, where also we came under sacred and inviolable engagements, to endeavour the extirpation thereof; which doth clearly file the present countenancing and submitting to the Prelatick *Curates*, in receiving ordinances from them, among the grossest of defections; being altogether inconsistent with these acts and constitutions, and covenant-obligations to extirpate them, as much as the countenancing of Popish Priests were inconsistent therewith, being both equally covenanted to be extirpated. Next, though in this period, tyranny being in its retrograde motion, Erastian supremacy was not so much contended for, and therefore not so much questioned as formerly, being held exploded with execration out of doors and out of doubt; yet the Testimony was still continued against it, in the uninterrupted maintaining of the Church's privileges and freedom of Assemblies, against all encroachings of adversaries. And therefore the embracing of the late detestable *Indulgences*, were as contrary to the actings of this as to the Testimonies of the former *Period*, against the supremacy from which they flow. Yea, many particulars might be instanced, wherein the accepters had declined from the covenanted Reformation then prosecuted; not only in their confederating with malignant Usurpers, for the pretended benefit of them, (by which, if there had

had been no more, they are obnoxious to the Censure of the Church, standing registred in an Act of Assembly, ordaining all persons in Ecclesiastick office, for the like or lesser degrees of complyance, yea even for procuring protections from malignant enemies, to be suspended from their office, and all exercise thereof, at *Edinburgh* 1646, *Sess.* 14.) Nor only in their taking sinful instructions from them, restricting them in the exercise of their Ministry; but in admitting themselves, by their *Patronage*, to be by them presented to their prelimited and preimposed Congregations: which involves them in the iniquity of the aboliſhed *Patronages*, condemned by the Assembly; for that Ministry of such so presented, is made too much to depend upon the will and pleasure of man, and such an imposition is destructive of the Church and peoples liberties, obstructive of the gospel's freedom and faithful plainness, and occasion of much base flattery and partiality; and in subjecting to, homologating, and fortifying a sacrilegious Supremacy, overturning the intrinsick power of the Church, contrary to the Covenant obliging to the preservation of the Government, as well as to the doctrine of the Church, in the first article thereof; and in their suffering themselves, either directly or indirectly, either by combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from that blessed union and conjunction, which they were obliged to maintain and promove, according to the 6th article of the Solemn League and Covenant; and in their strengthning the Erastian usurpations of enemies encroaching upon the Church's liberties, and Christ's prerogatives, against which we are engaged expressly in the solemn acknowledgement of sins, and engagements to duties, where also we have these words, *Art. 2. Because many have of late laboured to supplant the Liberties of the Church, we shall maintain and defend the Church of* Scotland, *in all her Liberties and Privileges, against all who shall oppose or undermine the same, or encroach thereupon under any pretext whatsomever.* Next, we have many demonstrations of the zeal and strictness of these Servants of Christ, in their Synodical determinations of censures, to be past upon many ministerial corruptions; which will condemn the

the present course of covering and countenancing them, and commend the contendings of a poor reproached party against them, in their conscientious abstracting from them. Of which determinations, I shall rehearse some. Among the *Enormities and Corruptions of the Ministry*, in their *Callings*, this is one, Sect. 4, 5. silence in the publick cause.———Some accounting it a point of wisdom to speak ambiguously, ——— whereof the remedy is Sect. 15. 'That beside all other scandals, *Silence* or *ambiguous speaking* in the publick Cause———be seasonably censured, *General Assembly* at *Edinburgh*, *June* 13. 1646.' There is indeed an act against withdrawers from Ministers: but in the self-same act, they are charged to be diligent in fulfilling their Ministry, to be faithful in preaching, 'declaring the whole Counsel of God, 'and, as they have occasion from the text of Scripture, 'to reprove the sins and errors, and press the duties of 'the time; and in all these to observe the rules prescribed by the acts of Assembly, where if they be negligent, they are to be censured, *General Assembly*, *Edinburgh*, *August* 24. 1647, *Sess.* 19.' Then there is that act, *August* 3. 1648, *Sess.* 26. for censuring Ministers for their silence, and not speaking to the corruptions of the time; 'calling it a scandal, through some Ministers 'their reserving and not declaring themselves against 'the prevalent sins of the times; appointing, that all that 'do not apply their doctrine to these corruptions, which 'is the Pastoral gift, and that are cold or wanting of 'spiritual zeal, dissembling of publick sins, that all such 'be censured even to deprivation; for forbearing or 'passing in silence the errors and exorbitancies of sectaries 'in *England*, or the defections current at home, the 'plots and practices of Malignants, the Principles and 'Tenants of *Erastianism*; and if they be found too sparing, general or ambiguous in their applications and 'reproofs, and continuing so, they are to be deposed, for 'being pleasers of men rather than servers of Christ, for 'giving themselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in the cause of God, for defrauding the souls of 'people, yea, for being highly guilty of the blood of 'souls, in not giving them warning.' And in that *seasonable*

*sonable and necessary warning* of the *General Assembly, Edinburgh, July* 27. 1649, *Sess.* 27, we are taught how they resented the unfaithfulness of Ministers continuing in defections, and how we are to look upon them, and carry to them: where they say, 'It is undeniably true, 'that many of the evils, wherewith this Church and 'Kingdom hath been afflicted in our age, have come to 'pass, because of the negligence of some, and corruptions 'of others of the Ministry; and the course of backsliding 'was carried on, until it pleased God to stir up the spi-'rits of these few, who stood in the gap, to oppose and 'resist the same, and to begin the work of Reformation 'in the land; since which time, the silence of some Mi-'nisters, and the complyance of others, hath had great 'influence upon the backslidings of many amongst the 'people, who, upon the discovery of the evil of their way, 'complain, that they got not warning, or that if they 'were not warned by some, others held their peace, or 'did justify them in the course of their backsliding: 'we can look upon such Ministers no otherwise, than 'upon these that are guilty of the blood of the Lord's 'people, and with whom the Lord will reckon, for all 'the breach of Covenant and defection that hath been 'in the land; the Priest's lips should preserve knowledge, 'and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is 'the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts, but such as are de-'parted out of the way, and have caused many to stum-'ble at the law, therefore hath the Lord made them 'contemptible before all the people, according as they 'have not kept his ways, but have been partial in his 'law, because they have lost their savour, he hath cast out 'many of them as unsavoury salt.' Furthermore, to evidence the purity and power of zeal burning and blazing in these days, in their contendings against publick enemies on all hands, I shall instance some of their Acts and Testimonies, clearly condemning the manifold complyances of this generation, and which may contribute somewhat to justify the reproached preciseness of a remnant, standing at the farthest distance from them. There is an act *for censuring the Complyers with the publick enemies of this Church and kingdom, General Assembly, Edinburgh,*

*Edinburgh, June* 17. 1646, *Sess.* 14, 'Where, they judge it 'a great and scandalous provocation, and grievous de- 'fection from the publick Cause, to comply with these 'Malignants (such as *James Graham* then was) in any de- 'gree, even to procure protections from them, or to have 'invited them to their houses, or to have drunk *James* 'Graham his health, or to be guilty of any other such 'gross degrees of complyance; censured to be suspended 'from the communions, ay and while they acknowledge 'their offence.' And yet now, for refusing these degrees of complyance, for not having the protection of a *Pass* from the wicked courts of malignant enemies, by taking a wicked oath, and for refusing to drink the *King's health*, a greater enemy than ever *James Graham* was, some poor conscientious people have not only been murdered by enemies, but mocked and condemned by professors. There is an act likewise, and *declaration against all new oaths or bonds in the common cause imposed without consent of the Church, General Assembly, Edinburgh, July* 28. 1648, *Sess.* 18. 'Enjoining all the members of the Church to for- 'bear the swearing or subscribing any new oaths or 'bonds, in this cause, without advice and concurrence 'of the Church, especially any *negative* oaths or bonds, 'which may any way limit or restrain them in the du- 'ties whereunto they are obliged, by National or So- 'lemn League and Covenant.' Yet now, for refusing oaths, not only limiting in covenanted duties, but contradicting and condemning many material principles of the covenanted Reformation, many have not only lost their lives, but also have been condemned, by them that are at ease, having a wider conscience to swallow such baits. It is known how pertinacious the most faithful in those days were, in their contendings against *Associations*, in any undertaking for the cause, with persons disaffected to the true state thereof. I need not give any account of this, were it not that now that principle is quite inverted; and poor adherers to it, for their abstracting and substracting their concurrence with such promiscuous associations, are much hated and flouted; therefore I shall give some hints of their sentiments of them. In their *Answer to the Committe of Estates, June*

25. 1648, *Sess.* 14, the *General Assembly* says, 'It was re-
'presented to the Parliament, that, for securing of reli-
'gion, it was necessary, that the Popish, Prelatical,
'and Malignant party, be declared enemies to the Cause
'upon the one hand, as well as Sectaries upon the other,
'and that all Associations, either in forces or counsels,
'with the former as well as with the latter, be avoided.'
And in their *Declaration concerning the present dangers of Religion*, especially *the unlawful Engagement* in war, *July* ult. 1648, *Sess.* 21. 'They say, suppose the ends
'of that Engagement be good, (as they are not), yet
'the means and ways of Prosecution are unlawful; be-
'cause there is not an equal avoiding of rocks on both
'hands, but a joining with Malignants to suppress Sec-
'taries, a joining hands with a black Devil to beat a
'white Devil; they are bad Physicians who would so
'cure one disease, as to breed another as evil or worse;
'——— we find in the Scriptures, all confederacies
'and Associations with the enemies of true religion con-
'demned, whether *Canaanites*, *Exod.* xxiii. 32. and xxiv.
'12, 15. *Deut.* vii. 2. or other Heathens, 1 *Kings* xi. 1,
'2.' More arguments against *Associations* may be seen in that excellent *Discussion* of this *useful Case*, *concerning Associations and Confederacies with the Idolaters*, *Infidels*, *Hereticks*, *or any other known enemy of Truth or Godliness*, by famous Mr. *G. Gillespie*, published at that same time: whereunto is appended his Letter to the Commission of the General Assembly, having these golden words in it, words fitly spoken in that season, when he was a dying, at the beginning of the *Publick Resolutions*. 'Having
'heard of some motions and beginnings of complyance,
'with these who have been so deeply engaged in a war
'destructive to Religion and the Kingdom's liberties, I
'cannot but discharge my conscience, in giving a Testi-
'mony against all such complyance. I know, and am
'persuaded, that all the faithful Witnesses that gave
'Testimony to the *Thesis*, that the late Engagement was
'contrary and destructive to the Covenant, will also give
'Testimony to the *Appendix*, that complyance with any
'who have been active in that Engagement is most sin-
'ful and unlawful. I am not able to express all the evils
of

'of that complyance, they are so many.——But above 'all, that which would heighten this sin even to the 'Heavens is, that it were not only a horrid backsliding, 'but a backsliding into that very sin, which was specially pointed at, and punished by the prevalency of the 'Malignant party, God justly making them thorns and 'scourges who were taken in as friends. Alas! shall 'we split twice upon the same rock? yea, run upon it, 'when God has set a beacon on it? Yea, I may say, 'shall we thus outface and outdare the Almighty, by 'protecting his and our enemies, by making peace and 'friendship with them, when the anger of the Lord is 'burning against them. I must here apply to our present condition, the words of *Ezrah* ix. 14. —— O 'happy *Scotland*, if thou canst now improve and not abuse this golden opportunity? but if thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, wrath upon 'wrath, and wo upon wo, shall be upon thee from the 'Lord.' Whereunto is subjoined his dying Testimony to the same purpose, wherein are these words: 'But if 'there shall be a falling back to the sin of complyance 'with Malignant ungodly men, then I look for the 'breaking out of the wrath of the Lord, till there be no 'remedy.' This was the warning of a worthy dying man. Notwithstanding of which, and many other warnings and witnessings, a course of complyance was commenced by the *publick Resolutioners*, and continued in to this day; wherein that faithful warning of a dying servant of Christ's is verified. But before I leave this purpose, I must obviate an objection that some make use of for strengthening themselves in their incorporations and joinings, at least, in worship, with the corruptions of the time, and for condemning conscientious withdrawers; that the godly in those days did not separate from the men of these complyances and defections, as many do now, to wit, the *protesting Party* did not withdraw from the *publick Resolutioners* and Associators with Malignants. I answer, first, many and these the most godly and tender did withdraw, even from their own Ministers, and would have gone forty or fifty Miles to hear a faithful Minister at that time; yea Ministers themselves, in the case of *Intrusion* of the unfaithful, would have supplied

the paroch, as if the Church had been vacant, and when they could not get access to the pulpit, they preached in the fields, on purpose to witness against, and professedly to withdraw the people from such an unfaithful Intruder; as might be instanced particularly for time and place, if need were. But next, the Church then, though broken by division, and under the subjection of strangers deprived of her General Assemblies, yet was in a *constitute Case*, enjoying the privilege, power and order of Synods and Presbyteries, to whom the people offended with their Ministers, might address themselves for an orderly redress, and removal of these Scandals in an ordinary way; and so they needed not assume to themselves that power to regulate their communion, that in a *broken State*, as now is, must be allowed to them. And besides, both the Ministers, at that time, who were faithful, though they might have proceeded to censure and silence the corrupt party, as they were obliged, yet not only found it difficult by reason of the injury of the times; but also thought it best to spare them, and the people to bear them as burdens, until, as they were still in hopes, they should obtain a General Assembly to take order with them, but now it is not so. And then the defection was but beginning, and people did not know, and could not expect it would go such a length, and therefore could not fall upon the rigour of that duty, which such disorders call for at first; but if they had seen where these beginnings would land them at length, I doubt not but they would have resisted those beginnings, in such a way as would have precluded this imputation of novelty upon our necessitated withdrawings.

III. We have in this Period, not only an illustrious Testimony for the Principle, but a continued and unintermitted putting into practice the duty of *defensive Arms* in resisting the sovereign power, maleversing and abusing Authority to the destruction of the ends of it; which resistance was avowed, encouraged, and furthered by the General Assembly, both for the defence of themselves, and for the help of their Brethren in *England*. Take one expression in their *solemn and seasonable warn-*

*warning to all ranks, February* 12. 1645. *Sess* 18.——
'Unless men will blot out of their hearts the love of 'Religion, and cause of God, and cast off all care of 'their Country, Laws, Liberties, &c. (all being in 'visible danger of present ruin and destruction) they 'must now or never appear actively, each one stretch-'ing himself to, yea, beyond his power. It is no time 'to dally, or to go about the business by halves, nor be 'almost but altogether zealous: cursed is he that doth 'the work of the Lord negligently. If we have been 'forward to assist our neighbour Kingdoms, shall we 'neglect to defend our own? Or shall the enemies of 'God be more active against his cause, than his people 'for it? God forbid.' In another *seasonable and necessary warning, July* 27. 1649. *Sess.* 27. They say, 'But 'if his Maj. or any having, or pretending power and 'commission from him, shall invade this Kingdom, u-'pon pretext of establishing him in the exercise of his 'royal power; as it will be an high provocation against 'God, to be accessory or assisting thereto, so it will be 'a necessary duty to resist and oppose the same.' These Fathers could well distinguish between *Authority*, and the *Person* abusing it; and were not so loyal, as now their degenerate Children are ambitious to shew themselves, stupidly stooping to the shadow thereof, and yet will be called the only Asserters of Presbyterian principles. But we find, they put it among the characters of *Malignants*, to confound the King's honour and authority with the abuse and pretence thereof, and with commissions, warrants, and letters, procured from the King, by the enemies of the cause and Covenant, as if we could not oppose the latter, without incroaching upon the former. But here, an *Objection* or two must be removed out of the way, before we go forward. One is, from the *third Article* of the *Covenant*; where there seems to be a great deal of Loyalty, obliging to defend the King's Maj. his person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, *that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.*

*ness.* I answer, There is indeed a deal of loyalty there, and *true Loyalty*, because lawfully limited, being qualified with, and subordinate unto the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom, (as the makers of the Covenant do expound it, in the Assemblies *declaration against the unlawful Engagement, July ult.* 1648. *Sess.* 21.) not that *reverse Loyalty*, which makes duties to God conditional and limited, and duties to the King absolute and unlimited, as our *Loyalists* do now. And I wish others were free of it, who have sworn Oaths of unlimited *Allegiances*, to maintain the King in any power unto which his force aspires; and to justify this their Loyalty, will bring in this Article of the Covenant with a distorted sense, reading it backward, *that we, in the preservation and defence of Religion, must preserve and defend the King:* As if Religion obliged to defend him, do what he will. It were better such pretended Covenanters denied the Covenant, than to be such a reproach to it, in wresting its genuine sense. But I have adduced the sense of the best Interpreters of it, the General Assembly. Next, when they entred under the bond of this Covenant, they did it with a purpose to oppose all his invasions upon Religion, and the Liberty of the people, and to vindicate these precious interests from his usurpings, into a state of Liberty: and shall we imagine, that that very Oath of God did lay upon them, or us, an obligation, to defend the person who is a destroyer of all these, contrary to the very nature of the Oath, contrary to the scope of the Covenanters, and contrary to their subsequent practice? But then it will be urged, why then was that clause cast into the Covenant? I answer, we have not the same cause to keep it, as they had some cause to put it in, with accommodation to the present possessor of the sovereignity. The owning of it in our circumstances, would be as great a reproach to us, as the want of it was to them in theirs. They put in the words, to prevent the world's mistake, and to remove that odium industriously heaped upon the heads of those, whose hearts were associate in the defence of Religion and Liberty, therefore they would profess they would not be disloyal while

while he was for God. And a defiance may be given to clamour, and calumny it self, to give one instance of the defect of performance hereof, while he went not about to ruin those things, incomparably more precious than his person or authority, and in ruining whereof, no person can retain authority.

IV. But now two things will chiefly be desiderated, which now we own in our Testimony, for which many have died, that seem not to be confirmed by, or consistent with, the Testimony of this Period. *One* is, that we not only maintain defensive resistance, but in some cases vindictive and punitive force, to be executed upon men that are bloody *beasts of prey*, and burdens to the earth, in cases of necessity, when there is no living for them. This principle of Reason and natural Justice, was not much enquired into in this time; when the sun was up, whose warmth and light made these beasts creep into their dens, and when they, being brought under subjection, could not force people into such extraordinary violent courses, when the ordinary and orderly course of Law was running in its right Channel; yet from the ground of their ordinary Procedure, military and civil, against such Monsters, we may gather the lawfulness of an ordinary Procedure in a pinch of necessity, conform to their grounds: I hope to make this evident, when I come, *as proposed*, to vindicate this head. But there is another thing that we own, which seems not to have been known in these days, *viz.* That when we are required to *own the Authority* of the present Dominator, we hold sinful to own it. Yet we find these reverend and renouned Fathers owned King *Charles* I. and did not refuse the succession of *Charles* II. I shall answer in order. *First*, as to King *Charles* I. there was a great difference betwixt him and his sons that succeeded; he never declared parliamentarily, that neither Promises, Contracts, nor Oaths should bind him, as the first of his perfidious sons did; it might have been then presumed, if he had engaged so far for promoving the work of God, he would have been a man of his word (for to say a King of his word, is antiquitate in a good sense, except that it means, he is as absolute in his word,

as

as in his sword, and scorns to be a slave to it) neither professed he himself a Papist, as the second Son hath done: again it must be granted, that more might have been comported within the beginning, when there were some hopes of redress, than after such process of time; whereby now we see and feel beyond all debate, that the Throne stands, and is stated, not only in opposition to, but upon the ruins of the Rights and Privileges both of Religion and Liberty. But was not the equivalent done by the Church, in the 1648. when they refused to concur with that unlawful Engagement, for restoring of the King, till security be had, by solemn Oath under his hand and seal, 'That he shall, 'for himself and Successors, give his assent to all Acts 'and Bills for enjoining Presbyterial Government, and 'never make opposition to it, nor endeavour any change 'thereof? *July* last, 1648. *Sess.* 21.' But it will be said, That, in their renewing the Covenant that year, they did not leave out that Article. True, thereby they stopped the mouths of their Adversaries: and then they were not without hopes, but that, in his straits, he might have proved a *Manasseh* taken among the thorns. And the Covenanters at that time, not being clear that he had done that, which, *by Law*, made him no Magistrate, chused rather while matters stood so to engage to maintain him, than simply to disown him (which yet our forefathers did upon smaller grounds many times) in the hopes of being prevailed with at last. But when they saw that this proved ineffectual; therefore, at the *Coronation* of the new King, they made the Covenanted Interest the sole *Basis* upon which alone Authority was conferred upon him. For the *second*, though they did not refuse the succession of *Charles* II. (which was their blame and our bane, of which we may blush this day) yet we find many things in that Transaction which justify our disowning of him, and condemn the owning of the present Possessor. (1.) In that *seasonable and necessary warning*, *July*, 27. *Sess.* 27. 'Whereas, many 'would have admitted his Maj. to the exercise of his 'Royal Power, upon any terms whatsoever: the Assembly declares first; That a boundless and illimited 'power

'power is to be acknowledged in no King nor Magi-
'strate; neither is our King to be admitted to the exer-
'cise of his power, as long as he refuses to walk in the
'administration of the same, according to this rule.
'*Secondly*, That there is a mutual stipulation and obli-
'gation between the King and the people; as both of
'them are tyed to God, so each of them are tyed to one
'another, for the performance of mutual and reciprocal
'duties; accordingly Kings are to take the Oath of Co-
'ronation, to abolish Popery, and maintain the Pro-
'testant Religion: as long therefore, as the King re-
'fuses to engage and oblige himself for security of Re-
'ligion and Safety of his people, it is consonant to
'Scripture, and Reason, and Laws of the Kingdom,
'that he should be refused. *Thirdly*, In the League and
'Covenant, the duty of defending and preserving the
'King, is subordinate to the duty of preserving Religi-
'on and Liberty: and therefore, he standing in oppo-
'sition to the publick desires of the people for their se-
'curity, it were a manifest breach of Covenant, and a
'preferring the King's Interest to the Interest of Jesus
'Christ, to bring him to the exercise of his Power.
'*Fourthly*, That it was for restraint of Arbitrary Govern-
'ment, and for their just defence against Tyranny,
'that the Lord's people did join in Covenant, and have
'been at the expence of so much blood these years past;
'and if he should be admitted to the Government be-
'fore satisfaction, it were to put in his hand that Ar-
'bitrary Power, and so to abandon their former Prin-
'ciples, and betray the Cause. *Fifthly*, That he, be-
'ing admitted before satisfaction, would soon endea-
'vour an overturning of the things which God hath
'wrought, and labour to draw publick administrations
'concerning Religion and Liberty, into that course and
'Channel in which they did run under Prelacy, and be-
'fore the work of Reformation. Whence they warn
'that every one take heed of such a snare, that they be
'not accessary to any such design, as they would not
'bring upon themselves and their families, the guilt of
'all the detriment that will undoubtedly follow there-
'upon, of all the miseries it will bring upon the King-
'doms.

'doms.——— And therefore whoſoever attempt the 'ſame, oppoſe themſelves to the cauſe of God, and will 'at laſt daſh againſt the Rock of the Lord's power, 'which hath broken in pieces many high and lofty ones, 'ſince the beginning of the work in the Kingdoms.' (2). I ſhall here inſert the *Act* of the *Weſt-kirk*, declaring their mind very manifeſtly.

Weſt-Kirk, Auguſt 13. 1650. *The Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, conſidering that there may be juſt ground of ſtumbling, from the K. Maj. refuſing to ſubſcribe and emit the Declaration offered to him by the Committee of Eſtates, and the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, concerning his former carriage and reſolutions for the future, in reference to the Cauſe of God, and the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, That this Kirk and Kingdom doth not own or eſpouſe any Malignant Party, or Quarrel, or Intereſt, but that they fight merely upon their former Grounds and Principles, and in the defence of the Cauſe of God, and of the Kingdom, as they have done theſe twelve years paſt: and therefore, as they diſclaim all the ſin and guilt of the King, and of his houſe, ſo they will not own him nor his intereſt, otherwiſe than with a ſubordination to God, and ſo far as he owns and proſecutes the Cauſe of God, and diſclaims his and his Father's oppoſition to the Work of God, and to the Covenant, and likewiſe all the enemies thereof: and that they will, with convenient ſpeed, take into Conſideration the Papers lately ſent unto them by* Oliver Cromwel, *and vindicate themſelves from all the falſhoods contained therein; eſpecially in theſe things, wherein the quarrel betwixt us and that party is Miſſtated, as if we owned the late King's proceedings, and were reſolved to proſecute and maintain his preſent Maj. Intereſt, before and without acknowledgment of the ſin of his houſe and former ways, and ſatisfaction to God's people in both Kingdoms.*

ALEX. KER.

'*Auguſt* 13th, 1650, The Committee of Eſtates having ſeen and conſidered a Declaration of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, anent the ſtating of the 'quarrel

'quarrel wherein the Army is to fight, do approve the 'same, and heartily concur therein.

*Tho. Henderson.*

In the (3) place, It is specified in the *Causes of Wrath*, as one of the steps of defection, *Art.* 9. *Step* 5. 'That a 'Treaty should have been closed with him, upon his 'subscribing demands, after he had given many clear e-'vidences of his disaffection and enmity to the work and 'people of God; That these demands which he was re-'quired to subscribe, did not contain a real security, a 'real abandoning of former Malignant Courses and 'Principles, and cleaving to the Work of God; it was 'not a paper or verbal security, which we were bound 'to demand of him, but a real one; and to intrust him 'without this, was but to mock God, and to deceive the 'world, and to betray and destroy ourselves, by giving 'up all the precious Interests of Religion and Liberty in-'to the hands of one, who was in a course of enmity to 'them; That both before, and in the mean time of the 'Treaty, he had given evidence of his enmity in many 'instances, there condescended upon; particularly that he 'authorized *James Graham* to invade this Kingdom, 'and encouraged him by Letters to go on in that Inva-'sion, even whilst he was in terms of a Treaty with us, 'as appeared by bringing into our hands the authentick 'Commission itself, and sundry Letters under his own 'hand.' Next, in the same *Causes of Wrath*, among the sins of the Ministry, in relation to the publick, Sect. 10, 11, 12, 13. "That they agreed to receive the King to 'the Covenant, barely upon writing, without any ap-'parent evidences of a real change of principle; That 'they did not use freedom, in showing what was sinful 'in reference to that Treaty, but went on therein when 'they were not satisfied in their consciences, for fear of 'reproach, and of being mistaken; That they were si-'lent in publick, and did not give Testimony, after a 'discovery of the King's Commission to *James Graham* 'for invading the Kingdom; That they pressed the 'King to make a Declaration to the world, whilst they

'knew

'knew by clear evidences, that he had no real convi-
'ction of the things contained therein.'

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# PERIOD VI.

*Containing the Testimony through the continued Tract of the present Deformation, from the Year* 1660 *to this Day.*

NOW comes the last *Catastrophe* of the Deformation of the Church of *Scotland*, which now renders her to all Nations as infamously despicable, as her Reformation formerly made her admired and envied; which in a retrograde motion hath gradually been growing these 27 Years, going back through all the steps by which the Reformation ascended, till now she is returned to the very border of that *Babylon* from whence she took her departure, and reduced through defection, and division, and persecutions, to a confused *Chaos* of almost irreparable dissolution, and unavoidable desolation. Through all which steps notwithstanding, to this day, *Scotland* hath never wanted a Witness for Christ, against all the various steps of the Enemies advancings, and of professed Friends declinings; though the Testimony hath had some singularities, some way discriminating it from that of former *Periods*, in that it hath been more difficult, by reason of more desperate and dreadful assaults of more inraged enemies, more expert and experienced in the accursed art of overturning than any formerly; in that it hath been attended with more disadvantages, by reason of the Enemies greater prevalency, and Friends deficiency, and greater want of significant Assertors than any formerly; in that it hath been intangled in more multifarious intricacies of questions and debates, and divisions among the Asserters themselves, making it more dark, and yet in the end contributing to clear it more than any formerly; in that it hath been intended and extended to a greater measure, both as to matter and manner of contendings against the Adversaries, and stated upon nicer points,

points, more enixely prosecuted, and tenaciously maintained, and sealed with more sufferings than any formerly; in that it hath more opposition and contradiction, and less countenance from professed friends to the Reformation, either at home or abroad, than any formerly; and yet it hath had all these several specialities together, which were peculiar to the former Testimonies, in their respective Periods, being both active and passive both against Enemies and Friends; and *in cumulo* stated against Atheism, Popery, Prelacy, and Erastian Supremacy, which were the successive heads of the former Testimonies, and also now extended in a particular manner against *Tyranny*: and not only against the substance and essence of these in the abstract, but against substance and circumstance, abstract and concrete root and branch, head and tail of them, and all complying with them, conforming to them, or countenancing of them, or any thing conductive for them, or deduced from them, any manner of way, directly or indirectly, formally or interpretatively. This is that extensive and very comprehensive Testimony of the present Period, as it is now stated and sealed with the blood of many; which in all its parts, points and pendicles is most directly relative, and dilucidly reducible to a complex Witness for the declarative Glory of *Christ's Kingship and Headship over all*, as he is God, and as he is Mediator, which is the greatest concern that Creatures have to contend for, either as Men or as Christians. This being the matter of this Testimony, I shall give a short manuduction to the progress and result of its Management.

During the Exile of the *Royal Brothers*, it is undeniably known that they were, by their Mother's caresses, and the Jesuites allurements, seduced to abjure the Reformed Religion (which was easy to induce persons to, that never had the sense of any Religion) and to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*: and that not only they wrote to the Pope many promises of promoting his projects, if ever they should recover the power into their hands again, and often frequented the Mass themselves; but also, by their example, and the influence of their future hopes, prevailed with many of their dependents and attendants

tendants abroad, to do the like; yet it is also unquestionably known, that in the mean time of his Exile, he renewed and confirmed, by private Letters to *Presbyterians*, his many reiterated Engagements to adhere to the Covenant, and declared that he was, and would continue the same Man, that he had declared himself to be in *Scotland* (wherein doubtless, as he was an expert Artist, he equivocated, and meant in his heart he would continue as treacherous as ever) which helped to keep a loyal Impression of his Interest in the hearts of too many, and an expectation of some good of him, of which they were ashamed afterwards. And immediately before his return, 'tis known what promises are contained in that Declaration from *Breda* (from whence he came also the second time, with greater Treachery than at the first) to all Protestants that would live peaceably under his Government; beginning now to weigh out his perfidy and perjury, and breach of Covenant, in offering to *tolerate* that in an *Indulgence*, which he swore to maintain as a *Duty*. But in all this he purposed nothing, but to ingere and ingratiate himself into the peoples over credulous affections, that they might not obstruct his return, which a jealousy of his intended Tyranny would have awakened them to withstand. And so having seated himself, and strengthned his power against the attemptings of any; whom his Conscience might suggest an apprehension that they ought to resist him, he thought himself discharged from all obligations of Covenants, Oaths or Promises, for which his faith had been pledged. And from the first hour of his arrival, he did in a manner set himself to affront and defy the Authority of God, and to be revenged upon his Kingdoms, for inviting him so unanimously to sway their Sceptre: in polluting and infecting the people with all debaucheries and monstrous villanies; and commencing his incestuous Whoredoms that very first night he came to his Palace, wherein he continued to his dying day, outvying all for vileness. Yet he went on deluding our Church with his dissimulations, and would not discover all his wickedness hatched in his heart at first, till his designs should be riper, but directed a Letter to the Presbytry of *Edinburgh*, declaring

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he was *resolved to protect and preserve the Government of the Church of* Scotland, *as it is settled by Law, without Violation.* Wherein it was observed he altered the stile, and spake never a word of the *Covenant*, our *Magna Charta* of Religion and Righteousness, our greatest security for all Interests intrusted to him, but only of *Law*; by which, as his practice expounded it afterwards, he meant the *Prelatical* Church, as it was settled by the Law of his Father, since which time he reckoned there was no Law, but Rebellion. This was a piece and prelude of our base defection, and degeneration into blind, blockish and brutish stupidity; that after he had discovered so much perfidy, we not only at first tempted him to Perjury, in admitting him to the Crown, upon his mock-engagement in the Covenant, whereby God was mocked, his Spirit was grieved, his Covenant prostituted, the Church cheated, and the State betrayed: but after the Lord had broken his yoke from off our necks, by sending him to exile ten years, where he was discovered to be imbibing all that Venom and tyrannical Violence, which he afterward vented in revenge upon the Nation; and after we had long smarted for our first transaction with him; yet notwithstanding of all this, we believed him again, and *Issachar* like, couched under his burdens, and were so far from withstanding, that we did not so much as witness against the re-admission and restoration of the Head and Tail of Malignants, but let them come in peaceably to the throne, without any security to the covenanted Cause, or for our civil or religious Interests; and by piece-mail, at their own ease, leisure and pleasure, to overturn all the Work of God, and re-introduce the old Antichristian yoke of abjured *Prelacy*, and blasphemous sacrilegious *Supremacy*, and absolute arbitrary *Tyranny*, with all their abominations; which he, and with him the generality of our Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonality by him corrupted, without regard to faith, or fear of God or Man, did promote and propagate, until the Nation was involved in the greatest revolt from, and rebellion against God, that ever could be recorded in any Age or Generation; nay, attended with greater and grosser aggravations, than ever any could be

be capable of before us, who have had the greatest Privileges that ever any Church had, since the National Church of the *Jews*, the greatest Light, the greatest effects of matchless magnified Love, the greatest Convictions of Sin, the greatest Resolutions and solemn Engagements against it, and the greatest Reformation from it, that ever any had to abuse and affront. O Heavens, be astonished at this, and horribly afraid! for *Scotland* hath changed her Glory, and the Crown hath fallen from off her head, by an unparallelled Apostasy, a free and voluntary, wilful and deliberate Apostasy, an avowed and declared, and authorized Apostasy, tyrannically carried on by military Violence and Cruelty; a most universal and every way unprecedented Apostasy! I must a little change my method, in deducing the narration of this *Catastrophe*, and sub-distinguish this unhappy Period into several steps; shewing how the Enemies opposition to Christ advanced, and the Testimony of his Witnesses did gradually ascend, to the pitch it is now arrived at.

I. These enemies of God, having once got footing again, with the favour and fawnings of the foolish nation, went on fervently to further and promote their wicked design: and, meeting with no opposition at first, did encourage themselves to begin boldly. Wherefore, hearing of some Ministers peaceably assembled, to draw up a Monitory-letter to the King, minding him of his Covenant engagements and promises, (which was, tho' weak, yet the first witness and warning against that Heaven-daring wickedness then begun), they cruelly incarcerate them. Having hereby much daunted the Ministry from their duty in that day; for fear of the like unusual and outragious usage, the Parliament conveens, *January* 1. 1661, without so much as a Protestation for religion and liberty given in to them. And there, in the first place, they frame and take the oath of *Supremacy*, exauctorating Christ, and investing his usurping enemy with the spoils of his robbed prerogative, acknowledging the King *only supreme Governor over all persons, and in all causes, and that his power and jurisdiction must not be declined.* Whereby, under *all persons and all causes*,

*ses*, all Church-officers, in their most properly Ecclesiastick affairs and concerns of Christ, are comprehended: And if the King shall take upon him to judge their doctrine, worship, discipline, or government, he must not be declined as an incompetent judge. Which did at once enervate all the Testimony of the *fourth Period* above declared, and laid the foundation for all this *Babel* they have built since, and of all this war that hath been waged against the Son of God, and did introduce all this tyranny and absolute power which hath been since carried to its complement, and made the King's throne the foundation of all the succeeding Perjury and Apostasy. Yet, though then our Synods and Presbyteries were not discharged, but might have had access in some concurrence to witness against this horrid invasion upon Christ's prerogative and the Church's privilege, no joint Testimony was given against it, except that some were found witnessing against it in their singular capacity by themselves. As faithful Mr. *James Guthrie*, for declining this usurped authority in prejudice of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, suffered death, and got the Martyrs crown upon his head: and some others, for refusing that oath arbitrarily imposed, were banished or confined. When they had gained this bulwark of Christ's Kingdom, then they waxed more insolent, and set up their Ensigns for signs, and broke down the carved work of Reformation with axes and hammers. In this Parliament 1661, they past an *Act Rescissory*, whereby they annulled and declared void the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, Presbyterial Government, and all laws made in favours of the work of Reformation, since the year 1633. O horrid wickedness! both in its nature so atrocious, to condemn and rescind what God did so signally seal as his own work, to the conviction of the world, and for which he will rescind the Rescinders, and overturn these Overturners of his work, and make the curse of that broken Covenant bind them to the punishment, whom its bond could not oblige to the duty covenanted; and in its design and end so base and detestable, for nothing but to flatter the King in making way for Prelacy, Tyranny and Popery, and to indulge the licentiousness

of some debauched Nobles, who could not endure the yoke of Christ's Government, and to suppress Religion and Righteousness under the ruins of that Reformation. But, O holy and astonishing Justice, thus to recompense our way upon our own head! to suffer this work and cause to be ruined under our unhappy hands, who suffered this destroyer to come in before it was so effectually secured, as it should not have been in the power of his hand (whatever had been in his heart, swelled with enmity against Christ) to have razed and ruined that work as now most wickedly he did, and drew in so many into the guilt of the same deed, that almost the whole land not only consented unto it, but applauded it; by approving and countenancing another wicked *Act*, framed at the same time, by that same perfidious Parliament for an anniversary thanksgiving, commemorating every 29th of *May*, that Blasphemy against the Spirit and Work of God, and celebrating that unhappy Restauration of the Rescinder of the Reformation; which had not only the concurrence of the universality of the nation, bt (alas for shame, that it should be told in *Gath*, &c!) even of some Ministers who afterwards accepted the indulgence, (one of which a pillar among them, was seen scandalously dancing about the bonefires). And others, who should have alarmed the whole nation, *as it were for their religion and property*, to rise for religion and liberty, to resist such wickedness, did wink at it. O how righteous is the Lord now in turning our harps into mourning! though, alas! we will not suffer ourselves, to this day, to see the shining righteousness of this retribution: and though we be scourged with scorpions, and brayed in a mortar, our madness, our folly in these irreligious frolicks, is not yet acknowledged, let be lamented. Yet albeit, neither in this day, when the Covenant was not only broken, but cassed and declared of no obligation, nor afterward when it was burnt, (for which Turks and Pagans would have been ashamed and afraid at such a terrible sight, and for which the Lord's anger is burning against these bold burners, and against them who suffered it, and did not witness against it), was there any publick Testimony by protestation,

or

or remonstrance, or any publick witness? though the Lord had some then, and some who came out afterward with the trumpet at their mouth, whose heart then sorrowed at the sight: and some suffered for the sense they shewed of that anniversary abomination, for not keeping which they lost both Church and Liberty. It is true, the ordinary meetings of Presbyteries and Synods were about that time discharged, to make way for the exercise of the new power conferred on the four Prelates who were at court, re-ordained and consecrated thereby, renouncing their former title to the Ministry. But this could not give a discharge from a necessary Testimony, then called for from faithful watchmen. However, the Reformation being thus rescinded and razed, and the House of the Lord pulled down, then they begin to build their *Babel*. In the Parliament, in the year 1662, by their first act, they restore and re-establish *Prelacy*, upon such a foundation, as they might by the same law bring in *Popery*, which was then designed; and so settled its Harbinger Diocesan and Erastian Prelacy, by fuller Englargement of the *Supremacy*. The very act begineth thus. 'Forasmuch as the ordering and disposal 'of the external government of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty, as an inherent right of the 'crown, by virtue of his Royal Prerogative, and Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastick,——whatever shall 'be determined by his Majesty, with advice of the 'Archbishops, and such of the Clergy, as he shall nominate, in the external Government of the Church, '(the same consisting with the standing laws of the 'kingdom), shall be valid and effectual. And, in the 'same act, all laws are rescinded, by which the sole 'power and jurisdiction within the Church doth stand 'in the Church-assemblies: and all which may be interpreted, to have given any Church-power, jurisdiction, or government to the office-bearers of the Church, 'other than that which acknowledgeth a dependence 'upon, and subordination to the Sovereign power of the 'King as supreme.' By which, Prelates are redintegrated to all their privileges and preheminencies, that they possessed in the year 1637. And all their Church-power

(robbed from the Officers of Christ) is made to be derived from, to depend upon, and to be subordinate to, the crown prerogative of the King: whereby the King is made the only fountain of Church-power, and that exclusive even of Christ, of whom there is no mentioned exception: and his vassals the Bishops, as his Clerks in Ecclesiasticks, are accountable to him for all their administrations; a greater usurpation upon the kingdom of Christ, than ever the Papacy itself aspired unto. Yet, albeit here was another display of a banner of defiance against Christ, in altering the church-government of Christ's Institution into the human invention of lordly Prelacy, in assuming a power by prerogative to dispose then of the external government of the Church, and in giving his creatures *Patents* for this effect, to be his Administrators in that usurped government; there was no publick, Ministerial, at least united Testimony against this neither. Therefore the Lord punished this sinful and shameful silence of Ministers, in his holy Justice, though by mens horrid wickedness; when, by another wicked *Act* of the Council at *Glasgow*, above three hundred Ministers were put from their charges; and afterwards, for their non-conformity in not countenancing their Diocesan meeting, and not keeping the anniversary day, *May* 29. The rest were violently thrust from their labours in the Lord's vineyard, and banished from their Parishes, and adjudged unto a nice and strange confinement, twenty miles from their own Parishes, six miles from a Cathedral-church, as they called it, and three miles from a Burgh; whereby they were reduced into many inconveniencies. Yet, in this fatal convulsion of the Church, generally all were struck with blindness and baseness, that a Paper-proclamation made them all run from their posts, and obey the King's orders for their ejection. Thus were they given up, because of their forbearing to sound an alarm, charging the people of God, in point of loyalty to Christ, and under the pain of the curse of the Covenant, to awake and acquit themselves like men, and not to suffer the enemy to rob them of that treasure of Reformation, which they were put in possession of, by the tears, prayers, and blood of such as went before them; instead of those

those prudential fumblings and firstlings then and since so much followed. Wherefore the Lord, in his holy Righteousness, left that enemy (against whom they should have cried and contended, and to whose eye they should have held the curse of the Covenant, as having held it first to their own, in case of unfaithful silence in not holding it to his) to cast them out of the House of the Lord, and dissolve their Assemblies, and deprive them of their privileges, because of their not being so valiant for the truth, as that a full and faithful Testimony against that encroachment might be found upon record. Nevertheless some were found faithful in that hour and power of darkness, who kept the word of the Lord's patience, and who were therefore kept in and from that tentation, (which carried many away into sad and shameful defections), though not from suffering hard things from the hands of men; and only these who felt most of their violence, found grace helping them to acquit themselves suitably to that day's Testimony, being thereby prevented from an active yielding to their impositions, when they were made passively to suffer force. However, that season of a publick Testimony was lost, and, as to the most part, never recovered to this day. The Prelates being settled, and re-admitted to voice in Parliament, they procure an act, dogmatically condemning several material parts and points of our covenanted Reformation, to wit, these positions, 'That it was lawful for subjects, for Reformation or necessary self-defence, to enter into leagues, or take up arms against the King; and particularly declaring that the National Covenant, as explained in the year 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant, were and are in themselves unlawful oaths, and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this Kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties thereof, that all such gatherings and petitions, that were used in the beginning of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious: and whereas then people were led into these things, by having disseminated among them such principles as these, that it was lawful to come with petitions and representations of grievances to the King, that it was lawful for people

'ple to restrict their allegiance under such and such limi-
'tations, and suspend it until he should give security for
'religion, &c. It was therefore enacted, that all such
'positions, and practices founded thereupon, were trea-
'sonable. ——And further did enact, that no person,
'by writing, praying, preaching, or malicious or ad-
'vised speaking, express or publish any words or sen-
'tences, to stir up the people to the dislike of the King's
'prerogative and supremacy, or of the government of
'the Church by Bishops, or justify any of the deeds, ac-
'tings, or things declared against by that act.' Yet notwithstanding of all this subversion of religion and liberty, and restraint of asserting these truths here trampled upon, either before men by Testimony, or before God in mourning over these indignities done unto him, in everting these and all the parts of Reformation, even when it came to *Daniel*'s case of confession, preaching and praying truths interdicted by law; few had their eyes open (let be their windows, in an open avouching them) to see the duty of the day calling for a Testimony. Though afterwards, the Lord spirited some to assert and demonstrate the glory of these truths and duties to the world. As that judicious Author of the *Apologetical Relation*, whose labours need no *Elogium* to commend them. But this is not all: for these men, having now, as they thought, subverted the work of God, they provided also against the fears of its revival: making acts, declaring, that if the outed Ministers dare to continue to 'preach, and presume to exercise their Ministry, they 'should be punished as seditious persons; requiring of all 'a due acknowledgement of, and hearty complyance with, 'the King's government Ecclesiastical and Civil; and that 'whosoever shall ordinarily and wilfully withdraw 'and absent from the ordinary Meetings for divine Wor-'ship in their own Churches on the Lord's Day, shall in-'cur the Penalties there insert.' Thus the sometimes chaste Virgin, whose name was *Beulah* to the Lord, the Reformed Church of *Scotland*, did now suffer a violent and villanous Rape, from a Vermin of vile schismatical Apostates, obtruded and imposed upon her, instead of her able, painful, faithful and successful Pastors, that the Lord

Lord had set over her, and now by their faintness, and the Enemies force, robbed from her, and none now allowed by Law to administer the Ordinances, but either Apostate Curates, who by their Perjury and Apostasy forfaulted their Ministry, or other Hirelings and Prelates Journeymen, who run without a Mission, except from them who had none to give, according to Christ's Institution, the Seal of whose Ministry could never yet be shown in the Conversion of any Sinner to Christ: but if the tree may be known by its fruits, we may know whose Ministers they are; *as the Lion from his Claws*, by their *Conversion* of Reformation into Deformation, of the Work and Cause of God into the similitude of the *Roman* Beast, of Ministers into Hirelings, of their Proselytes into ten times worse children of the Devil than they were before, of the power of Goliness into formality, of preaching Christ into Orations of Morality, of the purity of Christ's Ordinances into the vanity of mens Inventions, of the beautiful Government of the House of God for Edification, to a lordly Pre-eminence and Domination over consciences, in a word, of Church and State Constitutions for Religion and Liberty, all upside down into wickedness and slavery: these are the Conversions of Prelacy. But now this astonishing blow to the Gospel of the Kingdom, introducing such a Swarm of Locusts into the Church, and in forcing a Compliance of the people with this defection, and that so violently and rigorously, as even simple withdrawing was so severely punished by severe Edicts of fining, and other arbitrary punishments at first; what did it produce? Did it awaken all Christ's Ambassadors, now to appear for Christ, in this clear and clamant case of confessing him, and the Freedom and Purity of his Ordinances? Alas! the backwardness and bentness to backsliding, in a superseding from the duties of that day, did make it evident, that now the Lord had in a great measure forsaken them, because they had forsaken him. The standard of the Gospel was then fallen, and few to take it up. The generality of Ministers and Professors both went and conformed so far as to *hear the Curates*, contrary to many points of the Reformation formerly attained,

ed, contrary to their Covenant Engagements, and contrary to their own principles and practice at that same time; scrupling and refusing to keep the Bishop's *Visitations*, and to Countenance their *Discipline* and power of *Jurisdiction*, because it was required as a Testification of their acknowledgment of, and Compliance with the present Government, and yet not scrupling to Countenance their *Doctrine*, and usurped power of *Order* required also by the same Law, as the same Test of the same Compliance and submission. 'Tis strange that some yet do plead for persisting in that same Compliance, after all the bitter Consequents of it. Other Ministers lay altogether by, in their retired recesses, waiting to see what things would turn to: others were hopeless, turned *Farmers* and *Doctors:* others more wyly, staid at home, and preached quietly in *Ladies Chambers*. But the faithful thought that this Tyrannical ejection did not, nor could not, *unminister* them, so as they might not preach the Gospel where ever they were, as Ambassadors of Christ; but rather found themselves under an indispensible necessity to preach the Gospel, and Witness for the freedom of their Ministry, and make full proof of it, in preaching in season and out of season: and thereupon, as occasion offered, preached to all such as were willing to hear; but at first only in private *houses*, and that for the most part at such times, when Sermons in publick surceased (a superplus of Caution.) But afterwards, finding so great difficulties and Persecutions for their House-meetings, where they were so easily entrapped, were constrained at last to keep their Meetings in the *Fields*, without shelter from cold, wind, snow, or rain. Where testifying both practically and particularly against these Usurpations on their Master's Prerogatives, and witnessing for their Ministerial freedom, contrary to all Law-Interdictions, without any Licences, or Indulgences from the Usurper, but holding their Ministry from Jesus Christ alone, both as to the Office and exercise thereof; they had so much of their Master's Countenance, and success in their labours, that they valued neither hazards nor hardships, neither the contempt of pretended Friends, nor the Laws, nor threatning

nings of Enemies, adjudging the penalty of death it self to Preachers at *Field Conventicles*, as they called them. Now having thus overturned the *Church Government*, by introducing Prelacy, to advance an absolute Supremacy; the effects whereof, were either the Corruption, or Persecution of all the Ministry, Encouragment of profanity and wickedness, the encrease and advancement of Popery, Superstition, and Error, cruel impositions on the Conscience, and oppressions for Conscience sake, by the practices of cruel *Supra-Spanish Inquisitions*, and all manner of out-cries of outragious violence and villany: the King proceeds, in his design, to pervert and evert the well-modelled and moderated Constitution of the *State Government* also, by introducing and advancing an Arbitrary Tyranny; the effects whereof, were an absolute Mancipation of Lives and Liberties, and estates unto his lust and pleasure, the utter subversion of Laws, and absolute impoverishing of the people. For effectuating which, he first procures a lasting Imposition of intolerable *Subsidies* and Taxations, to impoverish, that he might the more easily enslave the Nation; next, a further recognizance of his *Prerogative*, in a subjection of persons, fortunes, and whole strength of the Kingdom to his absolute arbitrement, "In a Levy of Militia of "20,000 footmen, and 2000 horsemen sufficiently arm-"ed, with 40 days provision, to be ready upon the "King's call to march to any part of his Dominions, for "opposing whatsoever invasion, or insurrection, or for "any other service." The first sproutings of Tyranny were cherished, by the cheerful and stupid submission generally yeilded to these exorbitancies; under which, they who suffered most were inwardly Malecontents, but there was no opposition to them by word or action; but, on the contrary, generally people did not so much as scruple sending out, or going out as Militia-men: never adverting unto what this Concurrence was designed, and demanded, and given for; nor what an accession it was, in the nature and influence of the mean it self, and in the sense and intention of the Requirers, unto a Confederacy for a Compliance with, and a Confirmation and strengthening of Arbitrary Tyranny. After the fundamental

mental constitutions of both Church and State are thus razed and rooted up, to confirm this *Absolute Power*, he contrived to frame all inferior Magistrates according to his mould: and for this end appointed, that all persons, in any publick Trust or Office whatsoever, should subscribe a *Declaration*, renouncing and abjuring the Covenants; whereby Perjury was made the chief and indispensible qualification, *and without which nothing could be had*, of all that were capable of exercing any power or place in Church or State. But finding this not yet sufficient security for this unsettled settlement; because he well understood, the people stood noways obliged to acknowledge him, but only according to the solemn Covenants, being the fundamental Conditions whereupon their Allegiance was founded (as amongst all people, the Articles mutually consented betwixt them, and these whom they set over them, are the constituent fundamentals of Government) and well knowing, that he and his Associates, by violating these Conditions, had loosed the people from all subjection to him, or any deriving power from him, whereby the people might justly plead, that since he had kept no Condition, they were not now obliged to him; he therefore contrived a new *Oath of Allegiance* to be imposed upon all in publick trust, both in Church and State; wherein they are made to oblige themselves to that Boundless breaker of all Bonds, sacred and civil, and his Successors also, without any reciprocal obligation from him to them, or any reserved restriction, limitation, or qualification, as all human Authority, by God's Ordinance, must be bounded. Whereby the Swearers have, by Oath, homologated the overturning of the very *Basis* of the Government, making free people Slaves to the subverters thereof, betraying their native Brethren and posterity to the lust of Tyranny, and have, in effect, as really, as if in plain terms, affirmed, that whatsoever Tyranny shall command, or do, either as to the overturning of the work of God, subverting of Religion, destroying of Liberty, or persecuting all the Godly to the utmost extremity, they shall not only stupidly endure it, but actively concur with it, and assist in all this Tyranny. Alas! there

was

was no publick Testimony against this Trick, to bring people under the yoke of Tyranny; except by some who suffered for Conscientious refusing it, while many others did take it, thinking to salve the matter by their pitiful quibbling senses, of giving *Cesar* his due. Whereas this *Cesar*, for whom these Loyal Allegiers plead, is not an ordinary *Cesar*, but such a *Cesar*, *Nero*, or *Caligula*, that if he got his due, it would be in another kind. Strange! can Presbyterians swear that Allegiance, which is substitute in the place of the broken and burnt Covenant? Or could they swear it to such a person, who having broken and buried the Covenant, that he who had sworn it, might have another right, and another Allegiance than that of the Covenant, had then remitted to us all Allegiance founded upon the Covenant? However, having now prepared and furnished himself with Tools so qualified for his purpose, in Church and State, he prosecutes his Persecution with such fervour and fury, rage and revenge, impositions and oppressions, and with armed formed force, against the faithful following their duty in a peaceable manner, without the least shadow of Contempt, even of his abused Authority, that at length, in the year 1666, a small party were compelled to go to defensive arms. Which, whatever was the desire of the Court (as it is known how desirous they have been of an Insurrection, when they thought themselves sure to suppress it, that they might have a vent for their Cruelty; and how one of the Brothers hath been heard say, *That if he might have his wish, he would have them all turn Rebels, and go to arms.*) Yet it was no predetermined design of that poor Handful. For Sir *James Turner*, pursuing his cruel orders in *Galloway*, sent some Soldiers to apprehend a poor old man; whom his neighbours compassionating, intreated the Soldiers to loose him as he lay bound, but were answered with drawn Swords, and necessitated to their own defence: In which they relieve the man, and disarm the Soldiers, and further attacked some others oppressing that Country, disarming 10 or 12 more, and killing one that made resistance. Whereupon, the Country being alarmed, and fearing from sad experience Sir *James* would cer-

certainly avenge this affront upon the whole Country, without distinction of free and unfree, they gather about 54 horsemen, march to *Drumfries*, take Sir *James Turner* Prisoner, and disarm the Soldiers, without any more violence. Being thus, by Providence, engaged without any hope of retreat, and getting some Concurrence of their Brethren in the same Condition, they come to *Lanerk*, where they renew the Covenant; and thence to *Pentland-hills*: where, by the holy Disposal of God, they were routed, many killed, and 130 taken Prisoners, who were treated so treacherously and truculently, as *Turks* would have blushed to have seen the like. Hence now, on the one hand, we may see the Righteousness of God, in leaving that Enemy to him, whom we embraced, to make such avowed Discoveries of himself, without a blush to the world, and to scourge us with scorpions that we nourished and put in his hands: and also, how justly, at that time, he left us into such a damp, that like Asses we couched under all burdens, and few came out to the help of the Lord against the Mighty, drawing on them *Meroz*'s Curse, and the blood of their butchered Brethren; after we had sitten, and seen, and suffered all things, Civil and Sacred, to be destroyed in our sight without resentment. And though the Lord, who called out these worthy Patriots, who fell at *Pentland*, to such an appearance for his Interests, did take a Testimony of their hands with acceptance by sufferings, and singularly Countenanced them in sealing it with their blood; yet he would not give success nor his presence to the Enterprise, but left them in a sort of infatuation, without Counsel and Conduct, to be a prey to devourers, that, by a sad inadvertency, they took in the Tyrants Interest into the State of the Quarrel. Which should have warned his people for the future, to have stated the Quarrel otherwise.

II. By this time, and much more after, the King gave as many proofs and demonstrations of his being true to Antichrist, in minding all the promises and treaties with him, as he had of his being false to Christ, in all his covenanted Engagements with his People. For in this same year 1666, he, with his dear and Royal Brother

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the Duke of *York*, contrived, countenanced, and abetted the burning of *London*, evident by their employing their Guards to hinder the People from saving their own, and to dismiss the Incendiaries the Papists, that were taken in the fact. The Committee, appointed to cognosce upon that business, traced it so far, that they durst go no further, unless they would arraign the Duke, and charge the King: and yet before this it was enacted as criminal for any to say, the King was a Papist. But having gained so much of his design in *Scotland*, where he had established Prelacy, advanced Tyranny to the height of Absoluteness, and his Supremacy almost beyond the reach of any additional supply, yea, above the *Pope*'s own Claim, and had now brought his only opposites, the few faithful Witnesses of Christ to a low pass, he went on by Craft as well as Cruelty, to advance his own, in promoting Antichrist's Interest. And therefore, having gotten the *Supremacy* devolved upon him by Law (for which also he had the *Pope*'s dispensation, to take it to himself for the time, under promise to restore and surrender it to him, as soon as he could attain his end by it, as the other Brother succeeding hath now done) he would now exert that usurped power, and work by ensnaring policy to effectuate the end which he could not do by other means. Therefore, seeing he was not able to suppress the Meetings of the Lord's people for Gospel Ordinances, in house and fields, but that the more he laboured by violent courses, the greater and more frequent they grew; he fell upon a more crafty Device, not only to overthrow the Gospel, and suppress the Meetings, but to break the faithful, and to *divide, between the mad-cap and the moderate Fanaticks* (as they phrased it) that he might the more easily destroy both, to confirm the usurpation, and to settle people in a sinful silence and stupid submission to all the Encroachments made on Christ's Prerogatives, and more effectually to overturn what remained of the Work of God. And, knowing that nothing could more fortify the Supremacy, than Ministers their homologating and acknowledging it; therefore he offered the first *Indulgence* in the year 1669, signifying in a Letter, dated that year, *June* 7th, his gracious pleasure

sure was, 'To appoint so many of the outed Ministers, 'as have lived peaceably and orderly, to return to 'preach and exercise other functions of the Ministry, in 'the Parish-churches where they formerly served (pro-'vided they be vacant) and to allow Patrons to present 'to other vacant Churches, such others of them as the 'Council should approve: that all who are so indulged, 'be enjoined to keep Presbyteries, and the Refusers to 'be confined within the bounds of their Parishes: and 'that they be enjoined not to admit any of their neigh-'bour Parishes unto their Communions, nor baptize their 'Children, nor marry any of them, without the allow-'ance of the Minister of the Parish: and if they coun-'tenance the People deserting their own Parishes, they 'are to be silenced for shorter or longer time, or alto-'gether turned out, as the Council shall see cause: and, 'upon Complaint made and verified, of any seditious 'Discourse or Expressions in the Pulpit, uttered by any 'of the Ministers, they are immediately to be turned out, 'and further punished according to Law: and seeing by 'these orders all Pretences for *Conventicles* were taken a-'way, if any should be found hereafter to preach with-'out Authority, or keep Conventicles; his Pleasure is, to 'proceed with all Severity against them, as seditious 'Persons, and Contemners of Authority.' To salve this in point of Law (because it was against former Laws of their own) and to make the King's Letter the supreme Law afterwards, and a valid ground in Law, where-upon the Council might proceed and enact, and execute what the King pleased in Matters Ecclesiastick; he therefore caused frame a formal statutory *Act of Supremacy*, of this Tenor: 'That his Majesty hath the supreme 'Authority and Supremacy over all Persons, and in all 'Causes Ecclesiastick, within his Dominions, and that 'by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the ex-'ternal Government of the Church, doth properly be-'long to him and his successors, as an inherent Right to 'the Crown: and that he may settle, enact, and emit 'such Constitutions, Acts and Orders, concerning the 'administrating thereof, and Persons employed in the 'same, and concerning all Ecclesiastical Meetings and 'Matters,

Matters, to be proposed and determined therein, *as he in his Royal Wisdom shall think fit*; which Acts, Orders and Constitutions are to be observed and obeyed by all his Majesty's Subjects, any Law, Act, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding. Whereupon, according-y the Council, in their Act of *July* 27th, 1669, 'do nominate several Ministers, and appoint them to preach, 'and exercise the other functions of the Ministry, at 'their respective Churches there specified, with Con-'sent of the Patrons.' The same day also they conclude and enact the forementioned *Restrictions*, conform to the King's Letter above rehearsed, and ordain them to be intimate to every Person, who is by Authority foresaid allowed the exercise of the Ministry. These indulged Ministers having that Indulgence given only upon these terms, that they should accept these Injunctions; and having received it upon these terms also (as an essential part of the Bargain and Condition, on which the Indulgence was granted and accepted, as many following Proclamations did expresly declare) do appoint Mr. *Hutcheson*, one of the number, 'to declare so much; in acknow-'ledging his Majesty's Favour and Clemency, in grant-'ing that Liberty, after so long a restraint: and how-'ever they had received their Ministry from Jesus Christ, 'with full Prescriptions from him for regulating them 'therein, yet nothing could be more refreshing on earth 'to them, than to have free Liberty for the exercise of 'their Ministry, under the Protection of lawful Autho-'rity: and so they purposed to behave themselves, in 'the discharge of the Ministry, with that wisdom that 'became faithful Ministers, and to demean themselves 'towards lawful Authority, notwithstanding of their 'known judgment in Church-affairs, as well becometh 'loyal Subjects; and their Prayer to God should be, 'that the Lord should bless his Majesty in his Person and 'Government, and the Council in the publick admini-'stration, and especially in the pursuance of his Maje-'sty's mind in his Letter, wherein his singular modera-'tion eminently appears.' —— Afterwards they issued out Proclamations, reinforcing the punctual observation of the forementioned Injunctions, and delivered them into the

the indulged. In the mean time; though cruel Acts and Edicts were made against the Meetings of the Lord's People, in houses and the fields, after all these *Midianitish* wiles to suppress them, such was the presence of the Lord in these Meetings, and so powerful was his Countenance and Concurrence with the Labours of a few, who laid out themselves to hold up the Standard of Christ; that the number of Converts multiplied daily, to the praise of free Grace, and to the great encouragement of the few hands that wrestled in that Work, through all human discouragement. Therefore King and Council was put to a new shift, which they supposed would prove more effectual; to wit, because there was a great number of non-conformed Ministers not yet indulged, who either did or might hereafter hold *Conventicles*; therefore, to remeid or prevent this in time coming, they appoint and ordain them to such places where indulged Ministers were settled, there to be confined, with allowance to preach, as the Indulged should employ them; thinking by this means to incapacitate many to hold Meetings there or elsewhere: and to these also they give injunctions and restrictions to regulate them in the exercise of their Ministry. And to the end that all the outed Ministers might be brought under restraint, and the Word of God be kept under bonds, by another Act of Council they command, that all other Ministers (not disposed of as is said) were either to repair to the Parish-churches where they were, or to some other Parishes, where they may be ordinary hearers, and to declare and condescend upon the Parishes where they intend to have their Residence. After this they assumed a Power, to dispose of these their Curates as they pleased, and transport them from place to place; whereof the only ground was a simple Act of Council, the *Instructions* always going along with them, as the constant Companion of the *Indulgence*. By all which it is apparent, whatever these Ministers alledge in vindication of it, to cover its deformity, in their *Balms* to take away its *Stink*, and in their *Surveys* to gather Plaisters to scurf over its Scurvineſs, *viz.* that it was but the *Removal of the Civil Restraint*, and that they *entred* into their places by the

*Call*

*Call of the People* (a mere mock pretence for a prelimited imposition, whereby that Ordinance of Christ was basely prostituted and abused) and that their *Testimony* and *Protestation* was a *Salvo* for their conscience (a mere *Utopian* fancy, that the *Indulgers*, with whom they bargained, never heard of, otherwise, as they did with some who were faithful in testifying against their Encroachments, they would soon have given them a Bill of Ease) it cannot be denied, that that doleful *Indulgence*, both in its Rise, Contrivance, Conveyance, Grant and Acceptance, End and Effects, was a grievous Encroachment upon the princely Prerogative of Jesus Christ, the only Head of the Church; whereby the Usurper's Supremacy was homologated, bowed to, complied with, strengthned and established, the Cause and Kingdom of Christ betrayed, his Church's Privileges surrender'd, his Enemies harden'd, his Friends stumbled, and the Remant rent and ruined; in that it was granted and deduced from the King's Supremacy, and conveyed by the Council; in that, according to his pleasure, he gave and they received a Licence and Warrant, to such as he nominated and elected, and judged fit and qualified for it, and fixed them in what particular Parish he pleased to assign, under the notion of a Confinement; in that he imposed, and they submitted to restrictions in the exercise of their Ministry in these particular Parishes, inhibiting to preach elsewhere in the Church; and with these restrictions, he gave and they received instructions to regulate and direct them in their functions. All which was done without Advice or Consent of the Church; and thereupon they have frequently been called and conveened before the Council, to give account of their ministerial exercise, and some of them sentenced, silenced, and deposed for alledged disobedience. This was a manifest *Treason* against Christ, which involved many in the actual guilt of it that day, and many others who gaped after it, and could not obtain it; and far more at that time, and since, in the guilt of *Misprision* of Treason, in passing this also without a witness. Thus, in holy judgment, because of our indulging and conniving at the Usurper of Christ's Throne, he left a great part of the Ministers to

take that wretched *Indulgence*; and another part, instead of remonstrating the wickedness of that Deed, have been left to palliate and plaister, and patronize it, in keeping up the Credit of the King and Council's *Curates*, wherein they have shewed more zeal, than ever against that wicked Indulgence. Yet the Lord had some Witnesses, who pretty early did give significations of their resentment of this Dishonour done to Christ, as Mr. *William Weir*, who having got the legal Call of the People, and discharging his duty honestly, was turned out; and Mr. *John Burnet*, who wrote a Testimony directed to the Council, shewing why he could not submit to that *Indulgence*, inserted at large in the *History of the Indulgence*; where also we have the Testimony of other ten Ministers, who drew up their Reasons of Non-compliance with such a snare; and Mr. *Alexander Blair*, who, upon occasion of a Citation before the Council for not observing the 29th of *May*, having, with others, made his appearance, and got new Copies of Instructions presented to them, being moved with zeal, and remembring whose Ambassador he was, told the Council plainly, that *He could receive no Instructions from them in the Exercise of his Ministry, otherwise he should not be Christ's Ambassador, but theirs*: and herewith lets their Instructions drop out of his Hand, knowing of no other *Salvo*, or manner of testifying for the Truth in the Case; for which he was imprisoned, and died under Confinement. But afterwards, the Lord raised up some more explicite Witnesses against that defection. All this Trouble was before the year 1673; about which time, finding this device of *Indulgences* proved so steadable for his Service in *Scotland*, he was induced to try it also in *England*; which he did almost with the same or like success, and producing the same effects of defection, security and unfaithfulness. The Occasion was upon his Wars with the *Dutch*; which gave another demonstrative Discovery of his Treachery and *Popish* Perfidy, in breaking League with them, and entring into one with the *French*, to destroy Religion and Liberty in *Britain*; 'Wherein the King of *France* assures 'him an *absolute Authority* over his Parliaments, and to 're-establish the Catholick Religion in his Kingdoms of '*England*,

'*England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; to compass which it 'was necessary first to abate the pride and power of the '*Dutch*, and to reduce them to the sole Province of *Hol-*'*land*, by which means the King of *England* should have '*Zealand* for a retreat, in case of need; and that the rest 'of the *Low Countries* should remain to the King of '*France*, if he could render himself master of it. But, to return to *Scotland*: while, by the forementioned device, he thought he had utterly suppressed the gospel in *House* and *Field Meetings*, he was so far disappointed, that these very means and machines by which he thought to bury it, did chiefly contribute to its revival. For when, by persecution, many Ministers had been chased away by illegal Law-sentences, many had been banished away, and, by their ensnaring *Indulgences*, many had been drawn away from their duty, and others were now sentenced with confinements and restraints, if they should not chuse and fix their residence where they could not keep their quiet and conscience both; they were forced to wander and disperse through the country, and the people being tired of the cold and dead *Curates*, and wanting long the ministry of their old *Pastors*, so longed and hungered after the *Word*, that they behoved to have it at any rate, cost what it would; which made them entertain the dispersed Ministers more earnestly, and encouraged them more to their duty. By whose endeavours, through the mighty power and presence of God, and the light of his countenance now shining through the cloud, after so fatal and fearful a darkness that had overclouded the land for a while, with such a resplendent brightness, that it darkened the *Prelatick Locusts*, and made them hiss and gnash their tongues for pain, and dazled the eyes of all onlookers; the word of God grew exceedingly, and went through at least the Southern borders of the kingdom like lightning, or like the sun in its meridian beauty; discovering so the wonders of God's law, the Mysteries of his gospel, and the secrets of his Covenant, and the sins and duties of that day, that a numerous issue was begotten to Christ, and his conquest was glorious, captivating poor slaves of Satan, and bringing them from his power unto God, and from darkness to

light. O! who can remember the glory of that day, without a melting heart, in reflecting upon what we have lost, and let go, and sinned away, by our misimprovements? O! that in that our day, we had hearkened to his voice, and had known the things that belonged to our peace! A day of such power, that it made the people, even the bulk and body of the people, willing to come out and venture upon the greatest of hardships and the greatest of hazards, in pursuing after the gospel, thro' mosses and muirs, and inaccessible mountains, summer and winter, thro' excess of heat and extremity of cold, many days and night journies, even when they could not have a probable expectation of escaping the sword of the wilderness, and the barbarous fury of bloody *Burrio's* raging for their prey, sent out with orders to take and kill them; it being now made criminal by Law, especially to the Preachers and Convocaters of those Meetings. But this was a day of such power, that nothing could daunt them from their duty, that had tasted once the sweetness of the Lord's presence at these persecuted Meetings. Then had we such *Humiliation-days* for personal and publick Defections, such *Communion-days* even in the open fields, and such *Sabbath-Solemnities*, that the places where they were kept might have been called *Bethel*, or *Peniel*, or *Bochim*, and all of them *Jehovah-Shammah*; wherein many were truly converted, more convinced, and generally all Reformed from their former immoralities: that even Robbers, Thieves, and profane Men, were some of them brought to a saving subjection to Christ, and generally under such restraint, that all the severities of heading and hanging, *&c.* in a great many years, could not make such a civil Reformation, as a few days of the Gospel, in these formerly the Devil's Territories, now Christ's Quarters, where his Kingly Standard was displayed. I have not Language to lay out the inexpressible Glory of that day: but I will make bold to say two things of it, *first*, I doubt if ever there was greater days of the Son of Man upon the Earth, since the Apostolick times, than we enjoyed for the space of seven years at that time: and next, I doubt, if upon the back of such a lightsome day, there was

was ever a blacker night of darkness, defection, division, and confusion, and a more universal impudent Apostasy, than we have seen since. The world is at a great loss, that a more exact and complete account, demonstrating both these, is not published, which I am sure would be a fertile Theme to any faithful pen. But this not being my scope at present, but only to deduce the steps of the contendings of Christ's Friends and his Enemies, I must follow the threed of my Narration. Now when Christ is gaining Ground by the preached Gospel in plenty, in purity and power, the Usurpers *Supremacy* was like to stagger, and *Prelacy* came under universal Contempt, in so much that several Country *Curates* would have had but scarce half a dozen of hearers, and some none at all. And this was a general Observe that never failed, that no sooner did any poor Soul come to get a serious sense of Religion, and was brought under any real exercise of Spirit about their Souls concerns, but as soon they did fall out with *Prelacy*, and left the *Curates*. Hence to secure what he had possessed himself of by Law, and to prevent a dangerous *Paroxism* which he thought would ensue upon these Commotions, the King returned to exerce his innate Tyranny, and to emit terrible Orders, and more terrible Executioners, and bloody Emissaries, against all field Meetings: which, after long patience, the people at length could not endure; but being first chased to the Fields, where they would have been content to have the Gospel with all the inconveniencies of it, and also expelled from the Fields, being resolute to maintain the Gospel, they resolved to defend it and themselves by Arms. To which, unavoidable necessity, in unsupportable extremity, did constrain them, as the only remaining remedy. It is known, for several years they met without any Arms, where frequently they were disturbed and dispersed with Soldiers, some killed, others wounded, which they patiently endured without Resistance: at length the Ministers that were most in hazard, having a Price set upon their heads to be brought in dead or alive, with some attending them in their wanderings, understanding they were thus appointed for death, judged

ed it their duty to provide for the necessary defence of their lives from the violence of their armed Assaulters. And as Meetings increased, diverse others came under the same hazard, which enforced them to endeavour the same remedy, without the least intention of prejudice to any. Thus the number of Sufferers increasing, as they joined in the ordinances at these persecuted Meetings, found themselves in some probable capacity to defend themselves and these much endeared and precious Gospel-privileges, and to preserve the memory of the Lord's great work in the land, which, to transmit to posterity, was their great design. And they had no small encouragement to endeavour it, by the satisfying sweetness and comfort they found in these ordinances, being persuaded of the justness of their cause, and of the groundlessness of their adversary's quarrel against them: and hereunto also they were incited and prompted, by the palpableness of the enemy's purposes to destroy the remainder of the gospel, by extirpating the remnant that professed it. Wherefore, in these circumstances, being redacted to that strait, either to be deprived of the gospel, or to defend themselves in their meetings for it; and thinking their turning their backs upon it for hazard, was a cowardly deserting duty, and palpable breach of Covenant-engagements, abandoning their greatest interest, they thought expedient, yea necessary, to carry defensive arms with them. And as for that discouragement from the difficulty and danger of it, because of their fewness and meaness, it did not deter or daunt them from the endeavour of their duty; when they considered, the Lord, in former times, was wont to own a very small party of their ancestors, who in extremity jeoparded their lives, in defence of Reformation, against very potent and powerful enemies: these, now owning the same cause, judged themseves obliged to run the same hazard, in the same circumstances, and to follow the same method, and durst not leave it unessayed, leaving the event to God: considering also, that not only the Law of Nature and Nations doth allow self-defence from unjust violence, but also the indissoluble obligation of their Covenants, to maintain and defend the true Religion, and one another

other in promoving the same, made it indispensible to use that endeavour, the defect of which through their former supineness gave no small encouragement to the enemies: they considered also what would be the consequence of that war, declared against all the faithful of the land, with a displayed banner, prosecuted with fire and sword, and all acts of horrid hostility, published in printed proclamations, and written in characters of blood by barbarous soldiers, so that none could enjoy gospel-ordinances dispensed in purity, but upon the hazard of their lives: and therefore, to prevent and frustrate these effects, they endeavoured to put themselves in a posture. And hereunto they were encouraged, by the constant experience of the Lord's countenancing their endeavours in that posture, which always proved successful for several years, their enemies either turning their backs without disturbance, when they observed them resolve defence, or in their assaultings repulsed: so that there was never a Meeting which stood to their defence, got any considerable harm thereby. Thus the Lord was with us while we were with him, but when we forsook him, then he forsook us, and left us in the hands of our enemies. However, while meetings for Gospel-ordinances did continue, the wicked Rulers did not cease from time to time to encrease their numerous bands of barbarous Soldiers, for suppressing the Gospel in these *Field-Meetings*. And for their Maintenance, they imposed new, wicked and arbitrary, *Cesses* and *Taxations*, professedly required for suppressing Religion and Liberty, banishing the Gospel out of the Land, and preserving and promoting his Absoluteness over all Matters and Persons, sacred and civil: which, under that temptation of great suffering threatned to Refusers, and under the disadvantage of the silence and unfaithfulness of many Ministers, who either did not condemn it, or pleaded for the peaceable payment of it, many did comply with it then, and far more since. Yet at that time there were far more Recusants, in some places, (especially in the Western Shires) than Complyers: and there were many of the Ministers that did faithfully declare to the people the sin of it; not only from the *illegality* of its imposition,

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by a convention of over-awed and prelimited States; but from the *nature* of that imposed Complyance, that it was a sinful transaction with Christ's declared enemies, a strengthening the hands of the wicked, an Obedience to a wicked Law, a consenting to Christ's Expulsion out of the Land, and not only that, but (far worse than the sin of the *Gadarens*) a formal Concurrence to assist his Expellers, by maintaining their force, a hiring our Oppressors to destroy Religion and Liberty; and, from the *Fountain* of it, an Arbitrary power domineering over us, and oppressing and overpressing the Kingdoms with intolerable exactions; that to pay it, it was to entail slavery on their posterity; and from the declared *end* of it, expressed in the very Narrative of the *Act*, *viz.* to levy and maintain forces for suppressing and dispersing Meetings of the Lord's people, and to shew unanimous affection for maintaining the King's *Supremacy* as now established by Law; which designs he resolved, and would be capacitate by the Granters to effectuate by such a Grant, which, in effect, to all tender Consciences, had an evident tendency to the exauctorating the Lord Christ, to maintain Soldiers to suppress his Work, and murder his Followers, yet all this time Ministers and Professors were unite, and with one soul and shoulder followed the work of the Lord, till the *Indulged*, being dissatisfied with the Meetings in the fields, whose Glory was like to overcloud and obscure their beds of ease, and especially being offended at the freedom and faithfulness of some, who set the Trumpet to their mouth, and shewed *Jacob* his sins, and *Israel* his transgressions impartially, without a cloke or cover, they began to make a *faction* among the Ministers, and to devise how to quench the fervour of their zeal who were faithful for God. But the more they sought to extinguish it, the more it broke out and blazed into a flame. For several of Christ's Ambassadors, touched and affected with the affronts done to their Princely Master, by the *Supremacy* and the *Indulgence* its Bastard brood and brat, began, after long silence, to discover its iniquity, and to acquaint the people how the Usurper had invaded the Mediator's Chair, in taking upon

on him to depose, suspend, silence, plant and transplant his Ministers, where, and when, and how he pleased, and to give forth warrants and Licences for admitting them, with Canons and Instructions for regulating them in the exercise of their Ministry, and to arraign and censure them at his Courts for delinquencies in their Ministry; pursuing all to the death who are faithful to Christ, and maintain their Loyalty to his Laws, and will not prostitute their Consciences to his lusts, and bow down to the Idol of his Supremacy, but will own the Kingly Authority of Christ. Yet others, and the greater number of dissenting Ministers, were not only deficient herein, but defended them, joined with them, and (pretending prudence and prevention of *Schism*) in effect homologated that deed, and the practice of these Priests, *Ezek.* xxii. 26. Teaching and advising the people to hear them, both by precept, and going along with them in that *Erastian* Course: and not only so, but condemned and censured such who preached against the sinfulness thereof, especially in the first place, worthy Mr. *Welwood*, who was among the first Witnesses against that defection, and Mr. *Kid*, Mr. *King*, Mr. *Cameron*, Mr. *Donald Cargil*, &c. who sealed their Testimony afterwards with their blood; yet then even by their Brethren were loaden with the reproachful Nicknames of *Schismaticks*, *blind Zealots*, *Jesuits*, &c. But it was always observed, as long as Ministers were faithful in following the Lord in the way of their duty, Professors were fervent, and under all their Conflicts with Persecuters, the courage and zeal of the lovers of Christ was blazing, and never out-braved by all the enemies boastings to undertake brisk Exploits: which from time to time they were now and then essaying, till defection destroyed, and division diverted their zeal against the Enemies of God, who before were always the object against which they whetted the edge of their just Indignation. Especially the insulting insolency and insolent villany of that publick Incendiary, the Arch-prelate *Sharp*, was judged intolerable by ingenuous Spirits; because he had treacherously betrayed the Church and Nation, and being employed as their Delegate to

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oppose the threatned introduction of *Prelacy*, he had, like a perjured Apostate and perfidious Traitor, advanced himself into the place of *Primate* of *Scotland*, and being a member of Council, he became a chief Instrument of all the Persecution, and main Instigator to all the bloody violence and cruelty that was exerced against the people of God; by whose means, the letter, sent down to stop the shedding of more blood after *Pentland*, was kept up, until several of these Martyrs were murdered. Therefore, in *July* 1668, Mr. *James Mitchel* thought, in his duty, to save himself, deliver his Brethren, and free the Land of the violence of that beast of prey, and attempted to cut him off: which failing, he then escaped, but afterwards was apprehended; and being moved by the Councils Oath, and Act of Assurance promising his life, he made Confession of the fact: yet afterwards for the same he was arraigned before the Justiciary, and the Confession he made was brought in against him, and witnessed by the perjured Chancellor, *Rothes*, and other Lords, contrary to their Oath and Act produced in open Court, to their indelible infamy: whereupon he was tortured, condemned, and executed. But Justice would not suffer this Murder to pass long unrevenged, nor that Truculent Traitor, *James Sharp* the Arch-Prelate, who was the occasion and cause of it, and of many more both before and after, to escape remarkable punishment; the severity whereof did sufficiently compense its delay, after ten years respite, wherein he ceased not more and more to pursue, persecute, and make havock of the Righteous for their duty, until at length he received the just demerit of his perfidy, perjury, apostasy, sorceries, villanies, and murders, *Sharp arrows of the Mighty, and coals of Juniper.* For, upon the 3d of *May* 1679, several worthy Gentlemen, with some other men of courage and zeal for the cause of God, and the good of the Country, executed righteous Judgment upon him in *Magus-Muir*, near St. *Andrews*. And that same month, on the Anniversay day, *May* 29th, the Testimony at *Rutherglen*, was published against that abomination of celebrating an *Anniversary* day, *kept every year for giving thanks for the setting up an usurped power,*

*power, destroying the Interest of Christ in the Land.* ——— *And against all sinful and unlawful Acts, emitted and executed, published and prosecuted against our Covenanted Reformation.* Where also they burnt the *Act of Supremacy*, the *Declaration*, the *Act Rescissory*, &c. in way of retaliation for the burning of the Covenants. On the Sabbath following, *June* 1st. A field Meeting for the Worship of God, near to *Loudoun-hill*, was assaulted by *Graham* of *Claverhouse*, and with him three troops of horse and Dragoons, who had that morning taken an honest Minister, and about 14 Country-men, out of their beds, and carried them along with them, as Prisoners to the Meeting, in a Barbarous manner. But, by the good hand of God upon the Defendents, they were repulsed at *Drumclog*, and put to flight, the Prisoners relieved, about 30. of the Soldiers killed on the place, and three of the Meeting, and several wounded on both sides. Thereafter the people retreating from the pursuit, consulted what was expedient in that juncture, whether to disperse themselves as formerly, or to keep together for their necessary defence. The result was, that considering the craft and cruelty of those they had to deal with, the sad consequents of falling into their hands now more incensed than ever, the evil effects that likely would ensue upon their separation, which would give them access to make havock of all; they judged it most safe in that extremity for some time not to separate. Which Resolution, coming abroad to the ears of others of their Brethren, determined them incontinently to come to their Assistance, considering their necessity, and their own liableness to the same common danger, upon the account of their endeavours of that nature elsewhere to defend themselves, being of the same judgment for maintaining of the same Cause, to which they were bound by the same Covenants, and groaning under the same burdens; they judged therefore, that if they now withheld their Assistance in such a strait, they could not be innocent of their Brethrens blood, nor found faithful in their Covenant: to which they were encouraged with the Countenance and success the Lord had given to that Meeting, in that defensive Resistance. This was

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the Riſe and Occaſion of that Appearance at *Bothwel-bridge*, which the Lord did in his holy Sovereignty confound, for former Defections, by the means of Diviſion, which broke that little Army among themſelves, before they were broken by the Enemy. They continued together in amiable and amicable peace for the ſpace of eight or nine days, while they endeavoured to put out, and keep out, every wicked thing from amongſt them, and adhered to the *Rutherglen-Teſtimony*, and that ſhort Declaration at *Glaſgow* confirming it; repreſenting their preſent purpoſes and endeavours, " Where only in vin-" dication and defence of the Reformed Religion,——" as they ſtood obliged thereto by the National and " Solemn League and Covenant, and the ſolemn Ac-" knowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties; de-" claring againſt Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, and all " things depending thereupon." Intending hereby to comprehend the defection of the *Indulgence*, to witneſs againſt which all unanimouſly agreed: until the Army encreaſing, the Defenders and Daubers of that defection, ſome Miniſters and others, came in, who broke all, and upon whom the blood of that Appearance may be charged. The occaſion of the breach was, *firſt*, When in the ſenſe of the obligation of that Command, *when the hoſt goeth forth againſt thine enemies, keep thee from every wicked thing*, an overture was offered to ſet times apart for humiliation for the publick ſins of the Land, according to the practice of the Godly, in all ages, before engaging their enemies, and the laudable precedents of our Anceſtors, that ſo the Cauſes of God's wrath againſt the Nation might be enquired into and confeſſed, and the Lord's Bleſſing, Counſel, and Conduct to, and upon preſent Endeavours, might be implored. And accordingly the complying with abjured *Eraſtianiſm*, by the acceptance of the enſnaring *Indulgence*, offered by, and received from the Uſurping Rulers, was condeſcended upon among the reſt of the grounds of faſting and humiliation, ſo ſeaſonably and neceſſarily called for at that time. The Sticklers for the *Indulgence* refuſed the overture, upon politick conſiderations, for fear of offending the indulged Miniſters and Gentlemen, and

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provoking them to withdraw their Assistance. This was the great Cause of the division, that produced such unhappy and destructive effects. And next, whereas the Cause was stated before, according to the Covenants, in the *Rutherglen-Testimony* and *Glasgow-Declaration*, wherein the King's Interest was waved; these Dividers drew up another large paper (called the *Hamiltoun-Declaration*) wherein they assert the *King's Interest*, according to the *third Article* of the Solemn League and Covenant. Against which the best affected contended, and protested they could not, in Conscience, put in his Interest in the State of the Quarrel, being now in stated opposition to Christ's Interests, and inconsistent with the meaning of the Covenant, and the practices of the Covenanters, and their own Testimonies; while now he could not be declared for as being in the defence of Religion and Liberty, when he had so palpably overturned and ruined the Work of Reformation, and oppressed such as adhered thereunto, and had burnt the Covenant, *&c.* Whereby he had loosed the people from all obligation to him from it. Yet that contrary faction prevailed, so far as to get it published in the name of all: whereby the Cause was perverted and betrayed, and the former Testimonies rendered irrite, and the Interest of the publick Enemy espoused. *Finally*, The same day that the Enemy approached in sight, and a considerable advantage was offered to do execution against them, these loyal Gentlemen hindered and retarded all Action, till a *Parly* was beat, and an *Address* dispatched to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who then commanded his Father's Army. By which nothing was gained, but free Liberty given to the Enemies to plant their Cannon, and advance without interruption. After which, in the holy all-over-ruling Providence of God, that poor handful was signally discountenanced of God, deprived of all Conduct, divested of all Protection, and laid open to the raging Sword, the just punishment of all such tamperings with the Enemies of God, and espousing their Interest, and omitting humiliation for their own and the Lands sins. About 300 were killed in the Fields, and 1000 and upwards were taken Prisoners, strip-

stripped; and carried to *Edinburgh*, where they were kept for a long time in the *Gray-Friers* Church-yard, without shelter from cold or rain. And at length had the temptation of an insnaring *bond of Peace*: Wherein they were to acknowledge that Insurrection to be *Rebellion*, and oblige themselves *never to rise in Arms against the King, nor any commissionate by him, and to live peaceably*, &c. Which, through fear of threatned death, and the unfaithfulness of some, and the impudence of other Ministers that persuaded them to take it, prevailed with many: Yet others resolutely resisted, judging it to imply a condemning of their duty, an abandoning of their Covenant-Engagements, wherein they were obliged to duties inconsistent with such bonds, and a voluntary binding up their hands from all oppositions to the declared War against Christ, which is the native sense of the peace they require, which can never be entertained long with men so treacherous. And therefore, upon Principles of Reason and Conscience, they refused that pretended *Indemnity*, offered in these terms. Nevertheless the most part took it; and yet were sentenced with banishment; and sent away for *America*, as well as they who refused it; and, by the way, (a few excepted) perished in Shipwreck: whose blood yet cries both against the Imposers, and the Perswaders to that bond.

III. This fearful and fatal stroke at *Bothwel*, not only was in its immediate effects so deadly, but in its consequents so destructive, that the decaying Church of *Scotland*, which, before was beginning to revive, was then cast into such a swoon that she is never like to recover to this day. And the Universality of her Children, which before espoused her Testimony, was after that partly drawn by Craft, and partly drawn by Cruelty, from a Conjunction with their Brethren in prosecuting the same, either into an open defection to the contrary side, or into a detestable indifferency and neutrality in the Cause of God. For, first of all, the Duke of *Monmouth*, whose nature, more averse from Cruelty than the rest of that Progeny, made him pliable to all suggestions of wicked policy, that seemed to have a

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shew of smoothness and lenity, procured the emission of a pretended *Indemnity*, attended with the foresaid *Band of peace* for its Companion. Which were dreadful snares, catching many with flatteries, and fair pretences of favours, fairded over with curious words, and cozening names of living *peaceably*, &c. while in the mean time a most deadly and destructive thrust (as it were under the fifth rib) because most secret, was intended against all that was left remaining of the work of God undestroyed, and a bar put upon all essays to revive or recover it by their own consent, who should endeavour it. This Course of Defection carried away many at that time: and from that time, since the taking of that bond of *peaceable living*, there hath been an universal preferring of peace to truth, and of ease to duty. And the generality have been left to swallow all baits, tho' the hook was ever so discernible, all those ensnaring Oaths and Bonds imposed since, which both then and since people were left to their own determination to choose or refuse; many Ministers refusing to give their Advice when required and requested thereunto, and some not being ashamed or afraid to perswade the people to take them. The Ministry then also were generally ensnared with that *banded Indulgence*, the pretended benefit of that *Indemnity*, which as it was designed, so it produced the woful effect of propagating the defection, and promoting the division, and laying them by from their duty and Testimony of that day, which to this day they have not yet taken upon their former ground. For when a Proclamation was emitted, inveighing bitterly against *field Meetings*, and absolutely interdicting all such for the future under highest pain, but granting Liberty to preach in houses upon the terms of a *Cautionary-bond* given for their living peaceably: yet excluding all these Ministers who were suspected to have been at the late *Rebellion*, and all these who shall afterward be admitted by Non-conform Ministers: and certifying, That *if ever they shall be at any field Conventicle, the said Indemnity shall not be useful to such Transgressors any manner of way*: And requiring security, that none under the colour of this favour continue to

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preach *Rebellion.* Though there seems to be enough in the Proclamation it self to have scared them from this scandalous snare; yet a Meeting of Ministers at *Edinburgh*, made up of Indulged, avowed Applauders of the Indulgence, or underhand Approvers and favourers of the same, and some of them old *Publick Resolutioners*, assuming to themselves the name of a General Assembly; yea, of the Representative of the Church of *Scotland*, voted for the Acceptance of it. And so formally transacted and bargained upon base, dishoneſt, and dishonourable terms with the Usurper, by consenting and compacting with the people to give that bond; wherein the people, upon an humble Petition to the Council, obtaining their indulged Minister, do bind and oblige—— "That the said ——— shall live peaceably. And, in "order thereto, to present him before his Maj. Privy "Council, when they shall be called so to do; and in "case of failzie in not presenting him, to be liable to "the sum of 6000 Merks." Whereby they condemned themselves of former unpeaceableness, and engaged to a sinful Peace with the enemies of God, and became bound, and fettered under these bonds to a forbearance of a Testimony, and made answerable to their Courts, and the people were bound to present them for their duty. The sinfulness, scandalousness, and inconveniencies of which transactions, are abundantly demonstrated by a Treatise thereupon, entituled, *The Banders disbanded.* Nevertheless many embraced this new *bastard Indulgence*, that had not the benefit of the former brat, of the same Mother the *Supremacy*, and far more consented to it without a witness, and most of all did some way homologate it, in preaching under the sconce of it: Declining the many reiterated and urgent Calls of the zealous Lovers of Christ, to come out and maintain the Testimony of the Gospel in the open fields, for the honour of their Master, and the freedom of their Ministry. Whereupon, as many poor people were stumbled and jumbled into many confusions, so that they were so bewildered and bemisted in doubts and debates, that they knew not what to do, and were tempted to question the Cause formerly so fervently contended for against all op-

oppositon, then so simply abandoned, by these that seemed sometimes valiant for it, when they saw them consulting more their own ease than the concerns of their Master's Glory, or the necessity of the poor people hungering for the Gospel, and standing in need of Counsel in time of such abounding snares, whereby many became a prey to all temptations: so the more zealous and faithful, after several Addresses, Calls, and Invitations to Ministers, finding themselves deserted by them, judged themselves under a necessity to discountenance many of them, whom formerly they followed with pleasure; and to resolve upon a pursuit and prosecution of the duty of the day without them, and to provide themselves with faithful Ministers, who would not shun, for all hazards, to declare the whole Counsel of God. And accordingly through the tender Mercy of God, compassionating the exigence of the people, the Lord sent them first Mr. *Richard Cameron*, with whom, after his serious solicitation, his Brethren denied their concurrence, and then Mr. *Donald Cargil*; who, with a zeal and boldness becoming Christ's Ambassadors, maintained and prosecuted the Testimony against all the Indignities done to their Master, and wrongs to the Cause, both by the encroachments of Adversaries and defections of their declining Brethren. Wherein they were signally countenanced of their Master; and the Lord's Inheritance was again revived with the showers of the Gospel's blessings, wherewith they had been before refreshed; and enlightned with a Glance and Glimpse of resplendent brightness, immediately before the obscurity of this fearful night of darkness that hath succeeded. But as Christ was then displaying his beauty to his poor despised and persecuted people; so Antichrist began to blaze his bravery, in the solemn and shameful reception of his harbinger, that Pimp of the *Romish* whore, the Duke of *York*. Who had now pulled off the Mask, under which he had long covered his Antichristian Bigotry, through a trick of his brother, constrained by the Papists importunity, and the necessity of their favour, and recruit of their Coin, either to declare himself Papist, or to make his brother do it: whereby all

the locusts were engaged to his Interest, with whom he entred into a Conspiracy and *Popish Plot*, as was discovered by many infallible evidences, and confessed by *Coleman* his Secretary, to Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*; for which, lest he should witness against him, when *Coleman* was apprehended, that Gentleman was cruelly murdered by the Duke of *York*'s contrivance and command. Yet for all the demonstrations of his being a Bigot Papist, that he had long given unto the world, it is known what some suffered for saying, That the *Duke of* York *was a Papist, and being forced to leave* England, *he was come to* Scotland *to promote Popery and Arbitrary Government.* However, tho' the Parliament of *England*, for his Popery and Villany, and his plotting and pursuing the destruction of the Nation, did vote his *Exclusion*; yet degenerate *Scotland* did receive him in great pomp and pride. Against which, the fore-mentioned faithful Witnesses of Christ did find themselves obliged to testify their just resentment, and to protest against his succeeding to the Crown, in their Declaration published at *Sanquhar*, *June* 22. 1680. "Wherein also they "disown *Charles Steuart*, as having any Right, Title, "or Interest in the Crown of *Scotland*, or Government "thereof, as being forefaulted several years since, by "his perjury and breach of the Covenant, Usurpation "on Christ's Prerogatives, and by his Tyranny and "breaches in the very *Laws of ruling* in matters Civil. "———And declare a war with him, and all the men "of these practices———homologating the Testimony "at *Rutherglen*, and disclaiming that declaration at *Ha-*"*miltoun.*" This Action was generally condemned by the body of lurking Ministers, both for the matter of it, and the unseasonableness of it, and its apparent unfeasibleness, being done by a handful so inconsiderable, for number, strength, or significancy. But as they had very great and important reasons to disclaim that Tyrants Authority, hinted in the Declaration it self, and hereafter more fully vindicated: so the necessity of a Testimony against all the Tyrannical Encroachments on Religion and Liberty, then current and encreasing; and the sin and shame of shifting and delaying it so long,

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when the Blaſphemous Supremacy was now advanced to its ſummity; the Churches Privileges all over-turned; Religion and the Work of Reformation trampled under foot; the peoples Rights and Liberties deſtroyed, and Laws all ſubverted; and no ſhadow of Government left, but arbitrary Abſoluteneſs, obtruding the Tyrant's will for Reaſon, and his Letter for the Supreme Law (witneſs the Anſwer which one of the Council gave to another, objecting againſt their Proceedings as not according to Law, *What devil do ye talk of Law? Have not we the King's Letter for it?*) and all the ends of Magiſtracy wholly inverted; while innocent and honeſt people were grievouſly oppreſſed in their perſons, Conſciences, and Eſtates; and Perjuries, Adulteries, Idolatries, and all impieties were not only connived at, but countenanced as badges of Loyalty, and manifeſt and monſtrous Robberies and Murders authorized, Judgment turned into gall, and the fruit of Righteouſneſs into hemlock; do juſtify its *Seaſonableneſs*: and the *ends* of the Declaration, to keep up the Standard of the Goſpel, and maintain the Work of Reformation, and preſerve a Remnant of faithful Adherers to it; the *nature* of the Reſolution declared, being only to endeavour to make good and maintain their Revolt, in oppoſition to all who would purſue them for it, and reinforce them to a ſubjection to that yoke of ſlavery again; and the extremity of *danger* and *diſtreſs* that party was in, while declared and purſued as Rebells, and intercommuned and interdicted of all ſupply and ſolace, being put out of their own, and, by Law, precluded of the harbour of all other habitations, and ſo both for ſafety and ſubſiſtence, compelled, by neceſſity, to concur and keep together, may alleviate the Cenſure, and ſtop the Clamour of its *unfeaſibleneſs*. But tho' it is not the prudence of the management, but the juſtneſs of the Action, that I would have vindicated from obloquies; yet it wanted nothing but ſucceſs to juſtify both, in the conviction of many that made much outcry againſt it. In theſe dangerous Circumſtances, their difficulties and diſcouragements daily encreaſed, by their Enemies vigilancy, their Enviers treachery, and their own inadvertency, ſome

of their number falling into the hands of them that sought their lives. For two of the most eminent and faithful Witnesses of Christ, Mr. *Donald Cargil*, and *Henry Hall*, were surprized at *Queensferry*; Mr. *Cargil* escaped at that time, but the other fervent Contender for the Interest of Christ, fixed in the Cause, and courageous to his death, endeavouring to save him, and resist the enemies, was cruelly murdered by them. And with him they got a draught of a *Covenant*; declaring their present Purposes and future Resolutions. The tenor whereof was an Engagement. ‘1. To avouch the ‘only true and living God to be their God, and to ‘close with his way of Redemption by his Son Jesus ‘Christ, whose Righteousness is only to be relied upon for Justification; and to take the Scriptures of the ‘Old and New Testament, to be the only Object of ‘faith, and rule of Conversation in all things. 2. To ‘*establish* in the Land Righteousness, and Religion in ‘the Truth of its Doctrine purity and power of its ‘Worship, Discipline, and Government; and to free ‘the Church of God of the Corruption of *Prelacy* on the ‘one hand, and the thraldom of *Erastianism* on the ‘other. 3. To *persevere* in the Doctrine of the reformed Churches, especially that of *Scotland*, and in the ‘Worship prescribed in the Scriptures, without the inventions, adornings, and corruptions of men; and ‘in the Presbyterian Government, exercised in Sessions, ‘Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, as a ‘distinct Government from the Civil, and distinctly to ‘be exercised, not after a carnal manner, by plurality ‘of votes, or Authority of a single person, but according to the word of God, making and carrying the ‘sentence. 4. To endeavour the overthrow of the ‘Kingdom of Darkness, and whatsoever is contrary to ‘the Kingdom of Christ, especially Idolatry, and Popery in all its Articles, and the overthrow of that ‘power that hath established and upheld it. ——— ‘And to execute righteous Judgments impartially, according to the word of God, and degree of offences, ‘upon the Committers of these things especially, to ‘wit, Blasphemy, Idolatry, Atheism, Bougery, Sorcery,

'ry, Perjury, Uncleanness, Profanation of the Lord's 'day, Oppression and Malignancy. ——— 5. Seri- 'ously considering——there is no more speedy way 'of relaxation from the Wrath of God, that hath ever 'lien on the Land since it engaged with these Rulers, 'but of rejecting them who have so manifestly rejected 'God ——— disclaiming his Covenant———govern- 'ing contrary to all right Laws, divine and human, ——— and contrary to all the ends of Government, 'by enacting and commanding impieties, injuries, and 'robberies, to the denying of God's due, and the Sub- 'jects theirs; so that instead of Government, Godli- 'ness, and peace, there is nothing but rapine, tumult, 'and blood, which cannot be called a Government, but 'a lustful rage; ——— and they cannot be called Go- 'vernors, but publick Grassators and Land-judgments, 'which all ought to set themselves against, as they 'would do against Pestilence, sword and famine rag- 'ing amongst them. ———Seeing they have stopped 'the Course of Law and Justice against Blasphemers, 'Idolaters, Atheists, Bougerers, Sorcerers, Murderers, 'Incestuous and Adulterous Persons. ——— And have 'made butcheries on the Lord's people, sold them as 'slaves, imprisoned, forefaulted, &c. and that upon 'no other account, but their maintaining Christ's right 'of ruling over their Consciences, against the Usurpa- 'tions of men. Therefore, easily solving the Objecti- 'ons. (1.) Of our Ancestors obliging the Nation to 'this race and line: that they did not buy their Liber- 'ty with our thraldom, nor could they bind their Chil- 'dren to any thing so much to their prejudice, and a- 'gainst natural Liberty (being a benefit next to life, if 'not in some regard above it) which is not as an En- 'gagement to moral things: they could only bind to 'that Government, which they esteemed the best for 'common good, which reason ceasing, we are free to 'choose another, if we find it more conducible for that 'end. (2) Of the Covenant binding to defend the 'King: That that Obligation is only in his maintenance 'of the true Covenanted Religion, ——— which ho- 'mage they cannot now require upon the account of the

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Covenant, which they have renounced and disclaimed; and upon no other ground we are bound to them, —— the Crown not being an inheritance, that passeth from Father to son without the consent of Tenants. —— (3) Of the hope of their returning from these Courses: whereof there is none, seeing they have so often declared their purposes of persevering in them, and suppose they should dissemble a repentance, —— supposing also they might be pardoned, for that which is done, —— from whose guiltiness the Land cannot be cleansed, but by executing God's righteous Judgments upon them; —— yet they cannot now be believed, after they have violated all that human Wisdom could devise to bind them. Upon these accounts they reject that King, and those associate with him in the Government, —— and declare them henceforth no lawful Rulers, as they had declared them to be no lawful Subjects, —— they having destroyed the established Religion, overturned the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, taken away Christ's Church-government, and changed the Civil into Tyranny, where none are associate in partaking of the Government, but only these who will be found, by Justice, guilty of Criminals; —— and declare they shall, God giving power, set up Government and Governors according to the word of God, and the qualifications required, *Exod.* xviii. ver. 20. —— And shall not commit the Government —— to any single person, or lineal succession, being not tied, as the Jews were, to one single family, —— and that kind being liable to most inconveniencies, and apteſt to degenerate into Tyranny; —— and moreover, that these men set over them shall be engaged to govern principally, by that civil and judicial Law, (not that which is any way Typical) given by God to his people of *Israel*, —— as the best so far as it goes, being given by God, —— especially in matters of life and death, —— and other things, so far as they reach, and are consistent with Christian Liberty, ——exempting Divorces and Polygamy.—— 6. Seeing the greatest part of Ministers not only were defective in

'in preaching against the Acts of the Rulers for over-
'throwing Religion, ——— but hindered others also
'who were willing, and censured some that did it, ——
'and have voted for acceptation of that Liberty, found-
'ed upon, and given by virtue of that blasphemously ar-
'rogate and usurped power, ——— and appeared before
'their Courts to accept of it, and to be enacted and au-
'thorized their Ministers,——— whereby they have be-
'come the Ministers of men, and bound to be answer-
'able to them as they will; ——— and have preach-
'ed for the lawfulness of paying that Tribute, declar-
'ed to be imposed for the bearing down of the true
'worship of God.———And advised poor prisoners to
'subscribe that Bond; ——which, if it were universally
'subscribed,———they should close that door, which
'the Lord hath made use of in all the Churches of *Europe*,
'for casting off the yoke of the whore,———and stop
'all regress of men, when once brought under tyranny,
'to recover their liberty again.--------They declare they
'neither can nor will hear them, *&c.* nor any who en-
'couraged and strengthened their hands, and pleaded for
'them, and traffiqued for union with them. 7. That
'they are for a standing Gospel-ministry, rightly chosen,
'and rightly ordained,———and that none shall take
'upon them the preaching of the word, *&c.* unless cal-
'led and ordained thereunto.----And whereas separation
'might be imputed to them, they refell both the malice
'and the ignorance of that calumny; ----for if there be a
'separation, it must be where the change is; and that
'was not to be found in them, who were not separating
'from the communion of the true Church, nor setting
'up a new Ministry, but cleaving to the same Ministers
'and Ordinances, that formerly they followed, when o-
'thers have fled to new ways, and a new authority,
'which is like the old piece in the new garment. 8.
'That they shall defend themselves in their civil, natu-
'ral, and divine rights and liberties. ——— And if any
'assault them, they shall look on it as a declaring a war,
'and take all advantages that one enemy does of another,
'———but trouble and injure none but those that in-
'jure them.'——This is the compend of that paper

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which the enemies seized and published, while it was only in a rude draught, and not polished, digested, nor consulted by the rest of the community: yet, whether or not it was for their advantage so to blaze their own baseness, in that paper truly represented, I leave it to the Reader to judge: or, if they did not thereby proclaim their own tyranny, and the innocency and honesty of that people, whom thereby they were seeking to make odious; but in effect inviting all lovers of religion and liberty to sympathise with them, in their difficulties and distresses there discovered. However, that poor party continued together in a posture of defence, without the concurrence or countenance of their covenanted Brethren, who staid at home, and left both them to be murdered, and their Testimony to be trampled upon, until the 22d of *July* 1680. Upon the which day they were attacked at *Airsmoss*, by a strong party of about 120 horse, well armed, while they were but 23 horse and 40 foot at most; and so, fighting valiantly, were at length routed, not without their adversaries Testimony of their being resolute men: several of *Zion*'s precious Mourners, and faithful Witnesses of Christ, were killed; and among the rest, that faithful Minister of Christ, Mr. *Richard Cameron* sealed and fulfilled his Testimony with his blood. And with others, the valiant and much honoured Gentleman, *David Hackston* of *Rathillet*, was, after many received wounds apprehended, brought in to *Edinburgh*; and there, resolutely adhering to the Testimony, and disowning the authority of King and Council, and all their tyrannical Judicatories, was cruelly murdered, but countenanced eminently of the Lord. Now remained Mr. *Donald Cargil*, deprived of his faithful colleague, destitute of his Brethrens concurrence, but not of the Lord's Counsel and Conduct; by which he was prompted and helped to prosecute the Testimony, against the universal Apostasy of the Church and Nation, tyranny of enemies, backsliding of friends, and all the wrongs done to his Master on all hands. And considering, in the zeal of God, and sense of his holy jealousy provoked and threatening wrath against the land, for the sins especially of Rulers, who had arrived to the height of Heaven daring

ing insolence in all wickedness, in which they were still growing and going on without controul; that notwithstanding of all the Testimonies given against them, by publick preachings, protestations and declarations, remonstrating their tyranny, and disowning their authority; yet not only did they still persist in their sins and scandals, to make the Lord's fierce anger break forth into a flame, but were owned also by Professors, not only as Magistrates, but as members of the Christian and *Protestant* Church; and that, however, both the defensive arms of men had been used against them, and the Christian arms of prayers, and the Ministerial weapon of preaching, yet that of *Ecclesiastical Censure* had not been authoritatively exerted against them: therefore, that no weapon which Christ allows his Servants under his standard, to manage against his enemies, might be wanting, though he could not obtain the concurrence of his Brethren to strengthen the solemnity and formality of the action; yet he did not judge that defect, in this broken case of the Church, could disable his authority, nor demur the duty, but that he might and ought to proceed to *Excommunication*. And accordingly, in *September* —— 1680, at the *Torwood*, he excommunicated some of the most scandalous and principal promoters and abettors of this conspiracy against Christ, as formally as the present case could admit: after sermon upon *Ezek.* xxi. 25, 26, 27. *And thou profane wicked Prince of Israel, whose day is come,* &c. He had a short and pertinent discourse on the nature, the subject, the causes, and the ends of *Excommunication* in general: and then declared, that he was not led out of any private spirit or passion to this action, but constrained by conscience of duty and zeal to God to stigmatize with this brand, and wound with the sword of the Lord, these enemies of God that had so apostatized, rebelled against, mocked, despised and defied our Lord, and to declare them as they are none of his, to be none of ours. The persons excommunicated, and the sentence against them, was given forth as follows. —— *I being a Minister of Jesus Christ, and having Authority and Power from him, do, in his Name and by his Spirit, excommunicate, cast out of the true*

*true Church, and deliver up to Satan,* Charles the Second *King*, &c. The sentence was founded upon these grounds, declared in the pronunciation thereof; '(1.) For his high 'mocking of God, in that after he had acknowledged his 'own sins, his father's sins, his mother's Idolatry; ——— '———yet had gone on more avowedly in the same 'than all before him. (2.) For his great Perjury, in 'breaking and burning the Covenant. (3.) For his re-'scinding all Laws for establishing the Reformation, 'and enacting Laws contrary thereunto. (4.) For 'commanding of Armies to destroy the Lord's people. '(5.) For his being an Enemy to true Protestants, and 'helper of the Papists, and hindering the execution of 'just Laws against them. (6) For his granting Remis-'sions and Pardons for Murderers, which is in the 'power of no King to do, being expresly contrary to 'the Law of God. (7.) For his Adulteries, and dis-'sembling with God and Man.'---- Next, by the same Authority, and in the same Name, 'he excommunicated 'James Duke of *York*, for his Idolatry, and setting it up 'in *Scotland* to defile the Land, and enticing and encou-'raging others to do so;' not mentioning any other sins, but what he scandalously persisted in in *Scotland*, &c. with several other rotten Malignant Enemies, on whom the Lord hath ratified that Sentence since, very remarkably, whose sins and punishments both may be read more visible in the Providences of the time, than I can record them. But about this time, when amidst all the abounding defections and divisions of that dark and dismal hour of tentation, some in zeal for the Cause were endeavouring to keep up the Testimony of the day, in an abstraction from complying Ministers; others were left (in holy judgment, to be a stumbling block to the generation, hardening them in their defections, and to be a beacon to the most zealous to keep off from all unwarrantable excesses) to fall into fearful extravagancies, and delirious and damnable deluſions, being over-driven with ignorant and blind zeal into untrodden paths, which led them into a labyrinth of darkness, when as they were stumbled at many Ministers their unfaithfulness; so through the deceit of Satan, and the hypocrisy of his Instruments,

struments, they came to be offended at Mr. *Cargil* his faithfulness, who spared neither left-hand declensions, nor right-hand extremes, and left him and all the Ministers; not only disowning all Communion with those that were not of their way, but execrating and cursing them, and kept themselves in desert places from all Company; where they persisted prodigiously in fastings, and singing Psalms, pretending to wonderful Raptures and Enthusiasms; and in fine, *John Gib*, with 4 more of them, came to that height of Blasphemy, that they burnt the Bible and Confession of Faith. These were the *sweet Singers*, as they were called, led away into these delusions by that Impostor and Sorcerer *John Gib*, who never increased to such a number, as was then feared and reported, being within 30, and most part women; all which for the most part have been through Mercy reclaimed from that destructive way, which, through Grace, the reproached Remnant, adhering to the foresaid Testimony, had always an abhorrence of. Wherefore that ignorant and impudent Calumny, of their Consortship with *Gib*'s followers, is only the vent of viperous Envy. For they were the first that discovered them, and whose pains the Lord blessed in reclaiming them, and were always so far from partaking with them, that to this day these that have come off from that way, and have offered the Confession of their Scandal, do still complain of their over-rigid severity, in not admitting them to their select fellowships. To which may be added this undeniable Demonstration, that whereas the persecuting *Courts of Inquisition* did always extend the utmost severity against the Owners of this Testimony, yet they spared them: and the Duke of *York*, then in *Scotland*, was so well pleased with *Gib*'s Blasphemies, that he favoured him extraordinarily, and freely dismissed him. This was a cloudy and dark day, but not without a burning and shining light, as long as that faithful Minister of Christ, Mr. *Donald Cargil*, was following the Work of the Lord; who shortly after this finished his Testimony, being apprehended with other two faithful and zealous Witnesses of Christ, Mr. *Walter Smith* and Mr. *James Boog*, who with two more, were altogether at *Edinburgh*, 27th

27th *July* 1681, crowned with the Glory of Martyrdom. Then came the day of the Remnant's vexation, trouble, darkness and dimness of anguish, wherein, whoso looked unto the Land, could see nothing but darkness and sorrow, and the light darkned in the Heavens thereof, wherein neither Star nor Sun appeared for many days, and poor People were made to grope for the wall like the blind, and to stumble in noonday as in the night. While the Persecution advanced on the one hand, a violent sweat of defection carried down the most part of Ministers and Professors before it, driving them to Courses of sinful and scandalous Conformings with the times Corruptions, Compearings before their Courts, Complyings with their Commands, paying of their *Cesses* and other Exactions, taking of their Oaths and Bonds, and countenancing their Prelatical Church-Services, which they were ashamed to do before: and thereupon on the other hand the Divisions and Confusions were augmented, and poor people that desired to cleave to the Testimony were more and more offended, and stumbled at the Ministers, who either left the Land in that clamant Call of the Peoples necessity, or lurked in their own retirements, and declined the duty of that day, leaving People to determine themselves in all their perplexities, as a prey to all tentations. But the tender Pastor and Shepherd of *Israel*, who leads the blind in the way they know not, did not forsake a Remnant in that hour of Tentation, who kept the Word of his Patience: and as he helped those that fell into the hands of Enemies to witness a good Confession, so he strengthned the zeal of the remaining Contenders, against all the Machinations of Adversaries to crush it, and all the Methods of backsliding Professors to quench it. And the mean which most effectually preserved it in life and vigour, was the expedient they fell upon of corresponding in *General Meetings*, to consult, inform, and confirm one another about common duties in common dangers, for preservation of the Remnant from the destruction and contagion of the times, and propagation of the Testimony; laying down this general Conclusion for a foundation of Order, to be observed among them in incident doubtful

doubtful Cases, and emergent Controversies, that *nothing relative to the Publick, and which concerns the whole of their Community, be done by any of them, without harmonious Consent sought after, and rationally waited for, and sufficient Deliberation about the best means and manner.* In the mean time, the Duke of *York*, as Commissioner from his Brother, held a Parliament, wherein he presided, not only against all righteous Laws, that make a bloody and avowed Papist incapable of such a Trust, but against the Letter of their own wicked Laws, whereby none ought to be admitted, but such as swear the Oaths; yet not only was he constitute in this place, but in the whole Administration of the Government of *Scotland*, without the taking any Oath, which then he was courting to be entailed Successor, and Heir of the Crown thereof; and for this end made many pretences of flatteries, and feigned expressions of love, and of doing many acts of kindness to that ancient Kingdom, as he hath made many dissembling protestations of it since, for carrying on his own Popish and Tyrannical Designs. But what goodwill he hath born to it, not only his Acts and Actings, written in Characters of the Blood of Innocents declare, but his Words do witness, which is known when and to whom he spake, when he said, *It would never be well, till all on the South-side of* Forth *were made a Hunting-Field.* However, in that Parliament in the year 1681, he is chiefly intended, and upon the matter by a wicked Act declared legal and lineal Successor, and a detestable, blasphemous, and self-contradictory *Test* is framed for a Pest to Consciences, which turned out of all Places of Trust any that had any remaining measure of common Honesty; and when some were speaking of a Bill for securing Religion, in case of a Popish Prince, the Duke's Answer was notable, that *whatsoever they intended or prepared against Papists, should light upon others*: whereby we may understand what measures we may expect, when his Designs are ripe. And to all the cruel Acts then and before made against the People of God, there was one superadded, regulating the execution of all the rest, whereby at one dash all civil and criminal Justice was overthrown, and a Foundation laid for Popish Tyranny,

that

hat *the Right of Jurisdiction both in Civil and Criminal Matters is so inherent in the Crown, that his Majesty may judge all Causes by himself, or any other he thinks fit to commissionate.* Here was Law for commissionating Soldiers to take away the Lives of Innocents, as was frequently exemplified afterwards, and may serve hereafter for erecting the *Spanish Inquisition*, to murder Protestants when he thinks fit to commissionate them. Against which wicked Encroachments on Religion and Liberty, the Faithful thought themselves obliged to emit a Testimony; and therefore published a *Declaration* at *Lanerk*, *January* 12th, 1682, confirming the preceeding at *Sanquhar*, and adding Reasons of their Revolt from the Government of *Charles* II. 1. 'For cutting off the neck at 'one blow of the noble Constitution of Church and State, 'and involving all Officers in the Kingdom in the same 'perjury with himself. 2. For exalting himself into a 'sphere exceeding all measures divine and human, tyrannically obtruding his Will for a Law in his arbitrary 'Letters, so that we are made the Reproach of Nations, 'who say, *we have only the Law of Letters instead of the 'Letter of the Law.* 3. For his constant adjourning and 'dissolving Parliaments at his pleasure. 4. For his arrogantly arrogated Supremacy in all Causes Civil and 'Ecclesiastick, and oppressing the godly for Conscience 'and Duty. 5. For his exorbitant Taxings, Cessings, 'and grinding the Faces of the poor, dilapidating the 'Rights and Revenues of the Crown, for no other end, 'but to employ them for keeping up a *Brothel*, rather 'than a *Court*. 6. For installing a Successor, such an one '(if not worse) as himself, contrary to all Law, Reason 'and Religion, and framing the *Test*, &c. And in end 'offer to prove, they have done nothing in this against 'our ancient Laws, Civil or Ecclesiastick, —— but only endeavoured to extricate themselves from under a tyrannous yoke, and to reduce Church and State to what 'they were in the year 1648 and 1649.' After which Declaration, they were more condemned by them that were at ease than ever, and very untenderly dealt with; being without any previous admonition reproached, accused, and informed against, both at home and abroad,

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as if they had turned to some wild and unhappy Course. For which Cause, in the next General Meeting, they resolved to delegate some of their number to foreign Churches, on purpose to vindicate themselves from these Calumnies, and to represent the justness of their Cause, and the sadness of their Case, and provoke them to some Sympathy abroad, which was denied at home: and withal to provide for a Succession of Witnesses, who might maintain the Testimony, which was then in appearance interrupted, except by Martyrdom and Sufferings. Therefore by that means having obtained Access for the Instruction of some young Men, at an University in the *United Provinces*, in process of time, Mr. *James Renwick* received Ordination there, and came home to take up the Standard of his Master, upon the ground where it last was left, and to carry on the Testimony against all the oppositions of that day, from open enemies and backsliding Professors: an undertaking more desperate-like than that of *one* Athanasius *against the whole world*, and like that of a child threshing down a mountain. Which yet, against all the outragious rage of ravening enemies, ranging, ravaging, hunting, chasing, pursuing after him, through all the towns, villages, cottages, woods, muirs, mosses, and mountains of the country; and against all the scourge of tongues, contradictions, condemnations, obloquies, reproaches, and cruel mockings of incensed Professors, and generally of all the inhabitants of the land; he was helped to prosecute, by many weary wanderings, travels, and traversings through the deserts, night and day, Preaching, Conferring, and Catechising, mostly in the cold winter-nights in the open fields: until, by the blessing of God upon his labours, not only was the faithful witnessing Remnant that joined in the Testimony, further cleared, confirmed, and encouraged, and their number much encreased by the coming in and joining of many others to the fellowship of their settled Societies; but also many others, in other places of the country were induced to the contracting themselves in the like, to the settling such Fellowships in most of the Southern shires. But then the fury of Persecuters began to flame more fla-

flagrantly than ever; not only in sending out cruel soldiers, Foot, Horse and Dragoons, habitually fleshed in, and filled with the blood of the Saints, to hunt, hound, chase, and pursue after them, and seek them out of all their dens and hiding holes, in the wildest glens, fens, and remotest recesses in the wilderness; but emitting Edicts allowing them to kill, slay, hang drown, and destroy such as they could apprehend of them as they pleased and commanding the country to assist them, in raising the *Hue* and *Cry* after them, and not to reset, harbour, supply, or correspond any manner of way with them, under the hazard and pain of being liable to the same punishment. Whereby the country was harrassed and spoiled in searching after them, and many villains were stirred up to give *Informations* and *Intelligence* of these *Wanderers*, where-ever they saw them, or learned where they were. Hence followed such a slaughter and seizure of them, that common people usually date their common occurrences since, from that beginning of *killing-time*, as they call it. For which cause, to preserve themselves from, and put a stop to that deluge of blood, and demur and deter the insolency of *Intelligencers* and *Informers*, they were necessitate to publish the *Apologetick Declaration*, and affix it upon several Market-crosses and Paroch Church-doors, *November* 8. 1684. 'Wherein 'they declare their firm resolution, of constant adherence 'to their Covenants and Engagements, —— and to the 'Declarations disowning the Authority of *Charles Steuart*; '——and to testify to the world, that they purpose not 'to injure or offend any whomsoever, but to pursue the 'ends of their Covenants, in standing to the defence of 'the Work of Reformation, and of their own lives; yet, 'if any shall stretch forth their hand against them,—— 'by shedding their blood actually, either by authorita-'tive commanding——or obeying such commands, '---to search for them, and deliver them up to the spil-'ling of their blood, —— to inform against them, '——to raise the hue and cry after them,-------and 'delate them before their Courts,-------all these shall be 'reputed by them enemies to God and the covenanted 'Reformation, and punished as such, according to their

power

power and the degree of their offence, if they shall continue so maliciously to proceed against them,——— and declare, they abhore and condemn any personal attempts, upon any pretext whatsomever, without previous deliberation, common or competent consent, without certain probation by sufficient witnesses, the guilty person's confession, or the notourness of the deeds themselves: and, in the end, warn the bloody *Doegs*, and flattering *Ziphites* informing against them, to expect to be dealt with as they deal with them.' This declaration, though it occasioned greater trials to them, and trouble to the country, by the Courts of *Inquisition*, pressing an *Oath* abjuring the same universally, upon all, as well women as men, and suffering none to travel without a *Pass*, declaring they had taken that oath: yet it was so far effectual, as to scare many from their former diligence in informing against them, and to draw out some to join with the *Wanderers* more publickly, even when the danger was greatest of owning any respect to them. But at length, in the top and height of their insulting insolence, and heat of their brutish immanity and barbarous cruelty, designing to cut off the very name of that Remnant, the King of terrors (a terror to Kings) cut off that Supreme Author and Authorizer of these mischiefs, *Charles the Second*, by the suspicious intervention of an unnatural hand as the instrument thereof. Wherein much of the Justice of God was to be observed, and of his Faithfulness verified, that *bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days.* His bloody violence was recompensed with the unnatural villany of his brother, and his unparalelled perfidy was justly rewarded with the most ungrate and monstrous treachery of a Parricide: for all the numerous brood of his adulterous and incestuous brats, begotten of other mens wives, and of his numerous multitude of whores at home and abroad, yea of his own sister too, he died a *Childless* Pultron, and had the unlamented *burial of an Ass*, without a Successor, save him that murdered him; and for all his hypocritical pretensions to a *Protestant* profession, he not only received Absolution and extreme Unction from a *Popish Priest* at his death, but drunk his

death in a *Popish Potion*, contrived by his own dear brother that succeeded him; impatiently longing to accomplish that conspiracy of reintroducing Popery, wherein the other moved too slowly, and passionately resenting *Charles* his vow, to suffer the murder of the Earl of *Essex* to come to a trial, (which was extorted by the reiterated solicitations of some, who offered to discover by whom it was contrived and acted), which made the *Duke*'s guilty conscience to dread a detection of his deep accession to it: whereupon the Potion quickly, after prepared, put a stop to that, and an end to his life, *February* 6. 1685. Of which horrid villany time will disclose the mystery, and give the history when it shall be seasonable.

IV. The former Persecution and Tyranny, mainly promoted by the Duke of *York*'s instigation, did not only oppress the poorer sort, but reached also the greatest of the Nobility and Gentry in both Kingdoms. In *Scotland*, the Earl of *Argyle* was arraigned and condemned for his explanation of the *Test*, but escaped out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in the 1681. And after him several Gentlemen were arbitrarily oppressed and troubled, upon the Act of Intercommuning with Rebels, and for a pretended *Plot* against the Government (as they called it) but really because they knew these Gentlemen had a desire, and would design to preserve the Nation, which they were seeking to destroy, and would counteract their wicked projects to advance Popery and Tyranny upon the ruins of the Nations Interest. For which cause they left their native Country, to seek safety and quiet abroad. And, in *England*, upon the same pretences, the Lord *Russel* was murdered by Law, and the Earl of *Essex* by a *Razor* in the *Tower*, in a morning when the King and Duke of *York* came to pay it a visit. And many other Gentlemen lost either their lives or fortunes, upon the same grounds of opposing the Duke's designs: which made many resort to the *united Provinces*. Where they with the *Scots* Gentlemen, as soon as they heard of the death of *Charles* II. and of the ascending of *James*, Duke of *York*, a notorious and Bigot Papist, to the Throne, associating themselves in Counsel,

to

to essay some diversion and opposition to the present current of Tyranny and Popery, threatning the ruin of both Nations; resolved and agreed upon the declaring a war against that Usurper and all his Complices. And in order thereunto, having provided themselves with arms, concluded that a certain Number should, under the Conduct of *James*, Duke of *Monmouth*, direct their Course for *England*, for managing the war there: and others to go for the same ends to *Scotland*, under the Conduct of *Archibald*, Earl of *Argyle*, their chosen Captain. Whereupon, in a short time, they arrived at *Orkney*, where two Gentlemen of their company, going ashore, were taken Prisoners, and carried to *Edinburgh*; whereby the Country was alarmed, and a huge host gathered to oppose them. From thence they went to the *West-Highlands*, where encreasing to the number of about 2000 Men, they traversed to and again about *Kintyre*, and *Bute*, and other places in the *Highlands*, for six or seven weeks, until many of their men ran away, and the rest were much straitned for want of victuals, their passage, by sea, was blocked up by ships of war, and, by Land, with their numerous enemies, who got time to gather and strengthen themselves, whereby their friends were frustrate and more oppressed, and themselves kept little better than Prisoners, till their spirits were wearied and worn out, and all hope lost. At length the Earl determined, when out of time, to leave the *Highlands*, and the Ships, Cannons, Arms, and Ammunition at *Island-Craig*, and marched towards *Dumbartoun*, crossing the water of *Leven*, about three miles above it. Next morning, near *Duntreth*, they discovered a Party of the Enemies, and faced towards them, but they retired. And then directing their Course towards *Glasgow*, were intercepted by the body of the Enemies army: where they drew up in Battalia, one against another, and stood in arms till the evening, a water being betwixt them. But *Argyle*'s Party, perceiving that their enemies were above ten times their number, and that themselves were wearied out with a long and tedious march, want of victuals and sleep, resolved to withdraw: but as soon as it grew dark, all

hope lost, they dispersed, every man shifting for himself; only a few keeping together all the next day, had a skirmish with a party of the Enemies, in which they slew the Captain, and about 12, or some more of his men, and afterwards they dispersed themselves also. The Enemies, searching the Country, gleaned up the Earl of *Argyle* himself, Colonel *Rumbold*, an *Englishman*, Mr. *Thomas Archer* Minister, *Gavin Russel*, and *David Law*, who were all condemned and execute at *Edinburgh*, and many others who were banished to *America*: and about some 20 in the *Highlands*, who were hanged at *Inverary*. In *England*, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s expedition, though it had more action, yet terminated in the same success, the loss of many hundred lives, many killed in Battle: and afterwards, by the *mercy* of the Duke of *York*, several hundreds in the *West* of *England* were carried about, and hanged before the doors of their own habitations; and to make his Captains sport by the way, according to the number of the hours of the day, when the murdering humour came in their head, so many of the poor Captives were hanged, as a prodigious monument of monstrous Cruelty. This was the Commencement of the present Tyrants Government. In the mean time, the *Wanderers* in *Scotland*, tho' they did not associate with this Expedition, upon the account of the too promiscuous admittence of persons to trust in that Party, who were then and since have discovered themselves to be Enemies to the Cause, and because they could not espouse their *Declaration* as the State of their Quarrel, being not concerted according to the constant Plea of the *Scots* Covenanters, and for other reasons given in their late *Vindication*: yet against this Usurpation of a bloody Papist, advancing himself to the Throne in such a manner, they published another *Declaration* at *Sanquhar*, *May* 28. 1685. 'Wherein, approving and 'adhering unto all their former Declarations, and con-'sidering that *James*, Duke of *York*, a profest and ex-'communicate Papist, was proclaimed ——— To te-'stify their resentment of that deed, and to make it ap-'pear unto the world, that they were free thereof, by 'concurrence or connivance; they protest against the

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'foresaid Proclamation of *James*, Duke of *York*, as 'King: in regard that it is the choosing of a Murder-'er to be a Governor, who hath shed the blood of the 'Saints, —— that it is the height of Confederacy 'with an Idolater, forbidden by the Law of God, '—— contrary to the Declaration of the *General As-'sembly* of the Church, *July* 27. 1649. And contrary 'to many wholesome and laudable Acts of Parliament, '—— and inconsistent with the safety, faith, Con-'science, and Christian Liberty of a Christian People, 'to choose a subject of Antichrist to be their Supreme 'Magistrate, —— and to entrust an enemy to the work, 'and people of God with the Interests of both: and up-'on many important grounds and reasons (which there 'they express) they protest against the validity and con-'stitution of that Parliament, approving and ratifying 'the foresaid Proclamation, —— And against all kind 'of Popery in general and particular heads, —— as 'abjured by the National Covenant, and abrogated by 'Acts of Parliament, —— and against its entry again 'into this Land, and every thing that doth, or may 'directly or indirectly, make way for the same: dis-'claiming likewise all Sectarianism, Malignancy, and 'any Confederacy therewith.' —— This was their Testimony against *Popery* in the season thereof: which tho' it was not so much condemned as any former Declarations, yet neither in this had they the Concurrence of any Ministers or Professors; who as they had been silent, and omitted a seasonable Testimony against Prelacy, and the Supremacy, when these were introduced, so now also, even when this wicked Mystery and Conspiracy of Popery and Tyranny, twisted together in the present design of Antichrist, had made so great a progress, and was evidently brought above board, they were left to let slip this opportunity of a Testimony also, to the reproach of the declining and far degenerate Church of *Scotland*. Yea, to their shame, the very rabble of ignorant people may be brought as a Witness against the body of Presbyterian Ministers in *Scotland*, in that they testified their detestation of the first Erection of the Idolatrous *Mass*, and some of the soldiery, and such

such as had no Profession of Religion, suffered unto death for speaking against Popery and the designs of the King, while the Ministers were silent. And some of the Curates, and members of the late Parliament 1686, made some stickling against the taking away of the penal Statutes against Papists; while Presbyterians, from whom might have been expected greater opposition, were sleeping in a profound submission. I cannot, without Confusion of Spirit, touch these obvious and dolorous reflections, and yet in candor cannot forbear them. However the Persecution against the *Wanderers* went on, and more cruel Edicts were given forth against them, while a relenting abatement of severity was pretended against other Dissenters. At length what could not be obtained by Law, at the late Parliament for taking off the Statutes against Papists, was effectuated by Prerogative: and to make it pass with the greater approbation, it was conveyed in a channel of pretended Clemency, offering a sort of *Liberty*, but really introducing a licentious *Latitude*, for bringing in all future snares, by taking off some former, as arbitrarily as before they were imposed, in a Proclamation, dated *February* 12. 1687. 'Granting, by the King's sovereign Authority, Prerogative 'Royal, and *absolute power, which all Subjects are to 'obey without reserve*, a Royal *Toleration*, to the several 'Professors of the Christian Religion afternamed, with 'and under the several Conditions, restrictions, and li-'mitations aftermentioned. In the first place, tolerat-'ing the *Moderate Presbyterians* to meet in their private 'houses, and there to hear all such Ministers, as either 'have, or are willing to accept of the Indulgence alle-'nerly, and none other: and that there be nothing said 'or done contrary to the well and peace of his reign, 'seditious or treasonable, under the highest pains these 'Crimes will import, nor are they to presume to build 'Meeting-houses, or to use out-houses, or barns.——— 'In the mean time, 'tis his Royal will and pleasure, 'that *Field Conventicles*, and such as preach at them, or 'who shall any way assist or connive at them, shall be 'prosecute according to the utmost severity of Laws 'made against them.——— In like manner, tolerat-

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‘ing the Quakers to meet and exercise in their form, ‘in any place or places appointed for their Worship; ‘——— And by the same *absolute power*, foresaid, ‘suspending, stopping, and disabling all Laws, or Acts ‘of Parliament, Customs, or Constitutions against any ‘*Roman Catholick* subjects. ——— So that they shall, ‘in all things, be as free in all respects as any Protestant ‘subjects whatsoever, not only to exercise their Religi‘on, but to enjoy all Offices, benefices, *&c.* which he ‘shall think fit to bestow upon them in all time coming, ‘——— And casting, annulling, and discharging all ‘*Oaths* whatsoever, and *Tests*, and Laws enjoining them. ‘And in place of them this Oath only is to be taken. ‘——— *I A. B. do acknowledge, testify, and declare, that* James *the Seventh*, &c. *is rightful King, and supreme Governor of these Realms, and over all persons therein; and that it is unlawful for Subjects, on any pretence, or for any Cause whatsoever, to rise in arms against him, or any Commissionated by him; and that I shall never so rise in Arms, nor assist any who shall so do; and that I shall never resist his power or Authority, nor ever oppose his Authority to his person, ——— but shall to the utmost of my power assist, defend, and maintain him, his heirs and lawful successors, in the exercise of their absolute power and authority against all deadly.* ——— And by ‘the same *absolute power* giving his full and ample *Indemnity*, to all the foresaid sorts of people, under the ‘foresaid restrictions.’ Here is a Proclamation for a Prince: that proclaims him in whose name it is emitted, to be the greatest Tyrant that ever lived in the world, and their Revolt who have disowned him to be the justest that ever was. For herein that Monster of *Prerogative* is not only advanced, paramount to all Laws, divine and human, but far surmounting all the lust, impudence, and insolence of the *Roman*, *Sicilian*, *Turkish*, *Tartarian*, or *Indian* Tyrants, that ever trampled upon the Liberties of Mankind; who have indeed demanded *absolute subjection*, and surrender of their Lives, Lands, and Liberties at their pleasure, but never arrived at such a height of arrogance as this does, to claim *absolute obedience*, *without reserve* of Conscience, Religi-

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on, Honour, or Reason; not only that which ignorantly is called *Passive*, never to resist him, not only on any *Pretence*, but for any *Cause*, even tho' he should command his Popish *Janizaries* to murder and massacre all *Protestants*, which is the tender mercy and burning fervent charity of *Papists*; but also of *absolute active Obedience* without *reserve*, to assist, defend, and maintain him in every thing, whereby he shall be pleased to exercise his *absolute Power*, tho' he should command to burn the *Bible*, as well as the *Covenant* (as already he applauded *John Gib* in doing of it) and to burn and butcher all that will not go to *Mass*, which we have all grounds to expect will be the end of his Clemency at last. Herein he claims a power to command what he will, and obliging subjects to obey whatsoever he will command: a power to rescind, stop and disable all Laws; which unhinges all stability, and unsettles all the security of human society, yea, extinguishes all that remains of natural Liberty: wherein, as is well observed by the Author of the *Representation of the threatning Dangers impending over Protestants*; p. 53, 'It is very natural to observe, that 'he allows the Government, under which we were 'born, and to which we were sworn, to be hereby subverted and changed, and that thereupon we are not only absolved and acquitted from all Allegiance to him, 'but indispensibly obliged, by the ties and engagements 'that are upon us, to apply ourselves to the use of all 'means and endeavours against him, as an Enemy of 'the People, and subverter of the legal Government.' But this was so gross, and grievously gripping in its restrictions, as to persons, as to the place, as to the matter allowed the *Presbyterians* in preaching, that it was disdained of all; and therefore he behoved to busk it better, and mend the matter, in a Letter to the Council (the supreme Law of *Scotland*) bearing date *March* 31st, 1687, of this tenour,——'Whereas we did recommend to you to take care, that any of the *Presbyterians* 'should not be allowed to preach, but such only as 'should have your Allowance for the same, and that 'they at the receiving the *Indulgence* should take Oath 'contained in the Proclamation.—— These are there-

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'fore to let you know, that thereby we meant such of 'them as did not solemnly take the *Test*, but if never-'theless the *Presbyterian* Preachers do scruple to take the 'said Oath, or any other Oath whatsoever, and that 'you shall find it reasonable, or fit to grant them, or 'any of them, our said *Indulgence*, so as they desire it 'upon these terms; it is now our will and pleasure----- 'to grant them our said Indulgence, without being ob-'liged to take the Oath, with power unto them to enjoy 'the benefit of the said Indulgence (during our pleasure 'only) or so long as you shall find they behave them-'selves *regularly* and *peaceably*, without giving any Cause 'of offence to us, or any in authority or trust under us 'in our Government.'——— Thus finding the former proposal not adequately apportioned to his design, because of its palpable odiousness, he would pretend his meaning was mistaken (tho' it was manifest enough) and mitigate the matter, by taking away of the Oaths altogether, *if any should scruple it*; whereas he could not but know, that all that had sense would abhor it; yet it is clogged with the same restrictions, limited to the same persons, characterized more plainly and peremptorily, with an addition of Cautions, not only that they shall not say or do any thing contrary to the well and peace of his Reign, seditious or treasonable; but also that they behave themselves regularly and peaceably, *without giving any Cause of Offence* to him, or any under him; which comprehends lesser offences than *Sedition* or *Treason*, even every thing that will displease a Tyrant and a Papist, that is, all faithfulness in seasonable Duties or Testimonies. But at length, lest the deformity and disparity of the *Proclamation* for the *Toleration* in *Scotland*, and the *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conscience* in *England*, should make his pretences to Conscience suspect of disingenuity, and lest it should be said, he had one Conscience for *England*, and another for *Scotland*; therefore he added a third *Eik* to the Liberty, but such as made it still an ill-favoured patched project, to destroy Religion and true Liberty, in another Proclamation dated at *Windsor*, *June* 28th, 1687, wherein he says: ——— 'Tak-'ing into our Royal Consideration, the sinistrous Inter-

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'pretations, which either have or may be made of some 'Restrictions (mentioned in the last) we have thought 'fit by this further to declare, that we will protect our 'Archbishops, &c. And we do likewise, by our so-'vereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and *absolute* 'Power, suspend, stop and disable all penal and sangui-'nary Laws, made against any for Non-conformity to 'the Religion established by Law in that our ancient 'Kingdom, —— to the end, that by the Liberty 'thereby granted, the Peace and Security of our Go-'vernment in the practice thereof may not be endan-'gered, we hereby straitly charge all our loving Sub-'jects, that as we do give them leave to meet, and serve 'God after their own way, in private Houses, Chapels, 'or Places purposely hired or built for that use, so that 'they take care that nothing be preached or taught, 'which may any way tend to alienate the Hearts of our 'People from us and our Government, and that their 'Meetings be peaceably and publickly held, and all per-'sons freely admitted to them; and that they do signi-'fy and make known to some one or more of the next 'Privy Counsellors, Sheriffs, Stewards, Baillies, Justices 'of the Peace, or Magistrates of Burghs Royal, what 'place or places they set apart for these uses, with the 'names of the Preachers, ——provided always that 'the Meetings be in Houses, and not in the open Fields; 'for which now, after this our royal Grace and Favour '(which surpasses the hopes, and equals the very wishes 'of the most zealously concerned) there is not the least 'shadow of excuse left; which Meeting in the Fields we 'do hereby strictly prohibite and forbid, against all 'which we do leave our Laws and Acts of Parliament 'in full force and vigour, notwithstanding the premisses; 'and do further command all our Judges, Magistrates, 'and Officers of Forces, to prosecute such as shall be 'guilty of the said Field-conventicles, with the utmost 'rigour; for we are confident none will, after these Li-'berties and Freedoms, given to all without reserve, to 'serve God in their own way, presume to meet in these 'Assemblies, except such as make a pretence of Religion, 'to cover their treasonable Designs against our Royal

'Person,

'Person, and the Peace of our Government.'——

This is the Royal Charter for security of the Protestant Religion (intended to secure it so, that it shall not go much abroad again) in lieu of all the Laws, Constitutional Oaths and Covenants, wherewith it was formerly confirmed. This is the only Patent, which the Royal Dawties, the *moderate Presbyterians*, have now received to insure their Enjoyment of it *during well-pleasing*, during his pleasure, whose Faith is as *absolute* over all ties of promises, as his power from whence it flows is over all Laws; whose chiefest principle of Conscience is, that *no Faith is to be kept to Hereticks*. Here is the Liberty which is said to *surpass the Hopes, and equal the Wishes of the most zealously concerned*; holding true indeed of too many, whose hopes and wishes, and zeal are terminate upon Peace rather than Truth, ease rather than Duty, and their own things rather than the things of Christ; but as for the poor wild *Wanderers*, it someway answers their *Fears*, and corresponds with their *Jealousies*, who put the same interpretation upon it, as on all the former *Indulgences*, *Indemnities* and *Tolerations*, proceeding from the same fountain, and designed for the same sinistrous ends with this, which they look upon as more openly and obviously Antichristian, and therefore, while others are rejoicing under the bramble-shadow of it, they think it a cause of weeping and matter of mourning, not because they do not share of the benefit of it, but because they are afraid to share of the Curse of it. For which cause, tho' a freedom be pretended to be given, *to all without reserve to serve God in their own way*, they think it necessary to reserve to themselves the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and to serve him in his Way, tho' interdicted by men, and to take none from Antichrist restricted with his reserves; and do look upon it as a seasonable Testimony for the Cause of Christ, and the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Country, all overturned and subverted by this Toleration, to keep their Meetings as in former times, in the open fields, whither their Tyranny hath driven them. And let them call these Meetings *covered, and treasonable Designs against the Government, on pretence of*

*of Religion*, I trust it shall be made evident, to the Conviction of all that know Religion, that their Designs are to preserve it, in opposition to the Tyranny that goes about all these ways to suppress it; tho' I must suspend the Reasons of their keeping their Meetings in the fields, till I come to discuss that Case in its own place. Here I shall only say, none that are acquainted with their Circumstances, which are as dangerously stated as ever, by reason of the constant Persecution of cruel enraged Enemies, incessantly pursuing them without relenting, notwithstanding of all this pretence of Clemency, and tenderness to Conscience, but may know, they can neither have safety, secrecy, nor conveniency in Houses, for fear of their intrapping Enemies; and none will blame them, that after so many discoveries of their truculent treachery, they dare not trust them: and besides, they think it sinful, scandalous and inconvenient, to seem to homologate this *Toleration*, the wickedness whereof they are convinced of, from these Reasons:

I. Considering the *Granter* in his personal capacity, as to his *Morals*, they look upon him as a person with whom they cannot in prudence communicate, in any transaction of that nature. *First*, Because being in his principles and practice professedly *treacherous*, yea obliged to be both perfidious and cruel by that Religion whereunto he is addicted, he cannot be trusted in the least concerns, let be those of such momentous consequence as this, without a stupid abandoning of conscience, reason and experience. Since both that known principle, that *no Faith is to be kept to Hereticks*, which is espoused by all Papists, does to them justify all their lying dissimulations, equivocations, and treacheries imaginable; and that *Lateran* Canon, that enjoins *Kings to destroy and extirpate Hereticks under pain of excommunication*, does oblige him to be cruel; besides what deep engagements he is known to be under by oaths and promises to the *Pope*, both in his exile, and while a subject, and since he came to the crown: which make him to all considering persons to be a person of that character, whose deceitful dainties are not to be desired, and that when he speaketh fair is not to be believed, for their are

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seven abominations in his heart. Of which open and affronted *Lies* we have a sufficient swatch, both in his proclamation for *Scotland*, and declaration for *England*; where he speaks of his constant, resolves of *uniting the hearts of Subjects to God in Religion, and to their Neighbours in Christian Love, and that it never was his principle to offer violence to any man's Conscience, or use invincible necessity against any man on the account of his persuasion*; and that their *Property* was never in any case *invaded* since his coming to the crown; and that it hath been his constant sense and opinion, that *Conscience ought not to be constrained, nor People forced in matters of mere Religion.* To which his uninterrupted endeavours to divide us from God and from one another, that he might the more easily destroy us, and his constant encroachments upon laws, liberties and properties, and all interests of men and Christians for conscience sake do give the lie manifestly. And it must be great blindness not to see, and great baseness willingly to wink at that double-faced equivocation, *in matters of mere Religion*; by which he may elude all these flattering promises of tenderness, by excepting at the most necessary and indispensible duties, if either they be such wherein any other interest is concerned beside mere Religion, or if their troubles sustained thereupon be not altogether *invincible Necessities.* Hence the plain falsehood and doubleness of his assertions as to what is past, may give ground to conclude his intended perfidy in the promises of what is future. *Next*, It is known what his practice and plots have been for the destruction of all honest and precious interests; what a deep hand he had in the burning of *London.* In the *Popish plot*, discovered in the year 1678, in the murder of the Earl of *Essex*, yea in the Parricide committed upon his own brother. By all which it appears, nothing is so abominable and barbarous which he hath not a conscience that will swallow and digest without a scruple; and what he hath done of this kind must be but preparatory to what he intends, as meritorious to atone for these villanies. And in his esteem, and persuasion of Papists, nothing is thought more meritorious than to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and destroy the Profes-

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sors thereof. Therefore being such a person with whom in reason no honest man could transact, for a tenure of the least piece of land or house, or any holding whatsoever, they dare not accept of his security or protection for so great an interest, as the freedom and exercise of their Religion under the shadow of such a bramble. If it was the *Shechemites* sin and shame to strengthen a naughty *Abimelech*, and strengthen themselves under the shadow of his protection, much more must it be to take protection for Religion as well as Peace, from such a Monster of cruelty and treachery. This were against their Testimony, and contrary to the laudable constitutions of the Church of *Scotland*, to take no protections from Malignant enemies, as was shewed above in *Montrose's* case. See pag. 97. above.

II. Considering his *Religion* more particularly, they judge it unlawful so to bargain with him as this acceptance would import. It is known he is not only a *Papist*, an *Apostate* Papist, and an *Excommunicate* Papist, (as is related above), but a fiery *Bigot* in the *Romish* Religion, and zealous sworn votary and vassal of Antichrist; who, as the Letter of the *Jesuites* from *Liege*, lately published in print, tells us, is resolved *either to convert* England *to Popery or die a Martyr*: and again, that he stiles himself *a son of the Society of Jesuites, and will account every injury done to them to be a wrong done against himself*; being known to be under the conduct and guidance of that furious order, yea and enrolled as a member of that Society. Which makes it the less to be wondered, that he should require *absolute obedience without reserve*, seeing he himself yields absolute obedience as well as *implicite faith*, without reserve, to the Jesuites. Such a Bigot was *Mary* of *England* (as also his Great Grandame of *Scotland*, if she had got her will). And his Bigotry will make him emulous of her cruelty, as counting it a diminution of his glory, for such a Champion as he under Antichrist's banner to come short of a woman's enterprizes: nor would the late King have been so posted off the stage, if his Successor were not to act more vigorously than he in this tragical design, to which this toleration is subservient. He is then a servant of Antichrist, and as such

such under the Mediator's Malediction; yea, in this respect, is heir to his Grandfather's imprecations, who *wished the Curse of God to fall upon such of his Posterity as should at any time turn Papists.* How then can the Followers of the Lamb strike hands, be at peace, associate, confederate, or bargain with such a declared enemy to Christ? Certainly the Scripture-commands of making no Covenant or League, interdicting entering into any affinity with the people of these abominations, and forbidding *saying a Confederacy with them*, do lay awful bonds on the Faithful to stand aloof from such. The people might have had liberty of conscience under the *Assyrian* protection, when they were saying a Confederacy with him, but in so doing they forefaulted the benefit of the Lord's being a *Sanctuary to them.* To bargain therefore with such an one for a toleration of religion, were contrary to the Scriptures, contrary to the Covenants and Principles of the Church of *Scotland*, against Associations and Confederacies with such enemies. See *Gillespie's Useful Case of Conscience concerning Association*, hinted *Pag.* 98, and more *Head* 3. *Arg.* 1. But to accept of this liberty as now offered were a bargaining; for where there is a giving and receiving upon certain conditions, where there are demands and complyance; commands and obedience, promises and reliance, offers upon terms and acquiescence in these terms, what is there wanting to a bargain, but the mere formality of subscriptions? At least it cannot be denied, but the *Addressers* have bargained for it, and in the name of all the Accepters, which must stand as their deed also; if they do not evidence their resentment of such presumption, which I do not see how they can, if they abide under the shadow thereof the same way as they do. I grant liberty as very desirable, and may be taken and improven from enemies of religion: and so do the *Wanderers* now take it and improve it to the best advantage, without receiving it by acquiescing in any terms. But such a liberty as this was never offered without a destructive design, nor ever received without a destructive effect. It is one of the filthy flatteries found in the *English Addresses*, particularly that from *Totness*, that the present Indulger

dulger is like another *Cyrus* who proclaimed liberty to the people of God, *Ezra* i. But who sees not the disparity in every respect? *Cyrus*, at his very first entry into the government, did lay out himself for the Church's good; this man who speaks now so fair, his first work was to break our head, and next to put on our hood, first to assert and corroborate his prerogative, and then by virtue of that, to dispense with all penal laws: it was foretold that *Cyrus* should deliver the Church at that time; but was it ever promised that the Church should get liberty to advance Antichrist? or that Antichrist, or one of his limbs, should be employed in the Church's deliverance; while such? The Lord stirred up the spirit of *Cyrus*; Can it be said without blasphemy, that the Lord stirred up this man, to contrive the introduction of Popery by this gate and gap, except in a penal sense for judgment? *Cyrus* had a charge to build the Lord a house; but this is not a charge but a grant or licence, not from nor according to God's authority, but man's, not to build Christ a house, but a *Babel* for Antichrist; and all this liberty is but contrived as *scaffolding* for that edifice, which, when it is advanced, then the scaffolding must be removed.

III. Considering him in his *Relation* as a *Magistrate*, it were contrary to their Testimony so often renewed and ratified, and confirmed with so many reasons, and sealed by so much blood, bonds, banishment, and other sufferings, to own or acknowledge his authority, which is mere usurpation and tyranny; in that by the laws of the land he is incapable of government, and that he had neither given nor can give, without an hypocritical and damning cheat, the oath and security indispensibly required of him before and at his entry to the government. Yet this liberty cannot be complied with, without recognoscing his authority that he arrogates in giving it: seeing he tenders it *to all his good Subjects*, and gives it by his *Sovereign Authority*, and *to the end that by the Liberty thereby granted the peace and security of the Government in the practice thereof may not be indangered.* And in the Declaration to *England*, it is offered as an expedient *to establish his Government on such a foundation, as may make*

*his*

*his Subjects happy, and unite them to him by inclination as well as duty*; to which indeed the acceptance thereof hath a very apt subserviency: seeing it implies, not only owning of the government out of duty, but an union and joining with it and him by inclination, which is a cordial confederacy with God's enemy, and a co-operating to the establishment of his Tyranny, that the peace and security thereof may not be endangered. And, in his former proclamation, he gives them the same security for their rights and properties, which he gives for religion; and, in the *English* declaration, *addeth, That to the perfect enjoyment of their Property, which was never invaded*, &c. Which to accept, were not only to take the security of a manifest lie, but to prefer the word of a man that cannot, must not, will not keep it (without going cross to his principles) to the security of right and law which is hereby infringed, and to acknowledge not only the liberty of religion, but the right of property to be his grant: which, whenever it is removed, there must remain no more charter for it, but stupid slavery entailed upon posterity, and pure and perfect tyranny transmitted to them. The sin and absurdity whereof may be seen demonstrated *Head* 2.

IV. Considering the *Fountain* whence it flows, they cannot defile themselves with it. In the *English* Declaration, it flows from the *Royal will and pleasure*, which speaks a Domination Despotical and Arbitrary enough, but more gently expressed than in the *Scots* Proclamation; where it is refounded on *Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and Absolute Power*: proclaiming by sound of trumpet, a Power Paramount to all Law, Reason and Religion, and outvying the height of *Ottoman* Tyranny: a power which all are to *obey without reserve*: a power to tolerate or restrain the Protestant Religion, according to his Royal will or pleasure: an *Absolute Power* which cannot be limited by Laws, nor most Sacred Obligations, but only regulated by the Royal lust; whereby indeed he may suffer the Protestant Religion, but only precariously so long as he pleases, and until his Royal pleasure shall be to command the establishment of *Popery*, which then must be complied with without

controul. Whereby all the tenure that Protestants have for their Religion, is only the Arbitrary word of an absolute Monarch, whose principles oblige him to break it, and his ambition to disdain to be a slave to it. Now, the acceptance of this grant would imply the recognizance of this power, that the granter claims in granting it; which utterly dissolves all government, and all security for religion and liberty, and all the precious interests of men and Christians: which, to acknowledge, were contrary to Scripture, contrary to reason, and contrary to the principles of the Church of *Scotland*, particularly the Declaration of the *General Assembly*, *July* 27. 1649. See pag. 89. *&c.* and contrary to the Covenant.

V. Considering the *Channel* in which it is conveyed, they cannot comply with it. Because it comes through such a conveyance, as *suspends*, *stops*, and *disables* all penal laws against *Papists*, and thereby averts all the securities and legal Bulwarks that *Protestants* can have for the establishment of their religion; yea, in effect, leaves no laws in force against any that shall attempt the utter subversion of it, but ratifies and leaves in full vigour all wicked laws and acts of parliament, against such as would most avowedly assert it; and stops and disables none of the most cruel and bloody laws against Protestants: for the most cruel are such as have been made against Field-meetings, which are hereby left in full force and vigour. Hence as he hath formerly, by *Absolute Power*, suspended all laws made for the protection of our Religion, so he may, when he will, dispense with all the laws made for its establishment; and those who approve the one by such an acceptance, cannot disallow the other, but must recognosce a power in the King to subvert all laws, rights and liberties, which is contrary to reason as well as religion, and a clear breach of the National and Solemn League and Covenants.

VI. Considering the *Ends* of its contrivance, they dare not have any accession to accomplish such wicked projects, to which this acceptance would be so natively subservient. The expressed ends of this Grant are, to *unite the hearts of his Subjects to him in Loyalty, and to their Neighbours in Love*, as in the former Proclamation; and that

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*by the Liberty granted, the peace and security of his Government, in the practice thereof, may not be endangered,* as in the later Proclamation; and to *unite the Subjects to him by inclination as well as duty,* which he thinks *can be done by no means so effectually as by granting the free exercise of Religion* as in the *English* Declaration. Whence we may gather not obscurely; what is the proper tendency of it, both as to the work and worker, to wit, to incline and induce us by flattery to a lawless *Loyalty,* and a stupid contented slavery when he cannot compel us by force, and make us actively co-operate in setting and settling his Tyranny, in the peaceable possession of all his Usurpations, Robberies and Encroachments upon our Religion, Laws and Liberties, and to incorporate us with *Babylon*; for who are the Neighbours he would have us unite with in love, but the Papists? against whom all the Lovers of Christ must profess themselves irreconcileable enemies. The *English* Declaration does further discover the design of this device, in one expression which will most easily be obtained to be believed of any in it, *viz.* that he *heartily wishes that all the People of these Dominions were members of the Catholick Church:* which clearly insinuates, that hereby he would entice them to commit fornication with that Mother of Harlots; which enticing to Idolatry (if we consult the Scripture) should meet with another sort of entertainment than such a kind and thankful acceptance, which is not an opposing of such a wicked wish, but an encouraging and corroborating of it. And further he says, that all the former tract of persecutions *never obtained the end for which it was employed; for, after all the frequent and pressing endeavours that were used, to reduce this Kingdom to an exact conformity in Religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and that the difficulty is invincible.* Wherein we may note his extorted acknowledgement, that all former endeavours to destroy the Work of God have been successless, which induces him to try another method, to which this acceptance is very subservient, to wit, to destroy us and our Religion by flatteries, and by peace to overturn truth, and by the subversion of laws to open a door to let in Popery and all abominati-

ons. But what is more obscurely expressed in his words, is more visibly obvious in his works, to all that will not willingly wink at them; discovering clearly the end of this liberty is not for the Glory of God, nor the advantage of Truth, or the Church's edification, nor intended as a benefit to *Protestants*; but for a pernicious design, by gratifying a few of them in a pretended favour, to rob all of them of their chiefest interests, religion, laws, rights and liberties, which he could not otherwise effectuate but by this arbitrary way; for if he could have obtained his designs by law; he would never have talked of lenity or liberty, but, having no legal ends, he behoved to compass them by illegal means. They must then be very blind who do not see his drift is, first to get in all *Popish* Officers in places of publick trust, by taking off the penal laws disabling them for the same; then to advance his Absoluteness over all laws, in a way which will be best acknowledged and acquiesced in by people, till he be so strengthened in it, that he fears no controul; and then to undermine and overturn the Protestant Religion, and establish Popery and Idolatry: which he is concerned the more violently to pursue, because he is now growing old, and therefore must make haste, lest he leave the Papists in a worse condition than he found them: which, to be sure, the *Papists* are aware of, and their conscious fears of the nation's resentments of their villanies will prompt them, as long as they have such a Patron, to all vigilance and violence in playing their game: and withal, hereby he may intend to capacitate himself for subduing the *Dutch*, against whom he hath given many indications of a hostile mind of old and of late; not only in hiring two Rascals to burn the *Amsterdam-fleet* heretofore, but in stirring up and protecting the *Algerine Pyrates* against them; so universal a Protector is he become of late, that *Papists* and *Protestants*, *Turks* and *Jews* are shrewded under the shadow of his Patrociny, but with a design to destroy the best, when his time comes. Which cursed designs cannot be counteracted, but very much strengthened by this acceptance.

VII. Considering the *Effects* already produced thereby, they

they cannot but abhor it: seeing the eyes of all that are tender may affect their hearts, observing how the *Papists* are hereby encouraged, and increased in numbers, the whole Nation overflowed with their hellish *Locusts*, and all Places filled with Priests and *Jesuites*; yea, the executive power of the Government put into the hands of the *Romanists*; and on the other hand, how the People are endangered with their abounding and prevailing Errors (to which the Lord may, and will give up those that have not received the Love of the Truth) Truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter, a Testimony against Antichrist is abandoned and laid aside, as unseasonable; the edge of zeal for the Interest of Christ is blunted, and its fervour extinguished; they that should stand in the Gap, and upon the Watch-tower, are laid aside from all opposition to the Invasions of the Enemy, and lulled asleep by this bewitching Charm and intoxicating *Opium*; Ministers and Professors are generally settling on their lees, and languishing in a fatal security; Defection is carried on, Division promoted, and Destruction is imminent. Is it not then both a part of the Witness of the Faithful, and of their Wisdom to stand alooff from such a Plague, that hath such destructive effects?

VIII. Considering the *Nature* and *Name* of this pretended Liberty, they cannot but disdain it, as most dishonourable to the Cause of Christ. It is indeed the honour of Kings, and happiness of people, to have true human and Christian Liberty established in the Commonwealth, that is, Liberty of Persons from slavery, Liberty of Privileges from Tyranny, and Liberty of Conscience from all impositions of men; consisting in a freedom from the Doctrines, Traditions and Commandments of men, against or beside the Word of God, in the free enjoyment of Gospel-ordinances in purity and power, and in the free observance and establishment of all His Institutions of Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, in subordination to the only Rule of Conscience, the revealed Will of its only Lawgiver Jesus Christ. When this is ratified as a *Right* by the Sanction of approven Authority, and countenanced and encouraged *as Religion*, by the Confirmation of Laws, approving whatsoever

ver is commanded by the God of Heaven to be done for the House of the God of Heaven (which is the full amount of all Magistrates Authority) then we are obliged to accept of it with all thankful acceptation. But such a Liberty, as overturns our Rights, our Privileges, our Laws, our Religion, and *tolerates* it only under the Notion of a *Crime*, and indemnifies it under the notion of a *Fault* to be pardoned, and allows the exercise thereof only in *Part*, so and so modified, cannot be accepted by any to whom the reproach thereof is a burden, and to whom the reproaches of Christ are in esteem, in such a day, when even the lovers of Christ's Interest, buried in bondage, are to be contended for. Whatever Liberty this may be to some Consciences, it is none to the tender, according to the Rule of Conscience; it is only a *Toleration*, which is always *of evil:* for that which is good cannot be tolerated under the notion of good, but countenanced and encouraged as such. Therefore this reflects upon our Religion, when a *Toleration* is accepted which implies such a reproach: and the annexed *Indemnity* and *Pardon* tacitely condemns the Profession thereof as a *Fault* or Crime, which no Christian can bear with, or by his acceptance homologate these reproaches, if he consider the nature of it. And much more will he be averse from it, if he consider how dishonourable it is to God (whatever some *Addressers*, particularly the Presbyterians at *London*, have blasphemously alledged, that *God is hereby restored to his Empire over the Conscience*) since the Granter, after he hath robbed the Mediator of his Supremacy, and given it away to Antichrist, and God of his Supremacy Imperial, as universal King, by a Claim of absolute Power peculiar to him; he hath also robbed him of his Empire over the Conscience, in giving every man the Empire over his own Conscience, which he reserves a power to retract when he pleases.

IX. Considering the *Extent* of it, they cannot class themselves among the number of them that are *indulged* thereby. It takes in not only the *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, and the Prelatical and Malignant Crew, but all *Quakers* and *Papists*, reaching all Idolatry, Blasphemy and Heresy, and Truth also (which could never yet dwell together

ther under one sconce) whereby the Professors of Christ come in as Partners in the same bargain with Antichrist's Vassals; and the *Lord's Ark* hath a place with *Dagon*, and its Priests and Followers consent to it; and the builders of *Babel* and of *Jerusalem* are made to build together, under the same Protection; and a sluice is opened, to let the Enemy come in like a flood, which to oppose, the Accepters cannot stand in the Gap, nor lift up a Standard against them. Liberty indeed should be universally extended to all the Lord's People, as *Cyrus* his Proclamation was general, *Who is there among you of all his People? his God be with him.* But a Toleration of Idolaters, Blasphemers and Hereticks, as *Papists*, &c. is odious to God, because it is contrary to Scripture, expressly commanding *Idolaters to die the Death*, and all Seducers and Enticers to Apostasy from God to be put to Death without pity; and commending all righteous Magistrates that executed Judgment accordingly, as *Asa*, *Hezekiah*, &c. yea even Heathen Magistrates, that added their Sanction to the Laws of God, as *Artaxerxes* is approven for that Statute, that *whosoever will not do the Law of God and of the King, Judgment should be executed speedily upon him.* And in the New Testament this was never repealed, but confirmed, in that the sword is given to Magistrates, not in vain, but to be a terror to, and revengers, to *execute Wrath upon all that do evil*, among whom Seducers, that are *Evil-workers* and Idolaters, are chiefly to be ranked, being such as do the worst of evil to Mankind. *Ephesus* is commended, because they could not *bear* them which are evil: and *Thyatira* reproved for *suffering Jezebel*; by which it appeareth, that our Lord Jesus is no Friend to *Toleration.* It is true, this is spoken against Churchmen, but will any think that will be approven in Civil Powers, which is so hateful in Church-officers? Surely it will be the duty and honour of these *Horns* spoken of, *Revel.* xvii. to eat the Whore's flesh, and burn her with fire. And shall that be restricted, only to be done against the great Antichrist, and not be duty against the lesser Antichrists, the limbs of the great One? It is recorded of *Julian* the Apostate, that among other devices he used to root out Christianity, this was one,

one, that he gave *Toleration* openly to all the different Professions that were among Christians, whereof there were many heretical in those days; which is exactly aped by *James* the Apostate now for the same end. It is also contrary to the *Confession of Faith*, Chap. 20. Sect. 4. asserting, 'That for their publishing such opinions, 'or maintaining of such practices, as are contrary to the 'light of Nature, or to the known Principles of Chri-'stianity, whether concerning Faith, Worship or Con-'versation, or to the power of Godliness, or such erro-'neous opinions or practices, as either in their own na-'ture, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining 'them, are destructive to the external Peace and Order, 'which Christ hath established in the Church; they 'may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded a-'gainst by the Censures of the Church, and by the 'power of the Civil Magistrate.' And therefore, to accept of this Toleration, is inconsistent with the Principles of the Church of *Scotland*, with the National, and Solemn League and Covenants, and Solemn Acknowledgments of Sins, and Engagements to duties; in all which we are bound to *extirpate Popery*, *Prelacy*, &c. with the whole tract of Contendings in the *fifth Period* above related; and particularly by the *Testimony* of the *Synod of Fife*, and other Brethren in the Ministry, against *Cromwel's* vast *Toleration* and Liberty of Conscience, mentioned above, *p.* 76. for it is plain, if it be not to be suffered, then it is not to be accepted.

X. Considering the *Terms* wherein it is offered, they cannot make such a shameful bargain. In the former Proclamation it is granted expresly *under several Conditions*, *Restrictions and Limitations*; whereof indeed some are retracted in the latter, as the restriction of it to *moderate Presbyterians*, which would seem to be taken off by extending to *all without reserve to serve God in their own way*; but being evidently exclusive of all that would serve God in Christ's way, and not after the mode prescribed, it is so modified and restricted, that all that will accept of it, must be *moderate Presbyterians* indeed, which, as it is taken in the Court-sense, must be an ignominy to all that have zeal against Antichrist. The Limitation

mitation also to private Houses, and not to Out-houses, is further enlarged to *Chapels, or Places purposely hired*; but still it is stinted to these which they must bargain for with *Counsellors, Sheriffs*, &c. So that none of these Restrictions and Limitations are altogether removed, but the Condition of taking the Oath only; yet it is very near to an equivalency, homologated by the Accepter's acknowledging in the Granter a Prerogative and *Absolute Power* over all Laws, which is confirmed and maintained by their Acceptance. As for the rest, that are not so much as said to be removed, they must be interpreted to remain, as the *Terms*, Conditions, Restrictions and Limitations, upon which they are to enjoy the benefit of this Toleration. And what he says, that *he thought fit by this Proclamation further to declare*, does confirm it, that there are *further* explications, but no taking off of former restrictions. Hence it is yet clogged with such provisions and restrictions, as must make it very nauseous to all truly tender. (1) The restriction as to the *Persons* still remains, that only *moderate Presbyterians*, and *such as are willing to accept of this Indulgence allenarly, and none other*, and such only whose names must be *signified to these Sheriffs, Stewards, Bailiffs*, &c. are to have the benefit of this Indulgence; whereby all the zealous and faithful Presbyterians are excluded, (for these they will not call them *Moderate*) and all that would improve it without a formal Acceptance, and all who for their former diligence in duty are under the lash of their wicked Law, and dare not give up their names to those who are seeking their lives, must be deprived of it. (2) It is restricted to certain *Places* still, which must be made *known to some one or more of the next Privy Counsellors*, and whereby they are tied to a dependence on their Warrant, and must have their lease and licence for preaching the Word in any place; and Field-Meetings are severely interdicted, though signally countenanced of the Lord, whereby the Word of the Lord is bound and bounded; and by this Acceptance, their bloody Laws against preaching in the open Fields, where People can have freest access with conveniency and safety, are justified. (3) The *Manner* of Meeting is restricted, which must be

be in such a way, as the *Peace and Security of the Government in the Practice thereof may not be endangered*; and again *that* their Meetings be *peaceably held*, which is all one upon the matter with the *bond of peace*, and *binding to the good behaviour* so much formerly contended against by Professors, and is really the same with the Condition of the *Cautionary Bond*, in the indulgence after *Bothwel*, of which, see *P.* 143, and 144. And further, they must be *openly and publickly* held, and all persons freely admitted to them; which is for the informing trade, exposing to all the inconveniencies of *Jesuites*, and other Spies and *Flies* their delations, in case any thing be spoken reflecting on the Government, a great temptation to Ministers. (4.) The worst of all is upon their *matter* of preaching, which is so restricted and limited, that nothing must be *said or done contrary to the well and peace of his reign, seditious or treasonable*; and in case *any treasonable speeches be uttered, the Law is to take place against the guilty, and none other present, providing they reveal to any of the Council the guilt so committed*, as in the former Proclamation: and, in the last place, it is further declared, that *nothing must be preached or taught, which may any way tend to alienate the hearts of the people from him, or his Government.* Here is the price at which they are to purchase their freedom, (a sad bargain to buy Liberty, and sell Truth) which yet hardly can be so exactly paid, but he may find a pretence for retrenching it when he pleases; for if a Minister shall pray for the overturning of a throne of iniquity, or for confounding all that serve graven Images, and for destruction to the *Pope*, and all that give their power to that beast, there will be something said against the well of his Government; or if any shall hear this, and not delate it, then the same pretence is relevant; or if he shall preach against the King's Religion as *Idolatry*, and the Church of *Rome* as *Babylon*, and discharge his Conscience and duty in speaking against the Tyranny of the times; or let him preach against any publick sin faithfully, a *Popish Critick*, or *Romish Bigot*, shall interpret it to be an alienation of the peoples hearts from the King and his Government. But who can be faithful, and preach in season, and out of season now,

but

but he must think it his duty to endeavour to alienate the hearts of the people from such an Enemy to Christ, and his absolute Tyranny, so declaredly stated against God? What watchman must not see it his indispensable Duty, to warn all people of his devilish designs to destroy the Church and Nation, and preach so that people may hate the whore, and this Pimp of hers? Sure if he preach the whole Counsel of God, he must preach against Popery and Tyranny. And if he think this *Indulgence* from absolute Prerogative, granted and accepted on these terms, can supersede him from this faithfulness, then he is no more the Servant of Christ, but a pleaser of men. Therefore since it is so clogged with so many restrictions, so inconsistent with duty, so contrary to Scripture, so clearly violatory of Covenant-Engagements, so cross to the constant contendings and Constitutions of this Church, and Acts of *Assembly*, (see *Pag.* 95, and 96, *&c.*) it were a great defection to accept of it.

XI. Considering the *Scandal* of it, they dare not so offend the generation of the Righteous by the Acceptance, and dishonour God, disgrace the Protestant Profession, wrong the Interest thereof, and betray their native Country, as thus to comply with the design of Antichrist, and partake of this cruel tender mercy of the *beast*; who hath always mischief in his heart, and intends this as a Preparative for inducing or inforcing all that are hereby lulled asleep either to take on his *Mark*, or bear the Marks of his fiery fury afterwards. For hereby foreign Churches may think we are in a fair way of reconciliation with Antichrist, when we so kindly accept his Harbingers favours. And it cannot but be very stumbling to see the Ministers of *Scotland*, whose Testimony used to be terrible to the *Popish*, and renouned through all the *Protestant* Churches, purchasing a Liberty to themselves at the rate of burying and betraying the Cause into bondage and restraint, and thus to be laid by from all active and open opposition to Antichrist's designs, in such a season. The world will be tempted to think, they are not governed by Principles, but their own Interest in this juncture, seeking their own

own things more than the things of Christ; and that it was not the late Usurpation upon, and overturning of Religion and Liberty that offended them, so much as the Persecution they sustained thereby; but if that Arbitrary Power had been exerted in their favours, though with the same prejudice of the Cause of Christ, they would have complied with it as they do now. Alas! sad and dolorous have been the Scandals given and taken by and from the declining Ministers of *Scotland* heretofore, which have rent and racked the poor Remnant, and offended many both at home and abroad, but none so stumbling as this. And therefore the tender will be shy to meddle with it.

XII. Considering the *Addresses* made thereupon, with such a strain of fulsome and blasphemous flatteries, to the dishonour of God, the reproach of the Cause, the betraying of the Church, and detriment of the Nation, and exposing themselves to the contempt of all, the poor persecuted Party dare not so much as seem to incorporate with them. I shall set down the first of their *Addresses*, given forth in the name of all the Presbyterian Ministers, and let the Reader judge whether there be not cause of standing aloof from every appearance of being of their number. It is dated at *Edinburgh*, *July* 21. 1687. of this tenor.

*To the King's most excellent Majesty. The humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers of his Majesty's Kingdom of* Scotland.

'WE your Maj. most loyal Subjects, the Ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion in your 'ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, from the due sense we 'have of your Maj. gracious and surprising favour, in 'not only putting a stop to our long sad sufferings for 'Non-conformity, but granting us the Liberty of the 'publick and peaceable exercise of our Ministerial fun'ction without any hazard: as we bless the great God 'who hath put this in your Royal heart, do withal 'find our selves bound in duty to offer our most hum'ble and hearty thanks to your sacred Majesty, the fa-

'vour

‘ vour beſtowed being to us, and all the people of our
‘ Perſuaſion valuable above all our earthly comforts, e-
‘ ſpecially ſince we have ground from your Maj. to be-
‘ lieve that our Loyalty is not to be queſtioned upon the
‘ account of our being Presbyterians, who as we have,
‘ amidſt all former temptations, endeavoured, ſo we are
‘ firmly reſolved ſtill to preſerve an entire Loyalty in
‘ our Doctrine and Practice (conſonant to our known
‘ Principles, which according to the holy Scriptures,
‘ are contained in the Confeſſion of faith, generally
‘ owned by Presbyterians in all your Maj. Dominions)
‘ and by the help of God ſo to demean our ſelves, as
‘ your Maj. may find cauſe rather to enlarge than to
‘ diminiſh your favours towards us; throughly per-
‘ ſuading our ſelves from your Maj. juſtice and good-
‘ neſs, that if we ſhall, at any time, be otherwiſe re-
‘ preſented, your Maj. will not give credit to ſuch in-
‘ formation, until you have due cognition thereof: and
‘ humbly beſeeching, that thoſe who promote any diſ-
‘ loyal Principles and practices (as we diſown them)
‘ may be looked upon as none of ours, whatſoever
‘ name they may aſſume to themſelves. May it pleaſe
‘ your moſt excellent Maj. graciouſly to accept of this
‘ our moſt humble Addreſs, as proceeding from the
‘ plainneſs and ſincerity of Loyal and thankful hearts,
‘ much engaged by your Royal favour, to continue our
‘ fervent Prayers to the King of Kings, for divine illu-
‘ mination and conduct, with all other bleſſings Spiritu-
‘ al and Temporal, ever to attend your Royal Perſon
‘ and Government, which is the greateſt duty can be
‘ rendered to your Maj. by

*Your Maj. moſt humble, moſt faithful, and moſt obedient Subjects.*

‘ Subſcribed in our Names, and in the name
‘ of the reſt of our Brethren of our Perſuaſi-
‘ on, at their deſire.

Which received this gracious return.

## *The King's Letter to the Presbyterians in his ancient Kingdom of* Scotland.

'WE love you well; and we heartily thank you for your Address: we resolve to protect you in your Liberty, Religion, and properties all our life: and we shall lay down such methods, as shall not be in the power of any to alter hereafter. And, in the mean time, we desire you to pray for our person and Government.' To which may be added that kind Complement of the Chancellor's: 'Gentlemen, My Master hath commanded me to tell you, that I am to serve you in all things within the compass of my power.'

These Gentlemen needed not to have been sollicitous, that those who avouch an Adherence to the Covenanted Reformation, and avow an opposition to Antichristian Usurpers (which they call *promoting disloyal principles and practices*) might not be looked upon as of their Confederacy: for all that abide in the principles and practices of the Church of *Scotland* (which they have deserted) and that desire to be found Loyal to Christ, in opposition to his, and the Churches, and the Countries, declared Enemy, would count it a sin and scandal, laying them obnoxious to the displeasure of the holy and jealous God, who will resent this heinous Indignity they have done unto his Majesty (if they do not address themselves unto him for pardon of the iniquity of this Address, which is the desire of those whom they disown, that they may find Grace to do so) and a shameful reproach, exposing them to the contempt of all of whom they expect Sympathy, to be reckoned of their Association who have thus betrayed the Cause and the Country. These mutual complements (so like the caresses of the *Romish* whore whereby she entices the Nations to her fornication) between the professed Servants of Christ, and the Vassals of Antichrist, if they be cordial, would seem to import that they are in a fair way of compounding their differences, and to accomodate their oppositions at length; which yet I hope will be irreconcileably maintained and kept

kept up by all true Presbyterians, in whose name they have impudence to give out their address: but if they be only Adulatory and flattering Complements, importing only a Conjunctions of tails like *Samson's foxes*) with a disjunction of heads and hearts, tending towards distinct and opposite Interests; then, as they would suit far better the Dissimulations of Politicians, than the Simplicity of Gospel-Ministers, and do put upon them the brand of being Men-pleasers rather than Servants of Christ, so for their dissemblings with Dissemblers, who know their complements to be and take them for such, they may look to be paid home in good measure, heaped up and running over, when such *methods shall be laid down as shall not be in the power of any to alter*, when such designs shall be obtained by his liberty and these addresses, that the after-bought wit of the Addressers shall not be able to disappoint. However the *Address* itself is of such a dress, as makes the thing addressed for to be odious, and the Addressers to forefault the respect, and merit the indignation of all that are friends to the *Protestant* and *Presbyterian* Cause, as may appear from these obvious reflexions. 1. It was needful indeed they should have assumed the *name of Presbyterians*, (though it might have been more tolerable to let them pass under that name, if they had not presumed to give forth their flatteries in the name of all of that persuasion, and to alledge it was at their desire; which is either an illuding equivocation, or a great untruth; for though it might be the desire of the men of their own persuasion, which is a newly start up opinion that interest hath led them to espouse, yet nothing could be more cross to the real desire of *true Presbyterians*, that prefer the truth of the cause to the external peace of the Professors thereof), and call it *the humble Address of Presbyterian Ministers:* for otherwise it could never have been known to come from men of the Presbyterian persuasion; seeing the contents of this Address are so clearly contrary to their known principles. It is contrary to Presbyterian principles, to congratulate an Antichristian Usurper for undermining religion, and overturning laws and liberties. It is contrary to Presbyterian principles, to justify the abrogation of the *National*

*al Covenant*, in giving thanks for a liberty whereby all the laws are cassed and disabled therein confirmed. It is contrary to Presbyterian principles, to thank the King for opening a door to bring in *Popery*, which they are engaged to extirpate in the Solemn League and Covenant. It is contrary to Presbyterian principles, to allow or accept of such a vast *Toleration* for Idolaters and Hereticks, as is evident above from all their contendings against it, which is also contrary to the *Confession of Faith*, generally owned by Presbyterians, as may be seen in the place forecited, *Chap.* xx. *Par.* 4. It is contrary to Presbyterian principles, to consent to any restrictions, limitations, and conditions, binding them up in the exercise of the Ministerial function, wherewith this liberty is loaded and clogged; whereby indeed they have the liberty of the *Publick and peaceable exercise* of it, without any hazard of present Persecution, but not without great hazard of sin, and incurring the guilt of the blood of Souls, for not declaring the whole Counsel of God, which Addressers cannot declare, if they *preserve an entire Loyalty in their Doctrine*, as here they promise. 2. There is nothing here sounds like the *old Presbyterian* strain; neither was there ever an Address of this stile seen before from Presbyterian hands. It would have looked far more Presbyterian like, instead of this Address, to have sent a *Protestation* against the now open designed introduction of Popery, and subversion of all Laws and Liberties which they are Covenanted to maintain, or at least to have given an Address in the usual Language of Presbyterians, who used always to speak of the *Covenants*, and work of Reformation: but here never a word of these, but of *Loyalty* to his *excellent*, to *his gracious*, and to *his sacred Majesty*, of *Loyalty* not to be questioned, an entire *Loyalty in Doctrine*, a resolved *Loyalty* in *Practice*, and a fervent *Loyalty* in Prayers: and all that they are solicitous about, is not lest the Prerogatives of their Master be encroached upon, and the Liberties of the Church be supplanted, and Religion wronged; but lest their *Loyalty be questioned*, and they be *otherwise represented:* and all that they beseech for is, not that the Cause of Christ be not wronged,

ed, nor Antichristian Idolatry introduced by this Liberty; but that these who *promove any disloyal Principles and Practices may be looked upon as none of theirs*, wherein all their encouragment is, that they *persuade themselves from his Maj. justice and goodness, that he will not give credit to any other information until he take due cognition thereof.* Here is a lawless unrestricted Loyalty to a Tyrant, claiming an *absolute power to be obeyed without reserve*, not only professed, but solicitously sought to be the Principle of Presbyterians; whereas it is rather the Principle of Atheistical *Hobbes*, exploded with indignation by all rational men. This is not a Christian Loyalty, or profession of conscientious Subjection, to a Minister of God for good, who is a terror to evil doers; but a stupid subjection and absolute Allegiance to a Minister of Antichrist, who gives Liberty to all *evil men* and seducers. This is not the Presbyterian Loyalty to the King, *in the defence of Christ's Evangel, Liberties of the Country, Ministration of Justice, and punishment of iniquity*, according to the National Covenant; and *in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms*, according to the Solemn League and Covenant; but an *Erastian* Loyalty to a Tyrant, in his over-turning Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and protecting and encouraging all iniquity. This Loyalty *in Doctrine* will be found Disloyalty to Christ, in a sinful and shameful silence at the wrongs done to him, and not declaring against the Invasions of his open Enemies. This Loyalty in *Practice* is a plain betraying of Religion and Liberty, in lying by from all opposition to the open Destroyer of both. And this Loyalty in *Prayers*, for *all blessings ever to attend his person and Government*, will be found neither consonant to Presbyterian Prayers, in reference to Popish Tyrants, nor consistent with the Zeal of Christians, and the Cries of all the Elect unto God to whom vengeance belongs, against Antichrist and all his Supporters, nor any way conform to the Saints Prayers in Scripture, nor founded upon any Scripture promises, to pray for a blessing to a Papists Tyranny, which cannot be of Faith, and therefore must be sin. It were much more suitable to pray, that *the God*

*which hath caused his name to dwell in* his Church, *may destroy all Kings that shall put to their hand to alter and destroy the house of God*, Ezra. vi. 12. 3. This Address is so stuffed with sneaking flatteries, that it would more become Sycophants and Court-Parasites than Ministers of the Gospel; and were more suitable to the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant faction, to congratulate and rejoice in their professed Patron and Head, and fill the *Gazettes* with their adulatory Addresses, which heretofore used to be deservedly inveighed against by all Dissenters; than for Presbyterians to take a Copy from them, and espouse the practice which they had condemned before, and which was never commended in any good Government, nor never known in these *British* Nations, before *Oliver*'s Usurpation, and *Charles*'s Tyranny; flattery being always counted base among ingenuous men. But here is a Rhapsody of flatteries, *from the deep sense they have of his Maj. gracious and supprising favour,* ——— *finding themselves bound in duty to offer their most humble and hearty thanks, to his sacred Maj. the favour bestowed being to them* ——— *valuable above all earthly comforts.* One would think this behoved to be a very great favour, from a very great friend, for very gracious ends: but what is it? *In not only putting a stop to their long sad sufferings*; which were some ground indeed if the way were honest: but this *not only* supposes an *also*; what is that? but also *granting us the Liberty,* ——— which is either a needless Tautology (for if all Sufferings were stopped, then Liberty must needs follow) or it must respect the qualifications of the Liberty; flowing from such a Fountain, *absolute power*; through such a Conveyance, the *stopping all penal Laws* against Papists; in such a Form as a *Toleration*; for such ends, as overturning the Reformation, and introducing Popery. This is the favour for which they offer most humble and hearty thanks, more valuable to them than all earthly comforts; tho' it be manifestly intended to deprive the Lord's people, at the long-run, of the heavenly comforts of the preached Gospel. Sure, if they thank him for the Liberty, they must thank him for the Proclamation whereby he grants it, and justify all his claim

there

there to *Absoluteness*, being that upon which it is superstructed, and from which it emergeth, and so become a listed faction to abet and own him in all his attemptings; engaged now to demean themselves as that he may find cause rather to enlarge than to diminish his favours, which can be other way but in assisting him to destroy Religion and Liberty, at least in suffering him to do what he will without controul. O! what an indelible reproach is this for Ministers, who pretend to be set for the defence of the Gospel, thus to be found betraying Religion, through justifying and magnifying a Tyrant, for his suspension of so many Laws whereby it was established and supported. 4. It were more tolerable if they went no further than flatteries: but I fear they come near the border of *Blasphemy*, when they say, That the *great God hath put this in his royal heart:* which can bear no other Construction but this, that the holy Lord hath put it in his heart to assume to himself a blasphemous and absolute power, whereby he stops and suspends all penal Laws against Idolaters, and gives a *Toleration* for all Errors: or if it be capable of any other sense, it must be like that as the Lord is said to have moved *David* to number the people, or that *Rev.* xvii. 17. *God hath put it in their hearts to fulfil his Will, and to agree and give their Kingdom unto the Beast.* But to bless God, and thank the Tyrant for this wicked project, as deliberate and purposed, by men, I say is near unto Blasphemy. And again, where they say, They are *firmly resolved, by the help of God, so to demean themselves, as his Maj. may find cause rather to enlarge than to diminish his favours*; this, in effect, is as great Blasphemy as if they had said, They resolved, by the help of God, to be as unfaithful, time-serving, and silent Ministers as ever plagued the church of God; for no otherwise can they demean themselves so as he may find cause to enlarge his favours towards them, it being no way supposeable that his enlarging his favours can consist with their faithfulness, but if they discover any measure of zeal against Antichrist, he will quickly diminish them.

Thus far I have compendiously deduced the Account of the Progress, and Prosecution of the Testimony of

this Church to the present State thereof, as it is concerted and contended for, by the reproached Remnant now only persecuted: which I hope this pretended Liberty shall be so far from obscuring and interrupting, that it shall contribute further to clear it, and engage them more to Constancy in it, and induce others also to countenance it, when they shall see the sad effects of this destructive Snare, which I leave to time to produce: and hope, that as the former Representation of their Cause will conciliate the Charity of the unbyassed, so an Account of their Sufferings thereupon will provoke them to Sympathy. To which I now proceed.

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# PART II.

## CONTAINING

# A Brief Account

## OF THE

## *Persecution of the last Period, and of the great Suffering whereby all the Parts of its Testimony were sealed.*

THE foregoing Deduction, being the first thing I proposed to be discussed in the Method of this Essay, hath now swelled to such a Bulk, that the last *Period* of it doth, in a manner, swallow up what I intended to have said on the second: because it gives grounds to gather the Methods and Measures that our Adversaries have managed, for the ruin of this witnessing Remnant, and also discovers some special steps of their Sufferings within these 27 years past, under the Tyran-

Tyranny of both the Brothers. It will now be the more easy to glean the Gradations of the Means and Machines, used by this Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant faction, to raze the work of Reformation, and to build their *Babel* of *Popery* and *Slavery* on the ruins thereof; and to aggregate an Account in brief of the great Sufferings of the Faithful. Which though it be beyond my power, and besides my purposes at present, to offer a Narrative of it, with any proportion to the greatness of the subject; a more particular Relation thereof, being now projected, if Providence permit, to be published to the world, which will discover strange and unheard of cruelties: yet, in this little heap of some hints only of the kinds of their Sufferings, I do not question but it will appear, that the Persecution of *Scotland* hath been very remarkable, and scarcely out-done by the most cruel in any Place or Age, in respect of injustice, illegality, and inhumanity, though perhaps inferior in some other Circumstances. But that none could be more unjust, illegal, or inhuman, I need not further, I cannot better, demonstrate than only to declare the matter of fact, as it fell out in the several Steps of the last Period.

I. In the entry of this fatal Catastrophe, the first of their mischievous Machinations was to remove out of the way all who were eminent Instruments in carrying on the former Work of God, or might be of influence for obstructing their Antichristian and Tyrannical Designs, both in the State and in the Church. And accordingly, when the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had a main hand in bringing home the King, and closing the second Treaty at *Breda*, went up to *London*, to congratulate his Return from Exile, he was made Prisoner in the *Tower*, thereafter sent down to *Scotland*, indicted of high Treason, at length beheaded, and his head placed upon the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh* (a Watch-word of warning to our *Addressers*, who may, ere all be done, meet with the same Sauce) for no other alledged Cause, but for his Compliance with the *English*, when they had our Land in subjection; a thing wherein the Judges who condemned him were *equally criminal*; but really for another provocation that incensed the King against him, which

which made him a Tyrant as infamous for villany as for violence, to wit, for his reproving the King (when others declined it) for an adulterous Rape, which he held for so piacular a Crime, that he resolved nothing should expiate it but the blood of this Nobleman. For the same pretended Cause was the Lord *Warision* afterwards executed to death at *Edinburgh*, after they had missed of their Design of taking him off by clandestine Ways abroad. Then they fall upon the Ministers: and because Mr. *James Guthrie* was a man, who had been honoured of God to be zealous and singularly faithful, in carrying on the Work of Reformation, and had asserted the Kingly Authority of Christ, in opposition to the Erastian Supremacy encroaching thereupon, therefore he must live no longer, but is condemned to die, and most basely handled, as if he had been a most notorious Thief or Malefactor; he is hanged, and afterward his head placed upon one of the Ports of *Edinburgh*, where it abideth to this day, preaching not only against the Enemies Rebellion against God, but against the defection of many Ministers since, who have practically denied that great Truth for which he suffered, to wit, his Testimony against the *Supremacy*, and for declining the usurped Authority of him who arrogated it. At the same time there was a Proclamation, which they caused to be read at all the Church-doors, discharging Ministers to speak against them or their Proceedings, whereby profane and malicious persons were encouraged to witness against their Ministers. By which means (though many were in no hazard, thinking it commendable Prudence, commended indeed by the world, but hateful unfaithfulness before God, to be silent at such a time) some faithful Ministers giving faithful and free warning, and protesting against the present Defection, were condemned of Treason, and banished out of the three Dominions. Others, *without a legal Citation*, or without access to give in their Defences, were sentenced with Banishment, and could never get an Extract of their Sentence: and further, were compelled to subscribe a Bond, under pain of Death, to remove out of all the Dominions betwixt and such a day. This was the lot, and also the blot of these famous

famous and faithful Ministers, Mr. *John Livingston*, Mr. *Robert Macward*, Mr. *John Brown*, &c. who spent the rest of their days in *Holland*, serving their Generation by their excellent Writings. Then, after they had disposed of many other Ministers, whom they thrust out, for not keeping the 29th of *May*, having now laid by the most eminent, and whom they feared most of the Ministry, they shortly thereafter outed, and violented the rest from the exercise of their Ministry, and straitned them with strange and severe Confinements; yea, because they would not be outdone in suppressing Religion by any, no, not by *Julian* the Apostate, they proceeded to poison all the springs and fountains of Learning; ordaining, that none be Masters in Universities, except they take the Oath of Supremacy, and own the Government of *Prelacy*; and none be admitted to teach in a School, without the *Prelate's* Licence. These Courses brought many Ministers and Expectants to great Sufferings.

II. Hitherto they reached only Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ministers, and others whom they thought might stand in their way of advancing their cursed Designs. The next Drift is, when they had emptied the Churches of Ministers, and filled them with the vermine of ignorant and scandalous *Curates*, to force the People to Conformity, and to disown and discountenance their own Ministers; first, by severe Edicts of exorbitant fining not only the persons themselves contraveening, but those that had the Superiority over them, and rigorous execution of these fines, to the Depopulation of a poor Country, by military Force; whereby, where there was but one Church in the Bounds, still enjoying a Minister whom the People could hear, the profane Soldiers would beset that Church in time of Worship, and cause all within to pay their fines, or take the Garments from them that could not, and beat them to the effusion of their blood: and where the Church was planted with a *Curate*, the Soldiers would come, and call the Names of the Parishioners, and amerciate the Absents in such fines as they pleased. In other Places they went to private Houses, and by force drove them to Church, even tho' sick

ſick and unable. But where the Diſſenters were numerous, great Bands of legal Robbers were ſent to exact and extort theſe exorbitant fines, by plundering, quartering, beating, wounding, binding men like beaſts, chaſing away from houſes, and haraſſing whole Country-ſides in a hideous manner. And yet after all theſe inſolencies, ſome of the common ſort were compelled to ſubſcribe an acknowledgment, that the Captain had *uſed them civily and diſcreetly*; though the account of others of that place manifeſts the violence to have been ſo monſtrous, that it juſtified the greateſt barbarity; ſhewing their exactions to have been intolerable, both for the quantity, without all proportion or pity, and for the manner of it, conſuming and waſting poor People's Proviſion by their very dogs, and ſparing no more theſe who conformed, than others who did not conform at all, and puniſhing husbands for their wives, yea, doubling and tripling the ſame exactions after payment. Next, though at firſt they did not impriſon any for ſimple abſenting themſelves from the *Curates*, yet they began to fill Priſons with ſuch as at any time ſhewed more than ordinary zeal againſt the *Curate's* Intruſion, and teſtified their diſſatisfaction to his face; for which, ſome were impriſoned, ſcourged, ſtigmatized, and thereafter carried to *Barbadoes*. Others, becauſe they would not give the *Prelates* their Title of *Lords*, when conveened before them, were alſo ſcourged: and one Miniſter ſeized for preaching, and offending the Prelates by the ſame fault, was carried firſt to the *Thieves hole*, laid in irons in company with a Madman, and then baniſhed to *Schetland*, the coldeſt and wildeſt of all the *Scots* Iſlands.

III. But when *Fining* would not do, and ſtill the People were more averſe from the *Curates*, by getting ſometimes occaſions of hearing their own Miniſters in private; hence were Houſes forced and ſearched, many hawled to Priſons, and ſeveral neceſſitate to eſcape at windows with the hazard of their lives, ſpies ſent unto and ſet in ſuſpected places, to ſeize and fall upon ſuch as they found at ſuch Meetings, or but ſuſpected to have been there. Whence it came to paſs, that many, both men and women, young and old, have been dragged to Priſons,

Prisons, and there close kept as Malefactors, besides several other outragious and illegal Acts of Violence and Oppression committed against them, contrary to all Law, Equity and Conscience.

IV. After *Pentland* defeat, they ruled by a rage more than either Law or Reason. There 40 Prisoners, who were taken upon quarter, and solemn Parol to have their life spared, yet treacherously and bloodily were all hanged (except 5 that were reprieved) who had much of the Lord's presence at their deaths, and assurance of his Love, strengthning them to seal a noble Testimony. One of them, a much honoured young Minister, only for having a sword about him, though not present at the Fight, did first most patiently endure the cruel Torture of the *Boots* (a cruel Engine of Iron, whereby with wedges the Leg is tortured, until the marrow come out of the bone) and afterwards death, with great Courage and Constancy. Upon the Scaffold, at their execution, they then began that barbarity never practised in *Scotland* before, but frequently, and almost always at all the executions since, to beat Drums, that they might not be heard. After this Conflict, many were forefaulted of their Estates, and intercommuned, with inhibition to all to reset, conceal, or correspond with any that had escaped, under the pain of being accounted guilty of the same Rebellion, as they called it. Soldiers are permitted to take free quarter in the Country, and licensed to all the Abuses, that either Rapine or Cruelty may suggest; to examine Men by Tortures, threatning to kill or roast alive, all that would not delate all they knew were accessory to that Rising; to strip them who did so much as reset the Fugitives, and thrust them into Prisons, in cold, hunger and nakedness, and crowd them so with numbers, that they could scarce stand together, having the miseries of their own excrements superadded; yea, to murder without Process, such as would not, nay could not, discover those persecuted People. But not only time, but heart and tongue would fail, to relate all the Violences and Insolencies, the stobbings, woundings, stripping and imprisonings of Mens persons, violent breaking of their Houses both by day and

and night, beating of Wives and Children, raviſhing of Women, forcing of them by *Fire-matches* and other Tortures, to diſcover their Husbands and neareſt Relations, although not within the compaſs of their knowledge, and driving away all their goods that could be carried away, without reſpect to guilt or innocency, and all the Cruelties that were exerciſed without a check by theſe Ruffians at that time.

V. After all theſe tender Mercies and Clemencies, or Cruelties, which his Gracious Majeſty was pleaſed to confer or commit upon theſe poor Contenders for Religion and Liberty, he and his Cabal the *Council* thought it not enough to ſuppreſs them with Oppreſſions and Force, diſtruſting the Authority of his Law (that he knew the People would no more obſerve, than he would obſerve a Promiſe or Oath) and diffiding alſo the Authority of his Sword, which he had above their heads, he propoſes terms of bargaining with them, whereupon he would ſuffer them to live, and to which he would have them bound to live according to his Preſcript; therefore, beſides the old Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, that were ſtill going among hands, he cauſed coin new ones to keep the *Peace*, and to live *Orderly*, meaning to conform themſelves to the Diſorders of the times? whereby, after he had wrought ſuch deſtruction to their Bodies and Eſtates, and almoſt nothing was left them but a bit of a Conſcience, he would rob them of that too; verifying the conſtant Character of the wicked, *They only conſult to caſt a man down from his excellency.* What is a Man's excellency but a good Conſcience? But theſe men, having ſeared Conſciences of their own, not capable of any impreſſion, they preſume to impoſe upon all others, and cannot endure ſo much as to hear of the Name of *Conſcience* in the Country, except it be when it is baffled in the belchings of beaſtly mouths; as one, that was well acquaint with the Council's humour in this point, told a Gentleman that was going before them, to have one of theſe Oaths impoſed upon him, who was beforehand ſignifying his Scruples, that he could not do ſuch things in Conſcience. *Conſcience* (ſaid he) *I beſeech you whatever you do, ſpeak nothing of Conſcience before the Lords, for they cannot*

*cannot abide to hear that Word.* Therefore it is, that since this last Revolution, there have been more Conscience-debauching and ensnaring Oaths invented and imposed, and some repugnant and contradictory to others, than ever was in any Nation in the World in so short a time: and hereby they have had woful success in their designs, involving the generality of the Land in the sin of Perjury and false swearing with themselves. And it hath been observed, that scarcely have they let one year pass, without imposing some *Oaths* or *Bonds* upon *Presbyterians*; such always as are unlawful to take, yea and impossible to keep, sometimes more obviously gross, sometimes more seemingly smooth, sometimes tendered more generally through the Kingdom, sometimes imposed upon particular Shires; and these carried on sometimes by Craft and Cunning, sometimes by Force and Cruelty. Doubtless it is not the least part of their Design, hereby to make Oaths and Bonds become a trivial and common thing, and by making all Men of as capacious Consciences as themselves.

VI. Further, they never ceased to express their fear of another rising, (their guilty consciences dictating that they deserved greater opposition). Hence, to secure themselves, and incapacitate the people from further attempts of that nature, they order all Withdrawers from Churches, all who did not join to suppress the Lord's People, to deliver up their arms betwixt and such a day, and not keep a horse above such a very mean price, unfit for service.

VII. When force could not do the business, then they try flatteries; and hence contrive that wicked *Indulgence* to divide and destroy the Ministers that remained, and to suppress Meetings. But when this bait, so well busked, could not catch all, but still there were Meetings for administring the Ordinances; their flattery turns to fury, and the acceptance of that *Indulgence* by some, and despising of it by others, did both animate and instigate them unto a following forth of their design, by all the cruel acts and bloody executions. And hereby the residue of the Faithful of the land were exposed unto their rage, while the indulged became interpretatively guilty of,

of, and acceſſory to, all the cruelties uſed and executed upon Miniſters and Profeſſors, for adhering unto that way. Hence it was common at private and peaceable Meetings, when, without arms of defence, they were diſturbed by Soldiers, and expoſed to all manner of villanous violence, ſome being dragged to priſons, ſome baniſhed and ſold to *French* Captains to be tranſported with Raſcals, many intercommuned and driven from their dwellings and relations, great ſums of money were profered to any that would bring in ſeveral of the moſt eminent Miniſters, either dead or alive; yea ſeveral at ſeveral times were killed, and others cruelly handled: all which, for ſeveral years, they patiently endured without reſiſtance. But eſpecially, when not only they were driven to the fields to keep their Meetings in all weathers, ſummer and winter, but neceſſitate to meet with arms, then they raiſed more troops of horſe and Dragoons to purſue them with all rage, as Traitors and Rebels. Hence what purſuings, hornings, huntings, hidings, wanderings through mountains and muirs, and all kinds of afflictions, the people of God then met with, becauſe of their following that neceſſary and ſignally bleſſed Duty; all the Lands Inhabitants know, the Jaylors can witneſs to this day, and the barbarous Soldiers, bloody Executioners of the commands of their enraged Maſters, having orders to wound and kill, and apprehend all they could take at theſe Meetings, or on the way ſuſpected to be going to or coming from them, having encouragement to apprehend ſome Miniſters, and bring them dead or alive, by the promiſe of 2000 Merks, others valued at 1000, and ſeveral Profeſſors alſo with prices put upon their heads. Hence others that were taken of them were ſent into the *Baſs*, a dry and cold rock in the Sea, where they had no freſh water, nor any proviſion but what they had brought many miles from the country; and when they got it, it would not keep unſpoiled. And others, both Miniſters and many hundreds of Profeſſors, were outlawed; whereby all the Subjects were prohibited to reſet, ſupply, intercommune with any of them, or to correſpond with them by word, writ, or meſſage, or furniſh them with meat, drink,

drink, house, harbour, victual, or any other thing useful, under the highest pains. Hence also prisons were filled, and the wives and children of the outed Ministers, that were come to *Edinburgh* for shelter, were commanded to dislodge, within a short day prefixed, under the pain of being forcibly shut up or dragged out. For which and other such uses, to apprehend and seize on Meetings, a *Major* was appointed in *Edinburgh*, with command over the town guards, and a good salary for that end. Then prisons being filled, they were emptied to make room for others in ships, to be taken away to be sold for slaves, in one of which were sent to *Virginia* above 50 men, some Ministers; who, through the kindness and sympathy of some *English* godly people, were relieved at *London*. A greater barbarity not to be found in the Reigns of *Caligula* or *Nero*

VIII. But all this is nothing to what followed; when, thinking these blood-hounds were too favourable, they brought down from the wild *Highlands* a host of *Savages* upon the Western shires, more terrible than *Turks* or *Tartars*, men who feared not God nor regarded man; and being also poor pitiful *Skybalds*, they thought they had come to a brave world, to waste and destroy a plentiful country, which they resolved, before they left it, to make as bare as their own. This hellish Crew was adduced to work a Reformation, like the *French Conversions*, to press a *Band* of *Conformity*, wherein every Subscriber was bound for himself and all under him, wife, children, servants, tenants, to frequent their Parochchurches, and never to go to these Meetings, nor reset nor entertain any that went, but to inform against, pursue, and deliver up all *vagrant Preachers*, as they called them, to trial and judgment. Which they prosecuted with that rigour and restless, boundless rage, that the children then unborn, and their pitiful mothers do lament the memory of that day, for the loss of their fathers and husbands. Many houses and families then were left desolate in a winter-flight, many lost their cattle and horses, and some, in seeking to recover them, lost their lives, by the sword of these *Burrio's*. So that it was too evident, both by what orders was given, the severity of prosecuting, and the expressions of some great ones since, that

that nothing less than the utter ruin and desolation of these shires was consulted and concluded, and that expedition, at that time, calculated for that end; for what else can be imagined could induce to the raising 10 or 11,000 barbarous Savages, the joining them to the standing forces, and with such cruel orders the directing them all to the West, where there was not one person moving the finger against them; neither could they pretend any quarrel, if it was not the faithfulness of the people there in their covenanted Religion, and their hopelessness of complying to their Popish and Tyrannical designs, and therefore no course so feasible as to destroy them; so for dispatching thereof, order is given forth, that whosoever refuseth to subscribe that hell-hatched bond, must instantly have 10, 20, 30, 40, more or fewer according to his condition as he is poorer or richer, of these new Reformers sent to him, to ly not only upon free quarters to eat up and destroy what they pleased but also (for the more speedy expedition) ordered to take a sixpence for each common Soldier a-day, and the Officers more, according to their degrees, and so to remain till either the bond was subscribed, or all destroyed; nor was these Trustees deficient to further their purposes in prosecuting their orders, who, coming to their quarters, used ordinarily to produce a billgate for near to as many more as came, and for these absents they must have double money, because their Landlord was not burdened with their maintenance, and, where that was refused, would take the readiest goods, and if any thing remained not destroyed and plundered at their removing, which was not transportable, rather than the Owner should get any good of it, they would in some places set fire to it, as they did with the corn-stacks. It would require several great volumes to record the many instances of horrid barbarities, bloods and villanies of that wicked expedition; so that what by free Quarterings, Exactions, Robberies, Thefts, Plunderings, and other acts of violence and cruelty, many places were ruined almost to desolation, all which the faithful choosed rather to suffer, than to sin in complying: and albeit their oppression was exceeding lamentable, and their

loss

loss great, yet that of the Complyers was greater and sadder, who losed a good conscience in yielding to them, and compounding with them.

IX. Then the country behoved to pay the Soldiers for all this service, and hire them to do more, by paying the impoſed *Ceſs*; whereby they were sharpened into a greater keenness in cruel executions of their orders, returning to those places of the country whither they had chased the persecuted people, who still kept their meetings where-ever they were, though they could not attend them, but upon the hazard of being killed, either in the place (where some had their blood mingled with their sacrifice) or fleeing, or be exposed to their dreadful cruelties, more bitter than death. For then it was counted a greater crime, and punished with greater severity, for persons to hear a faithful Minister preach, than to commit murder, incest, adultery, or to be guilty of witchcraft, or idolatry, or the grossest abominations: for these have passed unpunished, when some, for their simple presence at a Meeting, have been executed unto the death. Then also, when some were forced to flee into the *English* border for shelter, there also were parties ordered to pursue those poor hunted *Patridges*, who could not find a hole to hide their head in. There we lost a valiant Champion for truth, and truly zealous Contender for the interest of Christ, that universally accomplished Gentleman and Christian, *Thomas Ker* of *Heyhope*, who was cruelly murdered in a rencounter with a party of the *English* side.

Thereafter followed that lamentable stroke at *Bothwel*, where about 300 were killed on the field, and about 10 or 1100 taken prisoners, and stript, and brought in to *Edinburgh* in a mercileſs manner. After which, first two faithful and painful Ministers and Witnesses of Christ, Mr. *John Kid* and Mr. *John King*, received the Crown of Martyrdom, sealing that Testimony with their blood, and many others after them for the same cause. Then the enemy, after the manner used before, first to wound our head, and then put on a hood upon it, (as they have done always after a mischief, and intending a greater), offered their *Bond of peace*, on terms that clearly condemned

ned the cauſe, never to riſe in arms againſt the King, &c. by which bond, many of the priſoners, after they had lien ſeveral weeks in a Church-yard, without the ſhadow of a houſe to cover them night and day, were liberate: and many of the reſt, by the perſuaſion of ſome Miniſters, at whoſe door their blood lies as well as at the enemy's, took that bond; and yet were ſent away with others that did not take it, in a ſhip bound for *America* between 2 and 300 in all, who were all murdered in the Ship, being ſhut up under the hatches, when it ſplit upon a rock in the North of *Scotland*, except about 50 perſons; whereof many to this are living Witneſſes of ſuch a Cruelty.

X. Hitherto only the common Rules and Rudiments of the Art of Perſecution were put in practice, exactly quadrating with the Rules of *Adam Contzen* the *Jeſuite* for introducing of Popery, in his *Polit. Lib. 2. Cap.* 18. which are, (1) To proceed as Muſicians do, in tuning their Inſtruments gradually. (2) To preſs the examples of ſome eminent men to draw on the reſt. (3) To baniſh all Arch-Hereticks at once (that is the moſt zealous Witneſſes of Chriſt) or at leaſt with all expedition by degrees. (4) To put them out of all power and truſt, and put in friends to the Catholick Intereſt. (5) To load the Proteſtant Opinions, as are moſt obnoxious, with all odious Conſtructions. (6) To diſcharge all private Conventicles. (7) To make and execute rigorous Laws againſt the moſt dangerous. (8) To foment all quarrels among Proteſtants, and ſtrengthen the Party that is ready to comply. But theſe, and many other of a deeper Projection, and greater Perfection, were fallen upon afterwards, equalling the moſt miſchievous Machines of *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, or the Methods that effectuated the deſolation of the Church of *Bohemia*, that were exactly followed, as they are related in *Clark's Martyrology*. Eſpecially the laſt of *Contzen's* Rules were induſtriouſly obſerved, in the Device of the *Indulgence* both before and after *Bothwel*; which contributed more to the rending and ruining the Remnant, and to expoſe the faithful to rage and cruelty, than any thing: for when, by theſe enſnaring favours, many were drawn away

from

from their duty, the reſt that maintained it, and kept up the Teſtimony, were both the more eaſily preyed upon, and more cruelly inſulted over. Hence the few Field-meetings that were kept, were more fiercely purſued after *Bothwel* than the many before, and more cruel Laws were made againſt them, and more bloody executions, than I can find words to expreſs in ſhort. But, in a word, no Party of *Tartars* invading the Land, or Crew of Cut-throats deſtroying the Inhabitants, or the moſt capital Malefactors, could have been more violently oppoſed, or more vigorouſly ſought to be ſuppreſſed, than theſe poor Meeters were. But I muſt make ſome more ſpecial hints.

1. They not only raiſed more forces to exhauſt the ſtrength and ſubſtance of the already waſted Country, and laid on and continued from one term to another that wicked exaction and cruel oppreſſion of the *Ceſs*, for the ſame declared ends of ſuppreſſing and baniſhing what remained of the Goſpel, and impoſed *Localities* for maintaining the Soldiers employed in thoſe deſigns; for refuſing which many families were pillaged, plundered, and quite impoveriſhed, beſides the beating and abuſing them: but alſo they went on unweariedly with their Courts of *Inquiſition*, preſſing the *Bonds of peace*, and dragging them like dogs to Priſons that would not ſubſcribe them, and for taking up in their *Porteous Rolls* the names of all that were ſuſpect to have been at *Bothwel Inſurrection*; which they gathered by the Informations of Sycophants, and reputed them convict, if being ſummoned they did not appear, and forced others to ſwear *concerning things that are to be enquired after*, and delate upon Oath whom they did either ſee or heard that they were in arms, or went to Meetings; and ſuch as refuſed, ſuffered bonds or baniſhment. Yea, having made it criminal to reſet, harbour, correſpond, or converſe with theſe whom they declared Rebels, they thereupon impriſoned, fined, and ruined vaſt numbers, for having ſeen or ſpoken with ſome of them, or becauſe they did not diſcover or apprehend them when they fancied they might, and even when they were not obliged, and could not know whether they were obnoxi-

ous persons or not: for which many Gentlemen and others were indicted and imprisoned, and some arraigned and condemned to death. For these causes, the Country was harrassed and destroyed by four extraordinary *Circuit Courts*, successively going about with their numerous train, whereby many were grievously oppressed, and with their oppressions tempted with many Impositions of Conscience-debauching Oaths, and bonds to compear when called, and to keep the Church, and to refrain from going to Meetings, *&c.* and by these temptations involved in Compliances and Defections.

2. To enrich themselves, by these means, with the spoil of the Country, did not satisfy these Destroyers; but they must glut themselves with the blood of the Saints, upon every pretext that they could catch, under any colour of Law. As upon the account of *Bothwel* Insurrection, many were cruelly executed to the death, some Gentlemen, and some common Country-men, without any legal Conviction, by packing bloody Juries and Assizes most partially for their murdering ends, besides more than can be reckoned that were kept to perish in their imprisonments. And not only for being actually in arms, or any ouvert act of transgressing their wicked Laws, but even for their extorted opinion of things, or because they could not condemn these necessitated risings in arms to be *Rebellion*, and *a sin against God*, which they were forced to declare by terrible menacings of death and torture, they have been condemned to death; making their arbitrary Laws to reach the heart, thoughts, and inward sentiments of the mind, as well as outward actions. Whereupon this became a criminal question robbing many of their lives, *Was the rising at Bothwel-bridge Rebellion, and a sin against God?* And this another, *Was the killing of the Bishop of St.* Andrews *horrid Murder?* Which if any answered negatively, or did not answer affirmatively, they were cruelly condemned to death: for which, *first*, five innocent Christians were execute upon the spot, where that Murderer fell. Tho' they declared, and it was known, they were as free as the Child unborn, and that some of them had never seen a Bishop that they knew from another

nother man, and were never in that place of the Country where he was killed. And afterwards this was the constant question that all brought before them were troubled with, which some avouching to be duty, were dismembered alive, their hands struck off, and then hanged, and their heads cut off when dead.

3. After *Sanquhar Declaration*, they observed the Jesuites rules more exactly, especially that mentioned above to load the Opinions as are most obnoxious with all odious Constructions, and to make it both criminal to declare them, and also criminal to conceal and wave their intrapping questions thereupon. For after Mr. *Hall* was killed at the *Queensferry*, and Mr. *Cameron* with several worthies were slain at *Airsmoss*, and after Mr. *Hackston* for declining the Authority of his Murderers, head and tail, and for being accessory to executing judgment upon the Arch-traitor, or Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews* (tho' he laid not his hands on him himself, nor was present at the action, but at a distance when it was done) was tortured alive, with the cutting off of his hands, and then hanged, and before he was dead, ripped up, his heart taken out, and carried about on the point of a knife, and thrown into a fire, and afterwards his body quartered. Then, not only such as were with that little handful at *Airsmoss* were cruelly murdered, but others against whom they could charge no matter of fact, were questioned *if they owned the King's authority?* which if any did not answer affirmatively and positively, he was to look for nothing but exquisite torments by terrible kinds of tortures, and death besides. And if any declared their judgment, that they could not, in conscience, own such Authority as was then exercised; or if they declined to give their thoughts of it, as judging thoughts to be under no human jurisdiction; or if they answered with such innocent specifications as these, that they owned all Authority *in the Lord*, or *for the Lord*; or *according to the Word of God*, or all *just* and *lawful* Authority, these under-went and suffered the capital punishment of *Treason*. And yet both for declining and declaring their extorted answers about this, they

were condemned as unsufferable Maintainers of Principles inconsistent with Government.

4. But here, as in *Egypt*, the more they were afflicted, the more they grew; the more that the enemies rage was increased, the more were the people inflamed to enquire about the grounds of their suffering, seeing rational men and religious Christians die so resolutely upon them; and the more they insisted in this *Inquisition*, the more did the number of Witnesses multiply, with a growing increase of undauntedness, so that the then shed blood of the Martyrs became the seed of the Church, and as by hearing and seeing them so signally countenanced of the Lord, many were reclaimed from their courses of compliance, so others were daily more and more confirmed in the ways of the Lord, and so strengthened by his grace, that they chose rather to endure all torture, and embrace death in its most terrible aspect, than to give the Tyrant and his Complices any acknowledgment: yea, not so much as to say, *God save the King*, which was offered as the price of their life, and Test of their acknowledgment, but they would not accept Deliverance on these terms, that they might obtain a better Resurrection. Which so enraged the *Tygrish* Truculency of these Persecuters, that they spared neither age, sex, nor Profession: the tenderness of youth did not move them to any relenting, in murdering very boys upon this head, nor the gray hairs of the aged; neither were women spared, but some were hanged, some drowned, tied to stakes within the Sea-mark, to be devoured gradually with the growing waves, and some of them of a very young, some of an old age. Especially after the murder of the never to be forgotten Martyr, Mr. *Cargil*, the multitude of mercileſs Sufferings upon this account cannot be enumerated; which encreased far beyond all the former steps, after the *Lanerk Declaration*, which was burnt with great Solemnity by the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* in their robes, together with the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which had been burnt before, but then they would more declaredly give new demonstrations of their rage against it, because they confessed, and were convinced of its being conform unto and founded upon

that

that Covenant. And becauſe the Incorporation of *Lanerk* did not, becauſe they could not, hinder the publiſhing of it; therefore they were threatned with the loſs of their Privileges, and forced to pay 6000 Merks. Upon the back of which, the Sufferings of poor people that owned the Teſtimony were ſadder and ſharper, and further extended than ever: ſome being baniſhed for Soldiers to *Flanders*, &c. ſome to be ſold as ſlaves in *Carolina*, and other places in *America*, to empty the filled priſons, and make room for more: which were daily brought in from all quarters, and either kept languiſhing in their naſty priſons, or thieves holes, in bolts and *irons* to make them weary of their life, or diſpatched as Sacrifices, and led as dumb Sheep to the ſlaughter, without ſuffering them to ſpeak their dying words, for beating of drums, or diſpoſed of to Maſters of ſhips to be tranſported in ſlavery.

5. Had they ſatisfied themſelves with murdering them out of hand, it would have been more tolerable, and reckoned ſome degree of mercy, in compariſon of their malice; which, after all their endeavours to murder their ſouls, by enſnaring offers, enſlaving bonds, blaſphemous and contradictory oaths, and multiplying captious queſtions to catch the conſcience, or at leaſt vex the ſpirits of the Righteous, whom they could not prevail with to put forth their hands into iniquity, did proceed to invent all exquiſite torments more terrible than death. Some at their firſt apprehending were tortured with *Firematches*, burning and for ever thereafter diſabling their hands: then laid faſt, and locked up in great *Irons* upon their legs, where they lay many months in the cold of winter, without any relaxation. Some were tortured with the *Boots*, ſqueezing out the marrow of their legs: others with *Thumbkins*, piercing and bruiſing the bones of their thumbs: and ſome tormented with both one after another, and beſides, kept waking nine nights together by watchful Soldiers, who were ſworn not to let the afflicted perſon ſleep all that time.

6. All this Tyranny had been the more tolerable, if they had kept within any bounds of colourable or pretended ſhadow of legality, or in any conſonancy to their own

own wicked laws, or exemplars of any former perſecutions. But in an ambition to outdo all the *Neros*, *Domitians*, *Diocleſians*, *Duke d'Alvas*, or *Lewis le Grands*, they ſcorned all forms as well as juſtice of law, and ſet up monſtrous monuments of unprecedented illegality and inhumanity. For when, after all their hornings, haraſſings, huntings, ſearchings, chaſings, catchings, impriſonments, torturings, baniſhments, and effuſions of blood, yet they could not get the Meetings cruſhed, either in publick or private, nor the zeal of the poor *Wanderers* quenched, with whom they had interdicted all harbour, ſupply, comfort, refreſhment, converſe or correſpondence, and whom they had driven out of their own and all other habitations, in towns, villages, or cottages, to the deſerts, mountains, muirs and moſſes, in whoſe *hags* and holes they were forced to make *Dens* and *Caves* to hide themſelves, but that they would ſtill meet for the worſhip of God, either in publick (though moſtly in the cold winter-nights) or in their private fellowſhips for Prayer and Conference; and to reſcue their Brethren, and prevent their murder in theſe extremities, would ſurprize, and take advantages of the Soldiers now and then: they then raged beyond all bounds, and not only apprehending many innocent perſons (againſt whom they had nothing to accuſe them of, but becauſe they could not ſatisfy them in their anſwers) ſentenced, and executed them, all in one day, and made an act to do ſo with all; but allowed the bloody Soldiers to murder them, without either trial or ſentence. Eſpecially after the *Apologetical Declaration*, affixed on the Church-doors, they acted with an unheard of Arbitrarineſs. For not only did they frame an *Oath of Abjuration*, renouncing the ſame; but preſſed it univerſally upon pain of death, upon all men and women in city and country, and went from houſe to houſe, forcing young and old to give their judgment of that Declaration, and of the King's *Authority*, *&c.* to ridicule and reproach, and make a *mocking ſtock* of all government: yea impowered Soldiers, and common Varlets, to impannel Juries, condemn, and cauſe to be put to death, innocent Recuſants, and having ſtopt all travel and commerce without *a Paſs*, ſignifying they had

had taken that oath, they gave power to all *Hostlers* and *Inn-keepers* to impose oaths upon all Passengers, Travellers, Gentlemen and Countrymen, who were to swear, that their *Pass* was not *forged*. And prisoners that would not take the oath, were, according to the foresaid act, condemned, sentenced and execute, all in one day, and early in the morning, that the people might not be affected with the spectacles of their bloody severities. Yea Spectators also, that gathered to see the execution, were imposed upon, and commanded to give their judgment, whether these men were justly put to death or not. And not only so, but after that, they gave orders and commands to the Soldiers to pursue the chase after these *Wanderers* more violently, and shoot, or otherwise put them to death where-ever they could apprehend them; whereby many were taken and instantly most inhumanly murdered.

XI. In the beginning of this *killing time*, as the country calls it; the first Author or Authorizer of all these mischiefs, *Charles* II. was removed by death. Then one would have thought the severity would have stopped: and the Duke of *York* succeeding, in his late proclamation would make the world believe, that it *never was his principle, nor will he ever suffer violence to be offered to any man's Conscience, nor use force or invincible necessity against any man on the account of his persuasion:* smooth words, to cover the mischiefs of his former destructions, and the wickedness of his future designs. To which his former celebrated saying, *That it would never be well till all the South-side of* Forth *were made a hunting-field*; and his acts and actings designed to verify it, since his unhappy succession, do give the lie. For immediately, upon his mounting the Throne, the executions and acts, prosecuting the persecution of the poor *Wanderers*, were more cruel than ever.

1. There were more butchered and slaughtered in the fields, without all shadow of law, or trial, or sentence, than all the former Tyrant's reign; who were murdered without time given to deliberate upon death, or space to conclude their prayers, but either in the instant, when they were praying, shooting them to death, or

sur-

ſurprizing them in their caves, and murdering them there, without any grant of prayer at all; yea many of them murdered without taking notice of any thing to be laid againſt them, according to the worſt of their own laws, but ſlain and cut off without any pity, when they were found at their labour in the field, or travelling upon the road. And ſuch as were priſoners, were condemned for refuſing to take the *Oath* of *Abjuration*, and to own the *Authority*, and ſurprized with their execution, not knowing certainly the time when it ſhould be, yea left in ſuſpenſe whether it ſhould be or not, as if it had been on deſign to deſtroy both their ſouls and bodies. Yea *Queensberry* had the impudence to expreſs his deſire of it, when ſome went to ſolicite him, being then Commiſſioner, for a Reprieval in favours of ſome of them, he told them, *They ſhould not have time to prepare for Heaven, Hell was too good for them.*

2. There have been more baniſhed to foreign Plantations in this man's time, than in the other's. Within theſe two years, ſeveral ſhipfuls of honeſt and conſcientious Sufferers have been ſent to *Jamaica*, (to which before they were ſent, ſome had their ears cut), *New Jerſey*, and *Barbadoes*, in ſuch crouds and numbers, that many have died in tranſportation; as many alſo died before in their pinching priſons, ſo thronged that they had neither room to ly nor ſit. Particularly the barbarous uſage of a great multitude of them that were ſent to *Dunotter Caſtle*, when there was no room for them in *Edinburgh*, is never to be forgotten; which the wildeſt and rudeſt of Savages would have thought ſhame of. They were all that long way made to travel on foot, men and women, and ſome of both ſexes, very infirm and decripit through age; and ſeveral ſick, guarded by bands of Soldiers, and then put in to an old ruinous and ruſty houſe, and ſhut up under vaults above 80 in a room, men and women, without air, without eaſe, without place, either to ly or walk, and without any comfort ſave what they had from Heaven, and ſo ſtraitned for want of refreſhment, which they could not have but at exorbitant prices inconſiſtent with their poor empty purſes, and ſo ſuffocated with the ſmell of the place, and of their

own

own excrements, that as several of them died; so it was a wonder of Mercy that any of them could outlive that misery: yet there they remained some months, at a distance from all their friends, being sent thither to that Northern corner out of the South and West borders of the country; and some out of *London*. Whose transportation hither, if it were not a part of this tragical story, would seem a merry and ridiculous passage to strangers discovering the ridiculous folly as well as the outragious fury of their Persecuters. For at a private Meeting in *London*, among others, some *Scotsmen*, of very mean figure, some Taylors, a Shoemaker, a Chapman, *&c.* were taken, and being found to be *Scotsmen*, were not only examined at the common courts there, but by Sir *Andrew Foster*, by express Commission from the late King a little before his death; who threatened them under a strange sort of Certification, (considering what fell out immediately thereafter), that assuredly they should be sent to *Scotland* very shortly, *if there were not a Revolution of the Government.* But this Revolution, following within a few days, retarded it a little: yet not long thereafter they were sent in a *Yacht*, with a guard of Soldiers, and a charge of *High Treason.* But, when brought before the Council of *Scotland*, the amount of all that bustle with them was, a question posed to them under pain of death, *Whether the King should be King or no*? that is, whether they owned his authority or not. Yet though some of the poor men did own it, they were sent to *Dunotter Castle*: and thence among the rest banished and transported to *New Jersey*; in which passage, by reason of their crude and bad provision, the most part in the ship were cast into a fever, and upwards of 60 died, yea even since the former proclamation for this pretended liberty, there are 21 men and 5 women sent to *Barbadoes*, against whom nothing could be alledged but matters of *mere Religion* and Conscience: which, as it proclaims the notoriousness of these impudent lies, wherewith the proclamations for this liberty are stuffed; so it puts an indelible brand of infamy upon some *London* Merchants, that are said to pretend to some profession of religion, who sent the ship to transport them, thereby

thereby to make gain of the merchandise of the Lord's Captives.

3. There have been more cruel Acts of Parliament enacted in this Tyrant's time, than the former made all his Reign. For in his first Parliament held by *Queensberry* Commissioner, not only was there an act for making it *Treason* to refuse the Oath of *Abjuration*, confirming all the illegalities of their procedure hereupon before; but an act making it *Criminal* to own the *Covenant*, and another act making it *Criminal* for any to be present at a *Field-meeting*, which was only so to Preachers before. Yet neither these acts, and all the executions following upon them, have daunted, nor I hope shall drive them, nor the *Indemnity* and *Toleration* (so generally now applauded) draw them from the duty of owning both these, that are so much the more publickly to be avouched, that they are so openly interdicted by wicked and blasphemous Tyranny, though for the same they expect from the *Scottish Inquisition* all the murdering violence, that Hell and *Rome* and Malignants rage can exert.

But to conclude this Tragical Deduction: as these hints we have heaped together of the Kinds and several Sorts (the Particulars being impossible to be reckoned) of Barbarities and arbitrary Methods, used in carrying on this Persecution, demonstrating the Reign, or rather Rage of these two Dominators, under which we have howled these 27 years, to be a complete and habitual Tyranny, to discover the inhumanity and illegality of their Proceedings, having no other Precedent save that of the *French Conversions*, or *Spanish Inquisition*, outdone by many stages, in respect of Illegality, by the *Scottish Inquisition*, and the Practices of the *Council of Scotland*, and *Justiciary*-Court; so I shall shut up all in a summary Relation of the common Practicks and Forms of Procedure in these Courts: which will be useful to understand a little more distinctly, to the end the Innocency of Sufferers may more clearly appear. 1. They can accuse whom they will, of what they please; and if by summar Citation, he will not, may be, because he cannot, compear; if once his Name be in their *Porteous Rolls*,

*Rolls*, that is sufficient to render him convict. 2. They used also to seize some, and shut them up in Prison year and day, without any signification of the cause of their imprisonment. 3. They can pick any man off the Street; and if he do not answer their captious Questions, proceed against him to the utmost of severity; as they have taken some among the Crowd at Executions, and imposed upon them the Questions. 4. They can also go through all the houses of the City, as well as the Prisons, and examine all Families upon the Questions of the *Council's Catechisms*, upon the hazard of their life, if they do not answer to their satisfaction, as has been done in *Edinburgh*. 5. When any are brought in by Seizure, sometimes (as is said before) they let them ly long without any hearing, if they expect they cannot reach them; but if they think they can win at them any way, then they hurry them in such haste, that they have no time to deliberate upon, and oftentimes have no knowledge or conjecture of the matter of their Prosecution: yea, if they be never so insignificant, they will take Diversion from their weightiest affairs, to examine and take Cognizance of poor Things, if they understand they dare vent or avow any respect to the Cause of Christ: and the silliest body will not escape their Catechization about affairs of State, what they think of the Authority, *&c.* 6. If they be kept in Prison any Space, they take all ways to pump and discover what can be brought in against them: yea, sometimes they have exactly observed that Device of the *Spanish Inquisition*, in suborning and sending *Spies* among them, under the disguise and shew of Prisoners, to search and find out their minds, who will out-strip all in an hypocritical zeal, thereby to extort and draw forth words from the most wary, which may be brought in judgment against them the next day. 7. When Prisoners are brought in before them, they have neither Libel nor Accuser, but must answer *concerning things that are to be enquired after*, to all Questions they are pleased to ask. 8. If at any time they form a sort of Libel, they will not restrict themselves to the Charges thereof, but examine the person about other things altogether extraneous to the Libel. 9. They have frequently

quently suborned Witnesses, and have sustained them as Witnesses, who either were sent out by themselves as Spies and Intelligencers, or who palpably were known to delate those against whom they witnessed, out of a pick and prejudice, and yet would not suffer them to be cast for partial Counsel. 10. If they suppose a Man to be wary and circumspect, and more prudent than forward in the Testimony; then they multiply questions, and at first many impertinent Interrogations, having no Connexion with the Cause, to try his humour and freedom, that they may know how to deal with him: and renew and reiterate several criminal Examinations, that they may know whereof, and find matter wherein, to indict him, by endeavouring to confound, or intrap, or involve him in Confessions or Contradictions, by wresting his words. 11. They will admit no time for advice, nor any lawful Defence for a delay, but will have them to answer presently, except they have some hopes of their Compliance, and find them beginning to stagger and succumb in the Testimony; in that case, when a man seeks time to advise, they are animated to a keenness to impose, and encouraged to an expectation of catching by their snares, which then they contrive and prepare with greater cunning. 12. If a man should answer all their questions, and clear himself of all things they can alledge against him, yet they used to impose some of the Oaths, that they concluded he would not take; and according to the measure of the tenderness they discovered in any man, so they apportioned the Oaths to trap them, to the stricter the smoother Oaths, to the laxer the more odious, that all natural Consciences did scar at. 13. They will not only have their Laws obeyed, but subscribed; and they reckon not their Subjects obedience secured by the Lawmakers sanction, but the Peoples hand-writing; and think it not sufficient that People transgress no Laws, but they must also own the justice of them, and the Authority that enacts them, and swear to maintain it: and yet when some have done all this, and cleared themselves by all Compliances, they will not discharge them, but under a bond to answer again when called. 14. They will have their Laws to reach

reach not only actions but thoughts; and therefore they require what People think of the *Bishop's Death*, and of *Bothwel* Insurrection; and whether they *own the Authority*, when they can neither prove their disowning of it, nor any way offending it. 15. They will have men to declare their thoughts, and hold them convict, if they do not answer positively all their captious questions; and if they will not tell what they think of this or that, then they must go as guilty. 16. If they insist in waving, and will not give *categorical* Answers, then they can extort all, and prove what they please by *Torture*: and when they have extorted their thoughts of things, tho' they be innocent as to all actions their Law can charge them with, then they used to hang them when they had done. 17. They have wheedled men sometimes into *Confession* either of Practices or Principles, by promising to favour their ingenuity, and upbraiding them for dissemblers if they would not, and by mock-expostulations, *Why were they ashamed to give a Testimony?* and then make them sign their Confessions at the Council, to bring them in as a witness against them at the criminal Court. 18. Yea, not only *extrajudicial Confession* will sustain in their Law; but when they have given the publick Faith, the King's Security, the Act and Oath of Council, that their Confession shall not militate against them, they have brought it in as witness against them, and given it upon Oath, when their former Oath and Act was produced in open Court, in demonstration of their Perjury. 19. When the matter comes to an *Assize* or Cognizance of a *Jury*, they use to pack them for their purpose, and pick out such as are listed, who they think will not be bloody enough. 20. Sometimes when the Jury hath brought their verdict in favours of the *Pannel*, they have made them sit down, and resume the cognition of the Case again, and threatned them with an Assize of Error, if they did not bring him in guilty. 21. Yea, most frequently the King's Advocate used to *command* them to condemn, and bring in the Pannel guilty, under most peremptory Certifications of Punishment if they should not; so that they needed no Juries, but only for the fashion. 22. Sometimes they have sentenced innocent persons

ſons twice, once to have their ears cut and be baniſhed, and after the lopping of their ears, ſome have been re-examined, and ſentenced to death, and execute. 23. They have ſentenced ſome and hanged them both in one day; others early in the morning, both to ſurprize the perſons that were to die, and to prevent Spectators of the ſight of their Cruelty; others have been kept in ſuſpence, till the very day and hour of their execution. 24. Not only have they murdered ſerious and zealous Followers of Chriſt, in taking away their *Lives*, but endeavoured to murder their *Names*, and to murder the *Cauſe* for which they ſuffered; loading it with all Reproaches, as Sedition and Rebellion, *&c.* which was their peculiar Policy, to bring the Heads of Sufferings to Points that are moſt obnoxious to mens Cenſure, and accounted moſt extrinſick to Religion, whereby they levelled their deſigns againſt Religion, not directly under that notion, but obliquely in the deſtruction of its Profeſſors, under the odium and reproach of Enemies to Government. 25. But chiefly they labour to murder the Soul, defile the Conſcience, and only conſult to caſt a man down from his excellency, which is his integrity; that is a Chriſtian's crown, and that they would rather rob him of as any thing, either by hectoring or flattering him from the Teſtimony; which they endeavour, by propoſing many offers, with many threatnings, in ſubtile terms; and pretend a great deal of tenderneſs, proteſting *they will be as tender of their Blood as of their own Soul* (which in ſome ſenſe is true, for they have none at all of their own Souls) and purging themſelves as *Pilate* did, and charging it upon their own head. 26. They will be very eaſy in their Accommodations, where they find the poor man beginning to faint, and hearken to their Overtures, wherein they will grant him his life, yielding to him as cunning Anglers do with Fiſhes: and to perſwade him to ſome length in complying, they will offer Conference ſometimes or Reaſoning upon the Point, to ſatisfy and inform his Conſcience, as they pretend, but really to catch him with their busked hook. 27. If they have any hope of prevailing, they will change a man's Priſon, and take him out from among the more ſtrict

and

and fervent in the Cause, that might sharpen and strengthen his zeal, and put him in among the more cool and remiss. 28. Sometimes they used to stage several together, whereof they knew some would comply, to *Tantalize* the rest with the sight of the others Liberty, and make them bite the more eagerly at their bait, to catch the Conscience. But when they had done all they could, Christ had many Witnesses, who did retain the Crown of their Testimony in the smallest points, till they obtained the Crown of Martyrdom, and attained to the Crown of Glory, speaking boldly to them without fear or shame, and disdaining their flattering Proposals, but looking on them under a right notion, as stated there in opposition to Christ; whereby they found this Advantage, that hence they were restrained from all sinful tampering with them, or entertaining any discourse with them, but what was suitable to speak to Christ's enemies, or doing any thing to save their life, but what became Christ's Witnesses, who loved not their lives unto the death. Of whom universally this was observed, that to the Admiration of all, the Conviction of many Enemies, the Confirmation of many Friends, the Establishment of the Cause, and the Glory of their Redeemer, they went off the stage with so much of the Lord's Countenance, so much Assurance of Pardon and eternal Peace, so much hope of the Lord's returning to revive his Work, and plead his Cause again in these Lands, that never any suffered with more meekness, humility and composure of Spirit, and with more faithfulness, stedfastness and resolution, than these Worthies did for these despised and reproached Truths; for which their surviving Brethren are now contending and suffering, while others are at ease.

PART

# PART III.

## THE

# Present Testimony

### *Stated and vindicated in its principal Heads.*

BY what is above premitted, the Reader may see the Series and Succession of the Testimony of Christ's Witnesses in *Scotland* from time to time, in all the Periods of that Church; how it hath been transmitted from one generation to another down to our hands; how far it hath been extended, and what increments it hath received in every Period; how it hath been opposed by a continued Prosecution of an hereditary war against Christ, by an Atheistical, Papistical, Prelatical, and Tyrannical faction; and how it hath been concerted, contended for, maintained, and sealed actively and passively, by an Anti-pagan, Anti-Popish, Anti-Prelatical, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, and Anti-Tyrannical Remnant of the Followers, Professors, Confessors, and Martyrs of Christ in all Ages. Now it remains in the *third* and *last* Place, to consider the merit of the cause as it is now stated, to see whether it will bear the weight of those great Sufferings wherewith it hath been sealed. I hope all the lovers of Christ, who have an esteeem even of his reproaches above all the Treasures of *Egypt*; will grant, that if these sufferings be stated on the least or lowest of the Truths of Christ, then they are not misstated, nor built upon a bottom that will not bear them, or is not of that worth to sustain them. For certainly every *Truth*, the least of Truths, is of greater value than any thing that we can suffer the loss of for it; yea, of infinitely greater value than

than the whole world. So that if I prove these heads of suffering to be Truths, wherein conscience is concerned, the cause will be sufficiently vindicated from the loadings and lashings of such as prefer Peace to Truth, and ease to duty, who to justify their own backwardness and detestable lukewarmness, call some of them only *State questions* about things civil, and not Gospel-truths and Heads to state suffering upon: and if they be Truths and Duties, the cause will some way be rendered more illustrious, that it is stated upon the smallest hoofs and hair-breadths of the concerns of Christ's declarative Glory; as being a greater Witness of its Owners love and loyalty to Christ, and of their pure and tender zeal for his honour, than if for more substantial and fundamental Truths, which a natural Conscience may reclaim to decline, when for the meanest Circumstantials of Christ's Truths they dare and are ambitious to bestow their dearest blood. But if the complex of them be impartially considered, no unprejudiced Arbiter will suffer himself to have such extenuating impressions of the present word of Patience, and Testimony of the suffering Remnant in *Scotland* this day: but it will appear to be a very weighty and worthy concern, as any that either Men or Christians can be called to Witness for; being the Privilege of all mankind, the duty of all Christians, and the dignity of all Churches, to assert; it is for the Glory and Crown Prerogatives and imperial *Regalia* of the King of Kings, with reference to his visible Kingdom, of which the Government is laid upon his shoulders, against the heaven-daring Usurpations and encroachments made thereupon, both as he is *Mediator*, and King, and Head of the *Church*, and as he is *God* and universal King of the *world*. As he is Mediator, it is his peculiar Prerogative to have a *Supremacy* and sole Sovereignty over his own Kingdom, to institute his own Government, to constitute his own Laws, to ordain his own Officers, to appoint his own Ordinances, which he will have observed without alteration, addition, or diminution, until his second coming: this his Prerogative hath been, and is invaded by *Erastian Prelacy*, sacrilegious *Supremacy*, and now by

Antichristian *Popery* which have overturned his Government, inverted his Laws, subverted his Officers, and perverted his Ordinances. As he is God and universal King, it is his incommunicable Property and Glory, not only to have *absolute* and illimited power, but to invest his deputed Ministers of justice with his Authority and Ordinance of *Magistracy*, to be administred in subordination to him, to be regulated by his Laws, and to be improved for his Glory, and the good of Mankind: this Glory of his hath been invaded by *Tyrants* and *Usurpers* arrogating to themselves an *absolute Power*, intruding themselves without his investment into Authority, in a Rebellion against him, in opposition to his Laws, and abusing it to his dishonour, and the destruction of Mankind. Against both which encroachments the present Testimony is stated, in a Witness for religion and liberty, to both which these are destructive. This will appear to be the result and tendency of the Testimony in all its parts, opposed by the enemies of Religion and Liberty, and the end of all their oppositions, to bring it to this *Crinomenon, who shall be King? Jesus or Cesar?* Let any seriously search into all their proclamations and edicts against *Religion* and *Liberty*, this will be found to be the soul and sense of them, practically and really speaking to this purpose, especially since this man came to the Throne.

J. R.

'*James* the VII. II. by the V. of *G. King of* Scotland, England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the* Antichristian *faith: To all and sundry our good subjects, whom these presents do, or may concern; greeting. We having taken into our Royal consideration, the many and great inconveniencies which have happened in that our ancient Kingdom of* Scotland, *especially of late years, through the persuasions of the Christian Religion, and the great heats and animosities, betwixt the Professors thereof,* and our *good and faithful subjects,* whose faith and religion is subject and subservient to our Royal will (the supreme Law, and Reason, and publick Conscience) to the

'the disappointment of our projects, restraint of our plea-
'sures, and *contempt of the Royal power*, converting true
'Loyalty and absolute subjection, into words and names
'(which we care not for) of Religion and Liberty, con-
'science and the word of God, thereby withdrawing
'some to the Christian faction from an absolute and im-
'plicite subjection to us and our will, as if there were a
'superior Law to which they might appeal; and con-
'sidering that these rebellious Christians do never cease
'to assert and maintain strange Paradoxes, such Princi-
'ples as are inconsistent with the glory and interest of
'our government, as that the authority of Kings should
'be hem'd in with limits, and that their Acts and Acti-
'ons are to be examined by another rule than their own
'authority to make them lawful, that somethings in the
'Kingdom are not subject to the King's authority, that
'there is a Kingdom within a Kingdom not subordi-
'nate to the King, and that there is another King su-
'perior to the supreme whom they will rather obey
'than us, and that we must either take Laws from him,
'or otherwise we are not Magistrates; and considering
'also their Practices are conform to their Principles,
'they will not obey our Laws, but the Laws of ano-
'ther inconsistent with ours, and will calculate their
'Religion according to his Laws, and not according
'to ours, and continually make their Addresses to, and
'receive Ambassadors from a Prince whom we know
'not, whom our Predecessors of truly worthy memory
'did crucify, one *Jesus* who was dead, whom they af-
'firm to be alive, whose Government they alledge is
'supreme over all Kings, whom they acknowledge but
'as his Vassals; being now by favourable fortune, not
'only *brought to the imperial Crown of these Kingdoms*
'*through the greatest difficulties, but preserved upon the*
'*throne of our royal Ancestors*, which from our great
'founder *Nimrod* of *glorious memory*, and our illustrious
'Predecessors *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Herod the great*,
'*Nero*, *Caligula*, &c. of *blessed and pious memory*, hath
'been ever opposite to, and projecting the Destruction
'of that Kingdom of Christ: do, after their laudable
'example, resolve to suppress that Kingdom by all the

'means and might we can use, because his Government
'is hateful to us, his yoke heavy, his sayings are hard,
'his Laws are contrary to our lusts; therefore *we will*
'*not let this man reign over us, we will break his bonds,*
'*and cast away his Cords from us*; and advance and exerce
'our *Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal*, and *absolute*
'*Power, which all our subjects are to obey without reserve.*
'And as by virtue of our *Supremacy*, whereby we are
'above all, but such as we are pleased to subject our
'selves to, settled by Law, and lineally derived to us
'as *an inherent right to the Crown*, we have power to or-
'der all matters of Church as well as State, *as we in our*
'*Royal wisdom shall think fit, all Laws and Acts* of Christ
'*to the contrary notwithstanding*; and accordingly in our
'Royal wisdom have overturned the plat-form of that
'Government which Christ hath instituted, razed all
'Courts fenced in his name, and severely interdicted all
'meetings of his subjects, and entertainment of his Am-
'bassadors; many of whom, in contempt of him that
'sent them, we have punished according to Law, for
'negotiating his affairs in our Kingdoms without our
'pleasure, and requiring Allegiance and obedience to
'him, after we had exauctorated him; we have also e-
'stablished our right Trusty, and entirely beloved Clerks
'in Ecclesiastick affairs, and their underlings, by our
'Authority to have the Administration of the business of
'Religion, and impowered our right Trusty, and well
'beloved Cousins and Counsellers, to compel all to sub-
'mit to them, by finings, confinings, imprisonment,
'banishment, oaths, and bonds, and all legal means:
'so now having prosecuted this war against Christ to
'this length, that we have no fears of a rally of his
'forces again so often beaten, we are now engaged with
'other Antichristian Princes to *give our power* to our ho-
'ly Father Antichrist, so far as may serve his purpose
'to oppose Christ in his way; but we reserve so much
'to our selves, as may encroach upon him in our Capa-
'city. And therefore we have thought fit to restore to
'Antichrist our Ecclesiastical Supremacy, from whom
'we borrowed it, and for which we have no use at pre-
'sent: but we resolve to maintain and prosecute our *So-*

*vereign*

'*vereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and abſolute Power* '*foreſaid*, againſt Chriſt, and without ſubordination to 'him, from whom as we ſought none, ſo we received 'no power by his warrant and grant, and againſt whom 'we mind to manage it to the uttermoſt of our power. 'Yet reflecting *upon the Conduct of the four laſt Reigns*, '*how after all the frequent and preſſing endeavours that* '*were uſed in each of them, to reduce our Kingdoms* to An-'tichriſt, the ſubjects of Chriſt were ſo ſtubborn, that '*the ſucceſs hath not anſwered the deſign:* We muſt now 'change our methods a little, and tolerate that profeſ-'ſion of Chriſt which we cannot yet get overturned, his 'Subjects being ſo numerous, but always upon theſe 'terms, that they take a ſpecial care that *nothing be* '*preached or taught among* them, which may be a Teſti-'mony for Chriſt's Prerogatives in oppoſition to our 'Uſurpation, or *may any way tend to alienate the hearts* '*of our people from us, or our Government*, or preach his 'Truths which we have condemned as *ſeditious and trea-*'*ſonable, under the higheſt pains theſe Crimes will import.* 'Hereby we ſhall *eſtabliſh our Government on ſuch a foun-*'*dation*, on the ruin of Chriſt's, as may *make our ſubjects* '*happy, and unite them to us by inclination as well as Duty*, 'in a belief that we will *not conſtrain conſcience in matters of* '*mere religion:* for which we have a diſpenſation from 'our holy Father, and alſo from our own abſoluteneſs, to 'be ſlaves to this promiſe no longer than conſiſts with 'our intereſt: and which we have power to interpret as 'we pleaſe: and would have all to underſtand, that 'no Teſtimony for Chriſt's Supremacy againſt our en-'croachments thereupon, ſhall be comprehended under 'theſe *Matters of mere Religion*, for which the conſcience 'ſhall not be conſtrained: but we will have the Con-'ſciences of ſuch Subjects of his, that dare aſſert it, 'brought to a Teſt and probation how they ſtand af-'fected in this Competition betwixt us and this King '*Jeſus*, and ſee whether they will own or decline 'our Authority, becauſe not of him, nor for him, 'nor to him, but againſt him and all his Intereſts. *Our* '*will is therefore*, that all who will Countenance any 'other Meetings of his Subjects than we have allowed,

'or

‘ or connive at them, shall be *prosecuted according to the*
‘ *utmost severity of our Laws made against them, which*
‘ *we leave in full force and vigour, notwithstanding of the*
‘ *Premisses.* And for this effect, *we further command all*
‘ *our Judges, Magistrates, and Officers of our Forces,* to pro-
‘ secute all these Subjects and Followers of Christ, who
‘ shall be guilty of treating with, or paying homage to
‘ that exauctorated King of theirs, in their Assemblies
‘ with his Ambassadors in the Fields *with the utmost ri-*
‘ *gour, as they would avoid our highest Displeasure:* for
‘ *we are confident none will, after these Liberties and Free-*
‘ *dom we have given to all without reserve,* to serve God
‘ publickly, in such a way, as we by our sovereign Au-
‘ thority, Prerogative royal, and absolute Power afore-
‘ said, have prescribed and allowed, *presume to meet in*
‘ *these Assemblies,* except such whose Loyalty to Christ
‘ doth alienate them from us and our Government. As
‘ also, under the same Certifications, by the same sove-
‘ reign Authority, Prerogative royal and absolute Power
‘ foresaid, we charge, impower, warrant and authorize,
‘ against all hazards (Hell excepted) all our foresaid
‘ Judges and Officers, in their respective places, to pro-
‘ secute and execute our Laws, against all that may be
‘ suspected or convicted of their Adherence to Christ, or
‘ be found guilty of owning their Allegiance to him as
‘ their Liege-Lord, by solemn Covenant, which we
‘ have caused burn by the hand of the hangman, and de-
‘ clared criminal to own it, or shall be found guilty of
‘ declining Allegiance to us and our absolute Authority,
‘ stated in opposition to him and his, or of maintaining
‘ that pernicious Principle, inconsistent with our Govern-
‘ ment, that their lives are their own, which they will
‘ preserve without surrender to our Mercy: All which
‘ we command to be executed to death, or banished as
‘ Slaves, as shall be found most conducible to our Inte-
‘ rest. And to the end, the few that remain of that way
‘ may be totally exterminated, we straitly command all
‘ our Soldiers, Horse and Foot, to be ready upon order,
‘ to march and make search, pursue and follow, seize and
‘ apprehend, kill and slay, and cause to perish, all such,
‘ whether they shall be found at Meetings, or in their
‘ wander-

'wanderings, wherever they may be apprehended: and 'ordain all our good Subjects to be aſſiſtant to theſe our 'Forces, in proſecuting this War againſt Chriſt and his 'Followers, and contribute their beſt help and encou-'ragement, in giving them their required Maintenance, 'and duly paying the *Ceſs* and *Locality* impoſed for that 'end; and that they ſhall not dare to countenance, con-'verſe with, reſet, harbour, ſupply, or keep any man-'ner of Correſpondence with any of theſe Traitors that 'adhere to Chriſt, under the pain of being found art and 'part with them, and obnoxious to the ſame Puniſhments 'to which they are liable; but on the contrary, to aſſiſt 'our Forces to apprehend, and raiſe the Hue and Cry 'after them wherever they ſhall be ſeen, that they may 'be forthwith purſued, ſeized, cut off, and deſtroyed, 'which we order to be inſtantly done upon the place, 'where they or any of them are apprehended, and that 'without any delay or mercy to age or ſex, *&c.*'

On the other hand, if any will take a look of the Declarations and Teſtimonies of the other Party without prejudice or ſtumbling at ſome Expreſſions, which may be offenſive to *Criticks*, he will find the Scope and ſtrain of them to have this Importance.

'WE, a poor Company of perſecuted, reproached, 'and deſpiſed Chriſtians; who indeed have not 'many wiſe men among us after the fleſh, not many 'mighty, not many noble, but are a few fooliſh, weak, 'baſe, and deſpiſed nothings in the world; yet having 'this Ambition to be his called, choſen, and faithful Sol-'diers, who is King of Glory, King of Heaven, King 'of Saints, King of Nations, King of Kings, whoſe 'Kingdom is everlaſting and univerſal; conſidering the 'many inſolent indignities, affronts, and reproaches caſt 'upon his Name and Glory, and the many uſurpations, 'Encroachments, and Invaſions made upon his Crown 'and Dignity, by a peſtilent Generation of his Atheiſti-'cal, Papiſtical, Prelatical, and Tyrannical Enemies, 'who have rebelled againſt him, and have renounced, 'corrupted, and ſubverted his Royal Government, both in

'the

the Church and in the world, both in his Kingdom of Grace and of Power: do bear Witness and Testimony against these Rebels, from the highest to the lowest: and assert the Interest and Title of our Princely Master, and own Allegiance and absolute Obedience to him and his Government, to which he hath undoubted Right; an essential Right by his eternal Godhead, being the everlasting Father, whose goings forth have been of old from everlasting; a Covenant-right by Compact with the Father, to bear the Glory and Rule upon his Throne, by virtue of the Council of Peace between them both; a donative Right by the Father's Right of Delegation, by which he hath all Power given to him in Heaven and in Earth, and all Authority, even because he is the Son of Man; an institute Right by the Father's Inauguration, which hath set him as King in *Zion*; an acquisite Right by his own Purchase, by which he hath merited and obtained not only Subjects to govern, but the Glory of the sole Sovereignty over them in that relation, a Name above every Name; a bellical Right by Conquest, making the People fall under him, and be willing in the day of his Power, and overcoming those that make war with him; an hereditary Right by Proximity of Blood and Primogeniture, being the first-born, higher than the Kings of the Earth, and the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the Pre-eminence; an elective Right by his Peoples choice and surrender, a Crown wherewith his Mother crowned him in the day of his Espousals. In a humble recognizance of all which Rights, we own and avouch, that he hath that incommunicable Prerogative of sole Sovereignty over his visible Kingdom, as well as invisible, without a Copartner or Competitor, either co-ordinate or subordinate; in prescribing Laws, by no human Authority to be reversed; in appointing Ordinances immutable, without addition or diminution, for matter or manner; instituting a Government, which no Man or Angel can, without blasphemy, arrogate a Power either to invert or evert, change or overturn; and constituting Officers, which must depend only on his Authority, and his alone;

'lone; and must be cloathed only with his Commission,
'and his alone; guided by his Instructions, and his a-
'lone; acting according to his Laws and prescribed
'Platform, and his alone; without any dependence on,
'subordination to, licence, warrant or indulgence from
'any mortal. And therefore we disown and detest e-
'very thing that hath not the stamp of his Authority,
'either in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline or Government:
'and will discountenance Prelacy, Supremacy, Popery,
'and all corruption contrary to his Institution, who
'is sole and supreme Lawgiver to the Conscience, and
'will submit to, or comply with nothing that may di-
'rectly or indirectly signify our respect unto them.
'Hence we will take none of their Oaths, subscribe none
'of their bonds, yield to none of their impositions, pay
'none of their exactions: neither will we hear or re-
'ceive Ordinances from any Minister, but the faithful
'authorized Ambassadors of Christ our King, whatever
'either rage or reproach we suffer for it. We assert and
'affirm also, that our exalted Prince is King of the
'whole world, by whom Kings reign, and Princes de-
'cree justice, as his Ministers of Justice, in subordination
'to him; whom he hath appointed to rule over us,
'with just boundaries, that they may not exceed, and
'true characters, by which we should know them and
'pay them deference. And therefore, whosoever shall
'arrogate to themselves, and extend their power beyond
'and above his Prescripts, being neither called to, nor
'qualified for, nor improving the Office for the Ends he
'hath appointed; we will acknowledge them no other-
'wise than usurping Tyrants, and not Magistrates nor
'Ministers of Justice, to whom he hath given the Sword
'by his preceptive Will; only as Lions, Bears, Wolves,
'to whom he hath given a rod by his providential Will:
'in that case we may be passively subject, when we can-
'not do better; but will never own conscientious Alle-
'giance to them, nor own them as our lawful Magi-
'strates: and therefore we will not bow to their Idols
'they have set up, nor prostitute either Conscience or Li-
'berty to their Lust, but will endeavour, under our
'Master's Banner and Conduct, to preserve whatever he
'hath

'hath intrusted to us, Religion, Life, Liberty, Estate, 'and whatsoever the Lord our God hath given us to 'possess, as they unjustly possess what their God gives 'them: and will maintain a war of constant opposition 'to them (against whom our Lord hath declared a war 'for ever) without Parley, Treaty of Peace, Capitula-'tion, Composition, Truce, or any Transaction: we 'will neither meddle nor make with them, less or more, 'nor seek their favour, nor embrace it when it is offered, 'on any terms that may imply any obligation to sur-'cease from our duty to our King, and irreconcileable 'opposition to them, *&c.*'

Now I shall come more distinctly to the purpose, in offering a short vindication of the heads and grounds of our great Sufferings, dividing them into their principal parts, which I reduce to two, to wit, *Negatives* and *Positives*. The *Negative* Grounds I reckon three principally 1. For refusing to acknowledge a corrupt *Ministry*. 2. For refusing to own a Tyrannical *Magistracy* 3. For refusing to swear and subscribe their unlawful imposed Oaths, chiefly that of *Abjuration*, which was the occasion of suffering unto death. The positive Grounds are also three. 1. For frequenting Field-meetings, to receive Gospel-ordinances from faithful Ministers. 2. For maintaining the principle and practice of defensive Resistence of superior powers. 3. For maintaining the Privilege and Duty of offensive Revenge, in executing Justice upon murdering Enemies of Mankind, in cases of extreme necessity; in prosecuting which, I shall intertex some subordinate questions relating to their respective heads, and endeavour to discuss them briefly.

## HEAD I.

*Where the Sufferings of many, for refusing to acknowledge a corrupt Ministry, are vindicated; and the Question of hearing* Curates *is cleared.*

THIS Question, though it may seem nice, and of no great moment, to Persons of *Gallio's* or *Laodicea's*

*ces's* temper, indifferent and lukewarm diſpoſitions, conſulting their own more than the things of Chriſt, which makes it paſs without any enquiry with the moſt part of the world; yet, to all who are truly tender in keeping a good Conſcience, free of the times Contagion, to all who have the true Impreſſion of the Fear of God, who *is jealous*, eſpecially in the matters of his worſhip; to all who have the true zeal of God eating them up, in ajuſt indignation at the indignities done to him, in uſurping the Office, and corrupting the Adminiſtration of the Miniſtry; to all who truly love the Goſpel, and put a due value on the Ordinances of Chriſt, the Corruptions whereof this Queſtion touches, it will be accounted of great Importance. There are three Queſtions about the Duty of hearing the Word, concerning which the Lord Jeſus gives us very weighty Cautions, to wit, *what we ſhould hear*, Mark iv. 24. *how we ſhould hear*. Luk. viii. 28. and *whom* we ſhould hear. The laſt of which, though it be not ſo expreſly ſtated as the other two, yet the Searcher of the Scriptures will find it as clearly determined, and as many Cautions to guard from erring in it, as in any other Caſe, and that the Concern of Conſcience in it is very weighty. And certain it is, if there had been more advertency in this point, there would not have been ſuch inconſideration and Licentiouſneſs in the matter and manner of hearing. Nor would that itching Humour and Luxuriancy of Luſt, in heaping up Teachers to pleaſe the Fancy, have been ſo much encouraged, to the great detriment of the Church, diſgrace of the Goſpel, and deſtruction of many poor Souls. But through the ignorance and neglect of this duty of trying *whom* we ſhould hear, by ſeeking ſome ſatisfying evidence of their being cloathed with authority from Chriſt, the world hath been left looſe in a licenſe to hear *what* they pleaſed, and ſo have received the poiſon of error from the *Montebanks*, inſtead of the true and wholeſome Potions of Chriſt's Preſcripts from them that had power and skill to adminiſter them. Hence the many Sects, and Schiſms, and Errors that have peſtered the Church in all ages, have in a great meaſure proceeded from this latitude

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and laxneſs of promiſcuous hearing of all whom they pleaſed, whom either the world's authority impowered, or by other means were poſſeſſed of the place of preaching, without taking any cognizance whether they had the characters of Chriſt's Ambaſſadors or not. If this had been obſerved, and people had ſcrupled and refuſed to hear theſe whom they might know ſhould not have preached; neither the great Antichriſt, nor the many leſſer Antichriſts, would have had ſuch footing in the world as they have this day. It is then of no ſmall conſequence to have this queſtion cleared. Neither is it of ſmall difficulty to ſolve the intricacies of it, what characters to fix for a diſcovery of Chriſt's true Miniſters; whom we ſhould ſubmit to and obey in the Lord, and love and eſteem them for their work's ſake, and for their qualities ſake, as ſtanding in Chriſt's ſtead, having the diſpenſation of the word of reconciliation committed to them; and how we may diſcern thoſe characters; what judgment is incumbent to private Chriſtians, for the ſatisfaction of their own conſciences in the caſe; and how they ought to demean themſelves in their practice, without ſcandal on either hand, or ſin againſt their own conſcience; how to avoid the rocks and extremes that inadverteney or precipitancy in this matter may ruſh upon; ſo as to eſcape and ſail by the *Scylla* of ſinful ſeparation on the one hand, and the *Charybdis* of ſinful union and communion on the other, which are equally dangerous; eſpecially how theſe cautions are to be managed in a broken, and diſturbed, and divided caſe of the Church. The queſtion alſo is the more difficult, that as it was never ſo much queſtioned before this time, and never ſo much ſought to be obſcured, by the perverſe diſputings of men of corrupt minds, to find out evaſions to cover ſin and eſcape ſufferings upon this account; ſo it hath never been diſcuſſed by Divines either at home or abroad, with relation to our caſe, except what hath been of late by ſome faithful men, who have ſuffered upon this head, from whom I ſhall gather the moſt of my arguments, in as compendious a way as I can without wronging them. The reaſon, I fancy, that we are at ſuch a loſs in our helps from the Learned on this head, is partly, that

that they have written with relation to their own times, in a conſtitute caſe of the Church, when corruptions and diſorders might be orderly rectified, and people might have acceſs to get their ſcruples removed in a legal way by Church-order, in which caſe the learned and judicious Mr. *Durham* hath written excellently in his book *On Scandal*; but therein neither he nor others did conſult, nor could have a proſpect of ſuch a caſe as ours is; and partly, that foreign Divines, not having this for their exerciſe, could not be acquainted with our circumſtantiate caſe, and ſo are not fit nor competent arbiters to decide this controverſy; hence many of them do wonder at our ſufferings upon this head. Every Church is beſt acquainted with her own Teſtimony. Yet we want not the ſuffrage of ſome of the learnedeſt of them, as the Great *Gisb. Voetius* in his *Polit. Eccleſ.* in ſeveral places comes near to favour us: where he allows people to leave ſome, and hear ſuch Miniſters as they profit moſt by, from theſe grounds, 'That people ſhould chooſe the 'beſt and moſt edifying gifts, and from that Scripture, '1 *Theſſ.* v. 21. *Prove all things*, &c. and anſwers ob-'jections to the contrary, and granteth, that, upon ſe-'veral occaſions, one may abſtain from explicite Com-'munion with a corrupt Church, for theſe reaſons, that 'ſuch Communion is not abſolutely neceſſary, *by neceſſity* 'either of the *mean* or *precept*, where the Chriſtian 'ſhall have more peace of Conſcience, and free exerciſe 'of Chriſtian-duties elſewhere, and that he may keep 'Communion with more purity in other places *Polit.* '*Eccleſ. Queſt.* 17. *Pag.* 68. And he approves of the 'people refuſing to bring their children to be baptized 'by ſuch corrupt Miniſters, becauſe they may wait until 'they have occaſion of a Miniſter; for if the beſt gifts 'be to be coveted, why ſhould not the beſt Miniſters be 'preferred? and why ſhould not Chriſtians ſhew by 'their deeds, that they honour ſuch as fear the Lord, 'and contemn a vile perſon? They ought not to par-'take of other mens ſins, 1 *Cor.* v. 9, 11. *Eph.* v. 11. 'They ſhould not ſtrengthen the hands of the Wicked, 'and make ſad the Godly; the authority of ſuch Mini-'ſters ſhould not be ſtrengthned, *Voet. Polit. Eccleſ. Pag.*

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'637 to 640.' But though it labour under all these disadvantages; yet it is not the less, but so much the rather necessary, to say somewhat to clear it, with dependence upon light from the Fountain, and with the help of faithful men who have sufficiently cleared it up, to all that have a conscience not blinded or bribed with some prejudices, by which more light hath accrued to the Church in this point of withdrawing from corrupt Ministers, than ever was attained in former times; which is all the good we have got of *Prelacy*. Insomuch that I might spare labour in adding any thing, were it not that I would make the arguments, vindicating this cause of suffering, a little more publick, and take occasion to shew, that the grounds espoused by the present and reproached party for their withdrawings, so far as they are stretched, are no other than have been owned by our Writers on this head; to the intent it may appear, there is no discrepancy, but great likeness and harmony between the arguments and grounds of withdrawing, in the late *informatory Vindication*, &c. and those that are found in other writings. And so much the rather I think it needful to touch this subject now, that not only this hath been the first ground of our sufferings, but many that suffered a while for it, now have fainted, and condemned all their former contendings for this part of the Testimony, calling in question all these reasons that formerly satisfied them. But to proceed with some distinctness in this thorny point: some *Concessory Assertions* must first be permitted, and then our grounds propounded.

*First*, I willingly yield to, and cordially close with the truth of these assertions.

I. The unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, ought to be the endeavour of all that are members of the *One Body* of Christ, Partakers of his *One Spirit*, called in *One Hope*, professing *One Lord*, confessing *One Faith*, sealed with *One Baptism*, *Eph.* iv. 3. *&c.* And for *Brethren* to dwell together in *Unity*, is good and pleasant, and like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon *Aaron*'s beard, *Psal.* cxxxiii. 1, 2. A fragrant ointment indeed, if it be composed aright of *Gospel-simples*, according to Divine art, and the wisdom that is from above,

love, which is first pure, and then peaceable: and not made up of adulterate *Politicks*: that union that hath the Spirit for its Author, the Scripture for its Rule, Peace for its Bond and Beauty, Love for its Cement, Faith for its Foment, Christ for its Foundation, and Truth and Holiness for its constant Companions, cannot but be intensely desired, enixely endeavoured, and fervently followed by all the Professors of the Gospel of Peace, and Subjects of the Prince of Peace: which makes *Division* and *Schism* not only a great misery, but a grand sin. But it must be in the way of truth and duty, and consistent with holiness and the honour of Christ, otherwise if it be in the way of Apostasy and Defection, it is but a confederacy and conspiracy against the Lord. And true union can neither be attained, nor retained, nor recovered, except the sinful cause of division, *defection*, and the holy over-ruling Cause, the *anger of the Lord* be removed, in turning to and following him.

II. Though there be not perfect union, but *Diversity* both of judgments and practices, in several cases there may be Communion with a Church in its Ordinances and Ministry. As, 1. we may have a *Catholick* Communion with all Christian Ministers and Members of the Catholick Church, considered as such; holding the Head Christ, and the Fountain sure. And so we may meet for worship with all devout men in every nation under Heaven, whether they be *Parthians*, or *Medes*, or *Elamites*, or *French* or *Dutch*, &c. though differing in controversies of lesser moment, nor overturning that; if they hold the *universal* Testimony of the Gospel, against the common enemies thereof, *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Pagans*: for there is neither *Greek* nor *Jew*, if he be a Christian, Christ is all and in all, *Col.* iii. 11. But if they be Hereticks, we can have no communion with them. 2. We may have a more *special* communion with all *Protestant* Ministers and Members of the *reformed* Church, considered as such, more strictly, and upon stricter conditions: providing they hold, not only the universal of *Christians*, but the general Testimony of *Protestants*, against the greater and lesser Antichrists; though differing from us in some circumstantial points, not reformed, and not contradicto-

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ry unto the Protestant Testimony against *Popery*, and all Heresy; nor declining from their own reformation, by Defection or Schism. And consequently, it is lawful to own communion with the Churches of the *united Provinces*, and take *Ordination* from them, though they have some *forms* not allowable, from which they were never reformed, because they are found in the Protestant Testimony. But with the *Sectarians*, or *Schismaticks*, or *Apostates* among them, we cannot own that special communion. 3. We may have a more *particular* Communion upon yet stricter conditions with all our *covenanted* Brethren, Ministers and Members of the Churches of *Britain* and *Ireland*, considered as such: providing they hold, not only the universal, not only the more special, Protestant Testimony against the greater and lesser Antichrists, but the *covenanted* Testimony for the Reformation in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism, and Profaneness, according to the *Covenant*; though differing from us in those controversial points, never reformed, and which were never the word of Christ's patience, and do not overturn the covenanted Testimony. But with those that contradict and counteract that, we cannot own that particular Communion. 4. We may have yet a nearer *Organical* Communion, upon stricter conditions still, with all the Ministers and Members of the *National* Church of *Scotland*, constitute and confederate under one reformed government, according to the rule of Christ: providing they hold, not only all the former Testimonies under the foresaid considerations, but the *Presbyterian* Testimony as stated in the Ecclesiastical Constitution, and sworn to in the National Covenants and Engagements of that Church, founded upon the word of God, against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, Sectarianism, Toleration, Schism and Defection; though differing in some things from us, never reformed, never considered in Ecclesiastical Judicatories, never engaged against in our Covenants, never stated as the word of patience and matter of Testimony. But with those that oppose, suppress, reproach, and abandon this Testimony, we cannot own this organical Communion, in this bro-

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ken ſtate of the Church. We may have yet a ſtricter *Congregational* Communion, upon ſtricter conditions, in and with the ordinary or extraordinary Meetings or Societies of the Lord's people for Goſpel-ordinances, with any Miniſter or Miniſters, duly and truly admitted to that Function, according to Chriſt's appointment, and the call of the people, whether in a fixed or unfixed relation; providing he holds the Teſtimony of Chriſt, under all the former conſiderations, and owns and adheres unto the true received principles of the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, founded upon the written word of God, and whatſoever declarations or teſtimonies, former or latter, particular or more general, are agreeable thereunto; though differing from us in ſome of the integral and not eſſential parts of our Teſtimony againſt the enemies of our covenanted Reformation. But with ſuch as deny or decline from it, by Schiſm or Defection, or compliance with the enemies thereof, we cannot own this Congregational Communion, in this broken ſtate of the Church.

III. Though there be many things in a Church, to brangle and leſſen the *Comfort* of our communion with it, and the Miniſtry thereof; yet we may keep fellowſhip with a true Church, though in many things faulty and *Corrupt*, as all Churches are in ſome meaſure in this militant ſtate. As the Church of *Corinth* had many corruptions in their practice, yet no ſeparation is enjoined from it. And the Lord did not require ſeparation from the Churches of *Pergamos* and *Thyatira*; though they had many corruptions and deficiencies in Diſcipline, in a toleration of Hereticks; and would lay no other burden upon them, but to hold faſt what they had: as Mr. *Durham* ſhews in his *Commentary* on the *Revelation*, *Chap.* 2. *Lect.* 6. *Pag.* 148, 149. as alſo *Chap.* 18. *Lect.* 1. *Pag.* 585. *in 4to* This muſt be granted eſpecially in theſe caſes, 1. In the *infant* ſtate of the Church, when the Reformation is only begun: then many things may be tolerated, before they be gradually reformed, which, in an *adult* ſtate, are not to be ſuffered. 2. In a *growing* caſe of the Church, advancing out of corruptions: then many things may be born with, while they are aſcending and wreſtling up

the hill, which in a *declining* ſtate, when the Church is going backward, muſt not be yielded unto. See that objection of hearing prelatical men in the time of former Prelacy, anſwered above, *Peri.* 4. *Pag.* 69 & 70. 3. In a *conſtitute* and ſettled caſe of the Church, enjoying her privileges and Judicatories, corruptions may be forborn, and the offended are not to withdraw, before recourſe to the Judicatories for an orderly redreſs: but in a *broken* and diſturbed ſtate, when there is no acceſs to theſe courts of Chriſt; then people, though they muſt not uſurp a power of judicial cenſuring theſe corruptions, yet they may claim and exerciſe a *diſcretive* power over their own practice; and by their withdrawing from ſuch Miniſters as are guilty of them, ſignify their ſenſe of the moral equity of theſe cenſures that have been legally enacted againſt theſe and the equivalent corruptions, and when they ſhould be legally inflicted. As we do upon this ground withdraw from the Prelatick *Curates*, and likewiſe from ſome of our covenanted Brethren, upon the account of their being chargeable with ſuch corruptions and defections from our Reformation, as we cannot but ſhew our diſlike of. This the Reverend Author of *Rectius Inſtruendum*, juſtifies *Conſut.* 3. *Dial. Chap.* 11. *Pag.* 8. where he is ſhewing, what ſeparation is not ſinful; and gives this for one, *if we ſeparate in that, which a National Church hath commanded us as her Members to diſown, by her ſtanding Acts and Authority, while thoſe from whom we ſeparate own that Corruption.* Which holds true of the *Curates*, and *Indulged*, and *Addreſſers*, and all that we withdraw from. However it be, certainly thoſe are to be withdrawn from, with whom we cannot communicate without ſubmitting to the laws eſtabliſhing them, and taking on that teſt and badge of our incorporation with them, and partaking of their ſin, and in hazard of their judgment.

IV. Though in ſome caſes, as we are warranted, ſo are neceſſitated to *withdraw*: yet neither do we allow it upon ſlight or ſlender grounds, nor can any tender ſoul be forced to diſcountenance the Miniſters of Chriſt, (I do not ſpeak here of the Prelatick Curates), without great reluctancy and grief of heart, even when the grounds of

of it are solid and valid, and the necessity unavoidable: therefore we reject these as insufficient grounds. Besides what are given already, 1. We cannot withdraw from a Minister, for his *Infirmities* or *Weakness*, natural, spiritual or moral. 2. Neither for *personal Faults* and Escapes: we expect a faithful, but not a sinless Ministry. 3. Nor for every defect in faithfulness, through *Ignorance*, want of courage, misinformation, or being biassed with affection for particular persons. We do not hold, that faults in members, or defects in Ministers, do pollute the Ordinances, and so necessitate a separation; but agree with what Mr. *Durham* says on *Revelations, Chap. 2. Lect. 6. Pag.* 147. *in Quarto.* Sincerity discovered will cover many faults. 4. Nor for every discovery of *Hypocrisy*; though we may have ground to suspect a man's principle and motive be not right, yet if he be following duty unblameably, and have a lawful call, What then! *notwithstanding every way, whether in Pretence or in Truth, Christ is preached, therein we may rejoice, Philip.* i. 18. 5. Nor yet for real *Scandals*, not attended with obstinacy, if Ministers will take reproof and admonition, and at least by *doctrinal* confessing and practical forsaking them satisfy the offended. 6. Yea though his scandals be so *gross*, that we must *discountenance* him, when he persists in them: yet that is not a disowning of his Ministry, or a rejecting his commission, but a discountenancing for his *disorders*, until they be removed. But the *Apologet. Relat. Sect.* 14. *Pag.* 290, 291. says, (1.) 'There may be 'ministerial corruptions, that cut the very throat of the 'office, and make one no Officer, —— and it is past 'questioning, such may be shunned, without all hazard of 'separation. (2.) When personal faults are very gross 'and palpable, open and avowed, such may be shunned 'without any hazard of separation; because the man's 'being an Officer, *before God*, is much to be questioned, 'and there is great probability, that, *by the very Deed 'itself*, he had forefaulted the same, though such should 'be the corruption in a Church, that notwithstanding of 'all this he may be maintained. (3.) Separation is one 'thing, and not hearing such or such a man is a far o-'ther thing: there may be many just grounds of excep-

'tion againſt a particular perſon, why people may re-
'fuſe to countenance him, without any hazard of ſepara-
'tion, or joining with Separatiſts in their principles: ſepa-
'ration is one thing, and refuſing to attend the Miniſtry
'of ſuch a man is another thing; for a man may join
'with Ordinances in another congregation, and ſo teſtify
'that he hath no prejudice at the Miniſtry, but only a-
'gainſt ſuch a man in particular.' Whence it is an igno-
rant as well as malicious calumny, to ſay, that our with-
drawing from the *Curates*, and alſo from ſome Miniſters,
whom otherwiſe we reſpect and reverence as godly Mi-
niſters, for their offenſive defections, is a diſowning all
the Miniſtry of *Scotland*. Whereas, we do profeſs indeed
a diſowning of the Curate's Miniſtry, but for our Reve-
rend Presbyterian Miniſters, though we do diſcounte-
nance many of them with ſad hearts, for not keeping
the word of the Lord's patience in this hour of tentation,
nor adhering to the principles and conſtitutions of the
Church of *Scotland*: yet this is not a diſowning of their
Miniſtry, but a refuſing to countenance them in their
preſent adminiſtrations, in this diſturbed ſtate, till theſe
offences be removed.

V. As to diſown the *Miniſtry*, were hateful *Sectaria-
niſm*; ſo to diſſolve or break off communion with a true
Church, whereof we are members, were an unnatural
*Schiſm*, which is horrid ſin. But becauſe among all
the various ſufferings, wherewith the poor toſſed, and
racked Remnant now perſecuted have been exerciſed,
this hath not been the lighteſt; that they have been on
all hands ſtigmatized as Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, not
only becauſe they have maintained a reſolved withdraw-
ing from the *Curates*, but alſo have diſcountenanced ma-
ny *Presbyterian* Miniſters, with whom they have been
offended for their declining courſes, and compliances with
the times, corruptions, and forſaking in a great meaſure
the duty of this day: I ſhall diſtinguiſh ſome caſes of
*Separation*, out of the writings of our approven Authors,
which will juſtify all their withdrawings. 1. Mr. *Dur-
ham* diſtinguiſhes theſe three: *Schiſm*, ſeparating from the
unity and communion of a true Church, conſiſting not al-
way in diverſity of *Doctrine*, but in divided *Practices*, ac-
cording to that of *Auguſtine*, *It is not a different Faith*
*makes*

*makes Schismaticks, but a broken society of Communion:* then *Separation*, either in whole from a Church as no Church, or in part in some things wherein they cannot communicate with that corrupt Church, which is lawful if it exceed not its ground: then, *lastly*, *Secession*, a local removing to a better Church. The first of these cannot be imputed to the persecuted *Wanderers:* for they separate from no true Church, whereof they were members, but these from whom they separate, will be found to be the Schismaticks. 2. The second of these, to wit, *Separation*, is either *Positive* and *Active*, or *Negative* and *Passive*. The first is, when a party not only leaves communion with a Church, whereunto they were formerly joined, but also gathers up new distinct Churches, different from the former, under another government and Ministry, and ordinances, disowning those they left. The latter is, when the faithful Remnant of a declining Church, standing still and refusing to concur with the backsliding part of the same Church, after they have become obstinate in their defections, holds closely by, and adheres unto the Reformation attained. This famous Mr. *Rutherford*, in his *due Right of Presbyteries*, *Pag.* 253, 254. sheweth to be lawful, and calleth it a *Non-Union*, as that in *Augustine*'s time, when the faithful did separate from the *Donatists*, which is lawful and laudable. 3. Mr. *Rutherford* there proceeds to distinguish 'between a separation from the Church in her *worst* and '*most* part, and a separation from the *best* and *least* part: 'and these who separate from the worst and greatest part, 'do notwithstanding retain a part of, and a part in the 'visible Church, because they do not separate from the 'Church, according to the least and best part thereof; 'as the Godly in *England*, who refused the Popish Ceremonies and Antichristian Bishops. Hence it will follow, that though now people should withdraw from 'communion with the greatest part of the Church, which 'is now corrupted, they cannot be counted Separatists, 'because they hold still communion with the better, 'though lesser part Moreover, he saith, *Pag.* 254, 255. 'That there may be causes of *Non-Union* with a Church, 'which are not sufficient causes of separation. *Lastly*,

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He tells us in the same place, *Pag.* 258. When the greatest part of a Church makes defection from the truth, the lesser part remaining sound, the greatest part is the Church of Separartists; though the manyest and greatest part in the actual exercise of Discipline be the Church, yet in the case of right Discipline the best tho' fewest is the Church. For truth is like life, that retireth from the manyest members unto the heart, and there remaineth in its fountain in case of dangers. So that it is the major part which hath made defection, that are to be accounted *Separatists*, and not such who stand to their principles, tho' they cannot comply or join with the corrupt Majority.' Thus the *Apol. Relat.* rehearsed his words, *Sect.* 14. *Pag.* 292. 293. 4. There may be a lawful withdrawing, where the Ordinances and Ministry are not cast at, as the *Apol. Rel.* saith *ibid.* 291. 'So then, so long as people do not cast at the Ordinances, but are willing to run many miles to enjoy them: nor cast at the Church as no Church (tho' they sadly fear, that God shall be provoked by this dreadful defection, which is carried on by these men and their favourers, to give her a Bill of divorce) nor at the Ministry, for they love those that stand to their principles dearly, and are most willing to hear them either in publick or private. 5. It is granted by all that write against Separatists, that separation from a Church is lawful, when the case so falleth out, that union cannot be kept up with her without sin, *Voet. Polit. Eccles. p.* 68. *quest.* 17.' 6. The grave Author of *Rectius Instruendum Confut.* 3. *Dial. Chap. Pag.* 7. *&c.* 'Allows, every Separation is not *Schism*, even from the Church which hath essentials; yea, and more than essentials: if it be from those (though never so many) who are drawing back from whatever piece of duty and integrity is attained; for this is still to be held fast, according to many Scripture commands. So *Elias*, when God's Covenant was forsaken, was as another *Athanasius* (*I and I only am left*) in point of tenacious integrity. 7. Next he says, If we separate in that which a national Church hath commanded us as her Members to disown, by her standing Acts and Authority, while those from

'whom

'whom we ſeparate own that Corruption. 8. Likewiſe he there aſſerts, there is a lawful forbearance of 'Union and Compliance with notorious Backſliders, in 'that which is of it ſelf ſinful, or inductive to it: which 'is far from *Separation* ſtrictly taken. The commands 'of abſtaining from all appearance of evil, and hating 'the garment ſpotted with the fleſh, do clearly include 'this. 9. He adds, many things will warrant Separation from ſuch a particular Miniſter or Congregation; 'which will not warrant Separation from the Church 'National; nor infer it, by Mr. *Durham*'s acknowledgment (*on Scandal, Pag.* 129.) for if Scandals become 'exceſſive, he allows to depart to another Congregation. 10. *Laſtly*, He ſays, There is a commanded with-'drawing from perſons and Societies even in Worſhip, 'the precepts, *Rom.* xvi. 17. 2 *Cor.* vi. 17. *Prov.* xix. '27. *Act* ii. 40. will clearly import this by conſequence. '——— Surely the Miniſters and Profeſſors, adhering 'to the Reformation, muſt be the true Church of *Scot-'land*, tho' the leſſer number: Theſe Soldiers who keep 'the Generals orders, are the true army, not the deſert-'ers of the ſame.'

But, *Secondly*, it being in part cleared by theſe Aſſertions, what is our mind in this controverſy, I ſhall lay down from Scripture oracles, all the Cauſes and Caſes juſtifying and warranting withdrawing from any Miniſters; with application of all of them to the *Curates*, and accommodation of ſome of them to all that the *Wanderers* withdraw from: with Arguments endeavouring to evince the Validity of them, and evidencing they are not new Notions, but the ſame grounds which approven Authors have improved in this Controverſy. I ſhall omit the ordinary Criticiſms in ſtating the queſtion, in diſtinguiſhing betwixt *hearing* and *joining* in Worſhip, and *owning* them as our Miniſters, and *ſubmitting* to them, *&c.* And only eſſay to prove this *Theſis: We cannot, without ſin, own Church Communion in Goſpel Ordinances with the Prelates or their Curates, as our Miniſters, but muſt withdraw from them, and any other guilty of the like Corruptions, which we can make out againſt them.* I ſhall not reſume what Confirmations this *Theſis* is ſtrengthned with,

with, from the Teſtimonies, or Church Conſtitutions of former *Periods*, which are premitted in the foregoing diſcourſe; nor make any repetition of the circumſtances of our preſent Condition, repreſented above, which contributes to clear it: but ſhortly come to the Arguments.

I. It is neceſſary that we muſt acknowledge them *Miniſters of Chriſt*, and his Ambaſſadors clothed with his Commiſſion, from whom we receive the ordinances of the Goſpel. For otherwiſe they muſt be looked upon as *Thieves*, *Robbers*, Uſurpers, and *ſtrangers* whom Chriſt's ſheep *will not*, nay muſt not, *hear*, *John* x. 1, 5. And *how ſhall they preach*, or be heard, *except they be ſent*, *Rom.* x. 15. For ſuch whom we know may not lawfully preach, we cannot lawfully hear. Theſe from whom we may receive the myſteries of God, we muſt account *Miniſters of Chriſt*, 1 *Cor.* iv. 1. and *Ambaſſadors for Chriſt*, ſtanding in his ſtead, beſeeching us to be reconciled to God, 2 *Cor.* v. 20. Hence ſuch as we doubt to acknowledge Miniſters of Chriſt, clothed with his commiſſion, them we cannot hear without ſin; but the Prelatical Curates are ſuch as we doubt to acknowledge Miniſters of Chriſt, clothed with his commiſſion: therefore we cannot hear them. The *Minor* only needs probation. Theſe who neither have nor can have the Qualifications of a Miniſter of Chriſt, nor the lawful call of a Miniſter of Chriſt, cannot be acknowledged with confidence to be Miniſters of Chriſt clothed with his commiſſion; but the Prelatical Curates are ſuch: *Ergo* ——— Firſt they neither have nor can have the qualifications of Chriſt's Miniſters: ſince few of them have the perſonal, as Chriſtians, far leſs the Miniſterial as Officers, mentioned 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 4. *Tit.* i. 6, 9. execept it be to be *husbands of one wife*, and if that do not make them Miniſters, they have nothing elſe: eſpecially four are wanting in all of them. (1) *Blameleſneſs*, and freedom from *Scandal*, even ſuch as affects the office (beſides other groſs diſorders in their life and converſation, obvious to the view of onlookers, being men who have denied the Faith; and therefore unfit to have the privilege of Church members in any well governed Church) being

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in the experience of all that know them ſignalized under the Characters of thoſe that run unſent, and from whom we are commanded to withdraw: cauſing the people to *err* by their *lies*, and by their *lightneſs*, not *ſent of* God, *Jer.* xxiii. making the heart of the righteous ſad, and ſtrengthening the hands of the wicked, *Ezek.* xiii. 22. See alſo *Ezek.* xxxiv. 2, 3. Such as we are commanded to *beware of Matth.* vii. 15, 16. Such as we muſt *mark and avoid*, *Rom.* xvi. 17, 18. *Philip.* iii. 2. *Diſorderly walkers* from whom we muſt *withdraw*, 2 *Theſſ.* iii. 6. *Covenant-breakers* from whom we are commanded to *turn away*, 2 *Tim.* iii. 3, 5. They are not then *Blameleſs*: and in ſhewing how fitly theſe agree unto the perſons now ſpoken of, time needs not be ſpent, ſuch as know them can beſt judge. Hence, ſuch as either are not fit to be Church members, or have all the Characters of ſuch Officers from whom we are to withdraw, cannot be acknowledged capable of the qualifications of the Miniſters of Chriſt; but ſuch are the *Curates*: *Ergo* ——— (2) The qualification of *Vigilancy* cannot be found with them: for all that know them will acknowledge that they neither do, nor can in preaching the word be *inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, ſo as to make *full proof of their Miniſtry*, 2 *Tim.* vi. 1, ——— 5. Nay they can give no proof of their Miniſtry at all, further than may be competent to *dumb Dogs that cannot bark*, Iſa. lvi. 10, 11. For they nor no man can ſay, That the *diſeaſed they have ſtrengthned*, or *healed that which was ſick*, &c. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 4. And it is known to all that know them, that if ever there were any that aſſumed to themſelves the name of *Levites*, who departed out of the way, and cauſed many to ſtumble at the law, and corrupted the Covenant of *Levi*, and therefore were deſervedly contemptible and baſe before all the people, (*Mal.* ii. 8, 9.) they are the men. Let any man judge then, whether they have the qualifications of the *Meſſengers of the Lord of hoſts*. Hence, they that can give no proof of their Miniſtry, but that which proves them to be ſuch whom the Lord condemns, and ſuch who deſerve to be contemned of all, cannot be acknowledged to be qualified as the Lord's Miniſters: but the Prelatick

*Curates*

*Curates* can give no proof of their Miniſtry, *&c. Ergo* ——— (3) The qualification of *Aptneſs to teach* is wanting; yea, incompatible with them, not only ſuch of them as are noted for ignorance, of whom clearly that is verified, they are *blind watchmen*, they are all *ignorant* (*Iſa.* lvi. 10.) but even their greateſt Clerks and *Rabbies* may fitly be called after the name of their fore-fathers, whom Chriſt calls *blind Leaders of the blind*, concerning whom he gives a Command to *let them alone*, *Matth.* xv. 14. Either generally they are diſcovered to be ſuch Maſters of *Iſrael*, as *know not theſe things*, John iii. 10. being men not exerciſed in Religion, and have not learned the Truth as it is in Jeſus: or they are ſuch, as if they have had gifts or Grace, yet now they are palpably blaſted of God, and ſo cannot profit the people at all, being ſuch as do not *ſtand in God's Counſel*, for then they ſhould have turned the people from their evil way, and ſo they are not apt to teach others when they are not taught of God, but ſteal his words every one from their Neighbour, clearly diſcovering they are *not ſent* of him, *Jer.* xxiii. 21, 22, 30, 32. And becauſe they do not ſtand in God's Counſel, they cannot *declare all the Counſel of God*, Act xx. 27. For they can neither be apt to teach *repentance* towards God, ſince they cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſenſible of theſe ſins to be repented of, for which the Land periſheth, and is burnt up like a wilderneſs, *Jer.* ix. 12. For then they would firſt repent themſelves of their own *Conformity* with *Prelacy*, of their breach of Covenant, *&c.* All that they can do in ſuch a ſubject is, to ſee *vain and fooliſh things*, and not to diſcover the *Lands iniquity*, but to ſee *falſe* burdens, and cauſes of baniſhment, *Lam.* ii. 14. Nor can they be apt to teach *faith*, ſeeing in many things they teach *otherwiſe* than Chriſt hath taught us in his word, and *conſent not to wholeſome words*, and *to the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs*, from ſuch the Command is to *withdraw*, 1 Tim. vi. 3, ——— 5. whoſe Mouths muſt be ſtopped when they teach things which they ought not, *Tit.* i. 9, ——— 11. which is undeniable to all that know what ſort of ſtuff they preach, contrary to the word of God, and the principles of our Covenanted Reformation.

on. Hence if none of them be apt to teach, then none of them is fit to be heard; but none of them is apt to teach: *Ergo* ——— "It is true private Christians may "not judge of the endowments and qualifications of Ministers; yet every private Christian hath the judgment "of discretion, and that way may judge such an one "if he appear qualified according to the rule of the "word; and may doubt if he be a qualified Minister "*before God*, wanting these qualifications which the word "requireth, *Apol. Relation Sect.* 15. *P.* 283." *Secondly*, They have not the lawful *Call* of a Minister of Christ, so much as an *external Call* of his Institution: which I prove thus. They that have *Presentations* from Patrons, and *Collations* from Prelates, and no more for a Call, have no lawful Call at all; but the Curates have presentations from Patrons, and collations from Prelates, and no more for a Call: *Ergo* they have no lawful Call at all. The *Minor* cannot be doubted: "For, in this "Government, the Ministers Mission, Call, Ordinati-"on, and Relation to such a people over whom he is "to officiate, flows all from the Prelate; the Congre-"gational Eldership hath not the least interest in it: "hence the Presbyterian way of calling Pastors was ran-"versed by the Parliament, when *Prelacy* was set up, "and the old custom of *Patronages* was restored, *Rectius* "*Instru. Consut. of* 1 *Dial. Chap.* 4. *pag.* 3." The *Major* proposition may be proven by parts. *First*, *Presentations* from Patrons cannot give a lawful Call: for besides what other reasons might be given against this old relict of *Popish* bondage of Patronages; it destroys that privilege and liberty of the Church in calling their own Pastors, and makes all Intruders, without the Churches choice; whereas the flock are allowed a judgment of Discretion, knowledge of, and consent to the admission of their Pastors, to whom they intrust their Soul's directions, before they be subject and obey him in the Lord, for otherwise he is *a stranger* that hath not come in at the *door*, and they must not, nor will not be imposed upon, *John* x. 1, ——— 5. They had an Interest in chooling and nominating even the Apostles, though there were other Apostles of infallible knowledge, as to qualifications,

ons, present to ordain them: and they appointed two to be *chosen* by Lot, *Act* i. 23. and even the *Deacons* were looked out and *chosen by* the people, and appointed over their business, *Act* vi. 3. 'Much less ought Ministers to be thrust upon such a weighty employment, 'to pleasure great Men who are Patrons, since in their 'faithfulness the people are infinitely more concerned.' *Rectius Instruen. ubi Supra.* Hence, if the *Curates* have no Call but what destroys the peoples privilege, they have no lawful Call at all, neither ought they to be owned, or countenanced as called Ministers; but by the presentation of partrons they have no call, but what destroys the peoples Privilege: *Ergo* ———. Next *Collations* from Prelates cannot give a lawful Call: for (1) they cannot give that to others which they have not themselves; but they have not a lawful call themselves, because they are not lawful officers, as is clear, and may be proven afterwards. (2) The only way of conveyance of an ordinary call to this office, is by the Act of a *Presbytry*, *Tim.* iv. 14. And, by Ministers, their ordaining Elders in every Church, with the consent of that Church; but a Prelate's Collation is not this Act of a Presbytery. (3) That which only makes a man a Prelate's depute, cannot give him a call to the Ministry of Christ; but this Collation only makes a man a Prelate's depute. Or thus, a Prelate's depute is no Minister; but a Curate is a [Prelate's depute: *Ergo* ———. That a Prelate's depute is no Minister, I prove: not only from that, that a Prelate, *as such*, is not a servant of Christ, but an enemy; and therefore cannot confer upon another, that dignity to be Christ's servant; but from this, that the Scripture allows no derivation of deputed Officers. If no Officers of Christ can have deputes of Christ's Institution; then the deputes that they make cannot be Christ's Officers of his Institution; but no Officers of Christ can have deputes by Christ's Institution: every man that hath any piece of Stewardship in God's family, must ever see and execute it immediately by himself, and *wait upon it*, Rom. xii. 7, 8. That *Curates* are Prelates deputes is clear: for they are subject to them in order and jurisdiction, and derive all their power from them,

them, and are accountable to them: Therefore they cannot be acknowledged with confidence of conscience to be Christ's Ministers. 'Because they have not such a 'visible evidence of the call of Christ, as, in reason and 'charity, doth oblige all men to receive the person so 'called, as truly sent: which things are so evident in 'themselves, that whoever denieth them, is obliged by 'the same consequence to affirm, that if *Simon Magus* 'had, in his horrid wickedness, purchased the Apostle-'ship by money, the Christian world had been bound 'to receive him as an Apostle, *Naphtali*, P. 105. 106. '*first Edition.*' That their Ministry is the Lord's ordinance he plainly denied, *Naphtali, Pag.* 109. 'They 'have nothing like a solemn ordination, having no im-'position of hands of the Presbytery with fasting and 'prayer, according to the order of the Gospel, but the 'sole warrant and mission of the Prelate, and therefore 'it cannot be lawful to countenance such, and to look 'upon them as lawful Ministers, *Apol. Relat. Sect.* 15. '*Pag.* 283.' It will be *objected* here, 1. 'That then their baptism is no baptism, if they be no Ministers.' *Ans.* '(1) what sad consequences may follow upon the nul-'ling of their office, let them see to it who either send 'such forth, or employ them.' *Apol. Relat.* ibid. *Pag.* 294 the best way to avoid these inconveniencies is not to countenance them. But (2) the same answers may serve which are adduced for *Popish* baptisms and ordinations: and *the deed* sometimes *signifies, That it ought not to be done.* Next it will be, *Object.* 2. That many of the Curates were in the Ministry before, therefore the Argument is not stringent against them. *Ans.* The one half of it about the qualifications does still urge them, through the want of which, and their base Treachery and betraying their trust, and perjuries in breaking Covenant, they have really forefaulted their Ministry, and loosed all from an obligation to hear them, or any other to whom these Scripture characters may be applied, and brings all under the guilt of partaking with them that hear them.

II. It is necessary also, that all whom we may lawfully hear as Ministers and Ambassadors of Christ, should

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not only have had a commission from Christ, *sometimes* conveyed to them in his orderly appointed way, by and from approven Church-officers; but they must have it *then when* we hear them, at this time when we own Communion with them. For if they have sometimes had it, and forefaulted or changed it, by taking a new right another way, it is all one in point of owning them, as if they had none at all: and we must not meddle with such *Changelings*, in things that they and we must not come and go upon, *Prov.* xxiv. 21. Now plain it is, that some *Curates* sometimes had a commission from Christ, when they were *Presbyters*; but now they have changed their *holding*, and taken a *new Right* from them who are no Officers of Christ, invested with power to confirm or convey a ministerial Mission; and so they have forfaulted what they had. Mr. *Durham*, in a digression on this subject of hearing, shews, that Ministers may *forfeit*, on *Revel.* chap. i. *p.* 55. in *4to.* 'In matter of 'hearing (says he) it is not so hard to discern, who are 'to be counted to speak without God's commission; be-'cause ordinarily such have no warrantable Call at all '(no not in the outward form, and so cannot be counted 'but to run unsent) or by *palpable Defection* from the 'Truth, and Commission given them in that Call, they 'have *forfeited* their commission: and so no more are to 'be counted Ambassadors of Christ, or Watchmen of his 'flock, than a Watchmen of the City is to be accounted 'an observer thereof, when he hath publickly made de-'fection to the Enemy, and taken on with him.' Let the indulged and addressing Ministers advert to this: and consider, whether or not the truly tender have reason to discountenance them, while they continue in their palpable defection. But undeniably this refells that Objection of the Curates Ordination before they were Curates; for they that change their holding of a right, and take a new right which is null, they forego and forfeit their old right, and all right; but the Prelatick Curates have changed their holding of their right, and taken a new one, which is null: therefore they have foregone and forfeited their old one. The *Minor* I prove thus. They who had a right from Christ by Conveyance of his Officers,

ficers, and take a new grant for the exercise of it, not from Christ, but by conveyance of such as are none of his Officers, they change their holding, and take a new one, which is null. But the Prelatick Curates, who had a Right by Conveyance of his Officers, have taken a new grant for the exercise of it, not from Christ, but by conveyance of the *Prelate*, which is none of his Officers: *Therefore* ——— The stress of all will ly in the Probation of this, that the *Prelate* is none of Christ's Officers, and therefore the conveyance of a power from him is not from Christ. Which I prove, 1. Because his Office is cross to the very *Nature* of Gospel Church-Government, and therefore he cannot be a Gospel Church-Ruler. Christ discharged his Officers to exercise *Dominion* (or *Lordship*, *Luk.* xxii. 25.) or *Authority*, as the Gentiles did, but that the chiefest should be only a Minister, *Matth.* xxii. 25, 26. The Apostle *Paul* disclaims *Dominion* over the Church, 2 *Cor.* i. *ult.* *Peter* exhorts the *Elders* not to be *Lords over God's heritage*, 1 Pet. v. 3. The Authority of Church-officers then is not a *Despotick* Power, but a ministerial Stewardship. But the *Diocesan Bishop* is both a *Lordly* Title and Power, having all Authority in the Diocese derived from him, as being as it were the universal Pastor, and so taking upon him a power, which is neither commanded, nor can be discharged. Hence, he that subjects his Ministry to the Domination of a strange Lord, inverting the Nature of Gospel Church-Government, cannot be owned in his Ministry; but all *Curates* subject their Ministry, &c. *Therefore* — 2. Because he is an officer *distinct* from, and *superior* to a *Presbyter* or *Pastor*; whereas the Scripture makes a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* all one. The *Elders* of the Church of *Ephesus* are called *Episcopi* or *Overseers*, Acts xx. 17, 28 An *ordained Elder* must be a *blameless Bishop*, as the steward of God, *Tit.* i. 5, 7. Again, it cannot be shown, where the Scripture mentions either Name, Qualification, Work. Duty, or Ordination of an ordinary Church-officer superior to Presbyters, and which are not likewise appropriate to them who are called Rulers, Governors, Bishops. In all the Holy Ghost His purposed recitals of ordinary Church-officers, there is not the least

hint

hint of a *Diocesan Bishop*; and yet a *Deacon* is described the meanest Officer in his Work and Qualifications. Hence then, if this Diocesan Prelate be such an uncouth Beast, that neither in Name nor Nature is found in the Word of God, all the power derived from him is null; but the first is true: *therefore*———.3. Because every Officer in the Scripture relates to the *Flock* (except the extraordinary Officers, who were further extended, now ceased) Bishops of *Ephesus*, were overseers over the *Flock*, *Acts* xx. the *Elders* that *Peter* writes to were over the *Flock*. But this Diocesan anriscriptural Monster pretends to be over the *Shepherds*, and invents new Degrees and Orders of Superiority and Inferiority of Officers of the same kind, beside and against the Scripture, which makes all Apostles alike, and all Evangelists, so all Teachers; tho' there be a distinction and superiority in diverse kinds, yet not in the same. God hath set some in the Church, *first* Apostles, *secondarily* Prophets, *thirdly* Teachers, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. but not among Teachers, some above others, in a power of Order and Jurisdiction. Hence, an Officer over Officers of the same kind, is not an Officer of Christ's institution, and consequently any power conveyed from him is null; but a Prelate pretends to be an Officer over Officers of the same kind: *therefore* ——.4. Because every Officer in the Church hath equally, and in perfect parity, equal Power and Authority allowed them of God in the exercise of both the Keys, both of Order and Jurisdiction; all Ruling Elders may rule alike, and deserve equal honour; and all Preaching Elders have the like authority, and the like *Honour* conferred upon them, 1 *Tim.* vi. 17. The Scripture attributes both Power of Order and Jurisdiction to all preaching Presbyters equally. They must *oversee* the flock (or as the Word is, *do the part of a Bishop over them*) *Acts* xx. 28. and they must also *feed the flock*, 1 Pet. v. 2. Subjection and Obedience is one to them all alike: all that *are over us and admonish us, we must esteem highly for their Works sake*, 1 Thes. v. 12. and *obey* and *submit ourselves to them that watch for our souls*, Heb. xiii. 17. We find also *Excommunication* belongs to all alike, 2 *Cor.* ii. 6. and *Ordination*, 1 Tim. iv. 14. But the Diocesan

*Prelate*

*Prelate* takes from Presbyters to himself power of Ordination, assuming only his Curates for fashion's sake, and the sole decisive power in Church-judicatories, wherein he hath a negative voice; like a *Diotrephes*, the first Prelate who loved to have the *Pre-eminence*, 3 John 9. the only precedent for *Prelacy* in the Scripture. Hence, he that would take all power to himself, which is undivided and equal to all Officers by Christ's appointment, hath none by Christ's allowance, but is to be reckoned an usurping *Diotrephes*; but the Diocesan Prelate would take all the power to himself, which is undivided and equal to all. By all which it appears, the Prelate being no authorized Church-officer of Christ's, no Authority can be derived from him; and so that such as betake themselves to this pretended power, for warranting them in the function, can warrantably claim no deference thereupon, nor can be owned as Ministers, whatever they were before. 'For this were an acknowledging of the power 'and Authority of Prelates (especially when the Law 'commands our hearing as a submitting to them.) The 'reason is, because these men came forth from the Pre-'late, having no other call or warrant but what the 'Prelate giveth: and so a receiving of them will be a 'receiving of the Prelate, as a refusing of them will be 'accounted a slighting of the Prelate and his power, *A-'pol. Relat.* 15. *p.* 272.

III. It is necessary also, that all with whom we own Communion as Ministers, should be Christ's Ambassadors, having then, when we hear them, and holding still, their commission from Christ *as King*, and only Head of his Church; conveyed not only from *Church-officers*, in a way that he hath revealed as the *Prophet* of his Church, but in a way of dependence upon, and subordination to Christ as *King*, who ascending far above Principalities and Powers, appointed and gave the *Gifts* of the Ministry, *Eph.* iv. 8, 11. and *set* them in the Church, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. and gave them commission to go and teach the Nations, by virtue of that *all Power* that was given to him in Heaven and Earth, *Matth.* xxviii. 18, 19. If then they take a new *holding*, and close with a new *Conveyance* of the Ministry, and of the Power to exercise the same, from

a new architectonick usurped Power in the Church, encroaching on Christ's royal *Prerogative*, we dare not homologate such an affront to Christ, as to give them the respect of his Ambassadors, when they became the servants of men, and subject even in ministerial Functions to another *Head* than Christ; for then they are the Ministers of men, and by men, and not by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead, because they do not *hold the Head*, Col. ii. 19. Hence those that receive and derive their Church-power from, and are subordinate in its exercise to, another Head than Christ Jesus, should not be received and subjected to as the Ministers of Christ in his Church; but the *Prelates* and their *Curates* do receive and derive their Church-power from, and are subordinate in its exercise to, another Head than Christ: therefore they should not be received, *&c.* The first Proposition cannot be denied, the second is proved thus: Those Officers in the Church, professing themselves such, that derive their Church-power from, and are subordinate in its exercise to, a power truly architectonick and supreme in the Church (to wit the Magistrate) beside Christ, do derive their power from, and are subordinate in its exercise to, another Head than Christ Jesus; but so it is that Prelates and their Curates do derive, *&c. Therefore* ——. The *Major* is evident: for whosoever hath a supreme architectonick Power in and over the Church, must be a *Head* to the same, and the Fountain of all Church-power. The *Minor* is also clear, from the foregoing historical deduction, manifesting the present Prelacy to be gross *Erastianism:* for the disposal of the Government of the Church is declared by Law to be the *Crown-right*, and an inherent perpetual Prerogative, and thereupon the Bishops are restored to the Episcopal Function; and it is expresly declared, that there is no Church-power in the Church Office-bearers, but what depends upon, and is subordinate unto the *Supremacy*, and authorized by the Bishops, who are declared accountable to the King for the Administration; by virtue of which *Ecclesiastick Supremacy*, he put Excommunication and spiritual Censures, and consequently the power of the *Keys*, into the hands of Persons merely Civil, in the

the Act for the *High Commission*. Hence it is clear, that as the Fountain of all Church-government, he imparts his Authority to such as he pleases, and the Bishops are nothing else but his Commissioners in the exercise of that Ecclesiastick Power, which is originally in himself, and that the Curates are only his Under-clerks. All the stress will ly in proving, that this Monster of a *Supremacy*, from which the Prelates and their Curates have all their Authority, is a great Encroachment on the Glory of Christ as *King*; which will appear, if we briefly consider these particulars. 1. It usurps upon Christ's *Prerogative*, who only hath all undoubted right to this architectonick and magisterial Dominion over the Church, his own Mediatory Kingdom; not only an *essential* right by his eternal *Godhead*, being the *everlasting Father*, *whose goings forth hath been of old, from everlasting*, *Isa.* ix. 6. *Mic.* v. 2. in recognizance of which, we own but *one God* the Father, and *one Lord*, by whom are all things, and we by him, 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. but also a *Covenant-right*, by Compact with the Father, to bear the Glory and Rule upon his Throne, by virtue of the Counsel of Peace between them both, *Zech.* vi. 13. A *donative* Right by the Father's Delegation, by which he hath *all Power* given in Heaven and in Earth, *Matth.* xxviii. 18. and all things given into his hand, *John* iii 35. and *all Judgment* and *Authority* to execute it, even because he is the *Son of Man*, John v. 22, 27. and to be *Head* over all things to the Church, *Eph.* i. 22. An *institute* Right, by the Father's inauguration, who hath set him as *King* in *Zion*, Psal. ii. 6. and appointed him *Governour*, that shall rule over his people *Israel*, *Matth* ii. 6. An *acquisite* Right, by his own *Purchase*, by which he hath merited and obtained, not only Subjects to govern, but the Glory of the sole Sovereignty over them in that relation. *A name above every name*, Philip. ii. 9. which is, that he is the *Head of the Church*, which is as much his peculiar Prerogative, as to be *Saviour* of the body, *Eph.* v. 23. A *bellical* Right by *Conquest*, making the People fall under him, *Psal.* xlv. 4. and be *willing in the day of his Power*, Psal. cx. 3. and *overcoming* those that make war with him, *Rev.* xvii. 14. An *hereditary* Right by Proximity of

Blood and Primogeniture, being the *first-born, higher than the Kings of the Earth, Psal.* lxxxix. 27. and *the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the Pre-eminence*, Col. i. 18. An *elective* Right, by his People's choice and surrender, having a *Crown* wherewith his *Mother crowned him in the day of his Espousals, Cant.* iii. last verse. By all which undoubted Titles, it is his sole incommunicable Prerogative, without a Copartner or Competitor, co-ordinate or subordinate, to be *Judge*, and only *Lawgiver* and King in spirituals, *Isa.* xxxiii. 22. to be that *one Lawgiver*, Jam. iv. 12. who only can give the power of the *Keys* to his Officers, (which comprehends all the power they have) *Matth.* xvi. 19. to be that *one Master* over all Church-officers, who are but *Brethren, Matth.* xxiii. 8, 10. in whose *Name* only they must perform all Church-acts, and all parts of their Ministry, and not in the name of any mortal, *Matth* xxviii. 18, 19. *Matth.* xviii. 20. from whom only they *receive* whatever they have to *deliver* to the Church, 1 *Cor.* xi 23. to be the only Instituter of his Officers, who hath *set* them in the Church, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. and *gave* them to the Church, *Eph.* iv. 11. whose *Ambassadors* only they are, 2 *Cor.* v. 20. from whom they have *Authority* for edification of the Church, 2 *Cor.* x. 8. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 10. in whose *Name* only they are to assemble, and keep and fence their *Courts*, both the least, *Matth.* xviii. 20. and the greatest, *Acts* xv. But now all this is usurped by one who is not so much as a Church-member, let be a Church-officer, as such: for the Magistrate is neither, as he is a Magistrate, otherwise all Magistrates would be Church-members. Hence they that have all their power from a mere usurper on Christ's Prerogative, who is neither member nor officer of the Church, have none at all to be owned or received as his lawful Ambassadors; but the Prelates and their Curates have all their power from a mere usurper on Christ's Prerogative, who is neither member nor officer of the Church: *Ergo* ——— .2. It confounds the Mediatory Kingdom of Christ with, and subjects it to, the Kingly Government of the world, removes the Scripture *Land Marks* and limits between *civil* and *Ecclesiastick*

*ſtaſtick* powers; in making the Governors of the State to be Governors of the Church, and denying all Church Government in the hands of Church officers, diſtinct from and independent upon the civil Magiſtrate: which clearly derogates from the Glory of Chriſt's Mediatory Kingdom, which is altogether diſtinct from and not ſubordinate to the Government of the world, both in the Old Teſtament and in the New. For, they have diſtinct *Fountains* whence they flow: civil Government flows from God Creator, Church Government from Chriſt the Lord Redeemer, Head and King of his Church, whoſe Kingdom is not of *this world*, *John* xviii. 36. though for this end he came into the world, that he ſhould have a Kingdom there, *verſ.* 37. They have diſtinct *Objects:* civil Government hath a civil object, the *outward* man; Church Government a ſpiritual object, men conſidered as *Chriſtians:* in the Old Teſtament, the *matters of the Lord* are clearly diſtinguiſhed from the *matters of the King*, 2 *Chron.* xix. *laſt verſe.* In the new Teſtament, there are matters of Church Cognizance which do not at all belong to the civil Magiſtrate; as, in the caſe of *offence*, they muſt tell the Church, not the civil Magiſtrate, *Matth.* xviii. 15, 20. In the caſe of *Excommunication*, the Church is to act by virtue of the power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* v. 4, 5. not by the Magiſtrate's power; in the caſe of *Abſolution*, the Church is to judge what puniſhment is ſufficient, and what evidence of repentance is ſufficient to remove it, 2 *Cor.* ii. 6, 7. So in the caſe of *Trial* and *Ordination* of Miniſters, &c. None of theſe belong to the Magiſtrate. They have diſtinct *Natures:* the civil is a Magiſterial, the Eccleſiaſtick is a miniſterial, Government; the one is the power of the *ſword*, the other of the *Keys*; the one put forth in political puniſhments, the other in Eccleſiaſtick Cenſures: In the Old Teſtament, the Magiſtrates power was coactive, by death, baniſhment, Confiſcation, &c. *Ezra* vii. 26. the Church, by putting out of the Synagogue, interdiction from ſacred things, &c. In the New Teſtament, the Magiſtrates power is deſcribed, *Rom.* xiii. to be that of the *ſword* by puniſhment; the power of the Church only *in binding* and *looſing*, *Matth.* xvi. 19. They have diſtinct *Ends:*

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the end of the one being the good of the Commonwealth, the other the Churches Edification: In the Old Teſtament, the end of the Civil Government was one thing, and of the Church another, to wit, to *warn not to treſpaſs againſt the Lord*, in that forecited, 2 *Chron.* xix. 10. In the New Teſtament, the end of Magiſtratical power is to be a *terror to evil works*, and a praiſe to the good, *Rom.* xiii. 3. but the end of Church power is *Edification*, 1 *Cor.* v. 5. 2 *Cor.* x. 8. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 10. They have diſtinct *Courts* of officers: in the Old Teſtament, the diſtinction of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtick *Sanhedrin* is known, where there were diſtinct *cauſes*, and perſons ſet over them to judge them reſpectively, 2 *Chron.* xix. *laſt Verſe.* In the New Teſtament, we find officers given unto the Church, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. with no mention of the civil Magiſtrate at all, and Church-Aſſemblies diſtinct from *Parliaments* or *ſenates* (yea, when the Magiſtrate was an Enemy) determining queſtions that did not belong to the Magiſtrate at all, *Acts* xv. we have Rulers diſtinct from the Rulers of the Commonwealth, 1 *Theſſ* v. 12. whom we are to obey and ſubmit our ſelves as thoſe who are accountable to Chriſt only, for to whom elſe can they give account of ſouls? *Heb.* xiii. 17. we have Rulers inferior to Labourers in word and doctrine, not to be honoured ſo much as they: ſure theſe cannot be civil Rulers, 1 *Tim.* v. 17. we have Rulers commended for trying Impoſtors, which were not Magiſtrates, *Rev.* ii. 2. And others who are rebuked for ſuffering Hereticks *ibid. verſ.* 14, 15, 20. which ſuppoſes they had Authority to do it; yet diſtinct from and not depending on the Magiſtrate. Beſides from this confuſion of the two Governments together, and making the ſupreme Magiſtrate to be ſupreme Governor of the Church, would follow many abſurdities; as that they who are not Church members ſhould be Church officers, even heathen Magiſtrates, yea, women ſhould be Church officers; and none ſhould be choſen for Magiſtrates, but ſuch as have the qualifications of Church officers. *See Apol. Relat. Sect.* 12. *Pag.* 190. *Rectius Inſtruen. Conſut.* 1 *Dial. Chap.* 6. *Pag.* 50. Hence, they that in deriving their Authority do confound the two Governments,

ments, Civil and Eccleſiaſtick, and take it all from a mere Civil power, cannot be owned as having any Authority of Chriſt's Inſtitution; but the Prelates and their Curates, in deriving their Authority, do confound the two Governments civil and Eccleſiaſtick, and take it all from a mere Civil power. This ſame Argument equally militates againſt hearing the *Indulged* Miniſters who have taken a Licence and warrant from the Uſurper of this Supremacy: becauſe it is highly injurious to Chriſt's Headſhip; very contrary to Presbyterian Principles; clearly Homologatory of the Supremacy; plainly prejudicial to the power of the people; very much eſtabliſhing *Eraſtianiſm*; ſadly obſtructive and deſtructive to the good of the Church; wronging our cauſe and ground of ſuffering; ſtrengthening the Prelates hands; contradictory to our Covenants; prejudging the Meetings of God's people; and heinouſly, ſcandalous, and offenſive: as is clear by, and unanſwerably proven in the *Hiſtory of the Indulgence.*

IV. There is a neceſſity that any man whom we may join with as a Miniſter, muſt not only be a Miniſter, and a Miniſter clothed with Chriſt's commiſſion *then* when we join with him, but he muſt alſo have a right to adminiſter *there where* we join with him. Elſe we can look upon him no otherwiſe than a thief and a robber, whom Chriſt's ſheep ſhould not *hear*, *John* x. 1, ——5. Now the Prelates and Curates, though they ſhould be accounted and acknowledged Miniſters, yet they have not *a right* to officiate where they have intruded themſelves. Hence we have ſeveral Arguments, as, 1. They who have no juſt Authority, nor right to officiate fixedly in this Church, as the proper Paſtors of it, ought not to be received, but withdrawn from; but the Prelates and their Curates have no juſt Authority, or right to officiate in this Church as her proper Paſtors: therefore they ought not to be received, but withdrawn from. All the debate is about the *Minor*, which may thus be made good. They who have entred into and do officiate fixedly in this Church, without her Authority and Conſent, have no right ſo to do: but the Prelates and their Curates have entred into and officiate fixedly

edly in this Church, without her Authority and Consent: *Ergo* ———. The *Major* is manifest: for if this Church have a just right and power of electing and calling of Ministers, then they who enter into and officiate fixedly in this Church, without her Authority and Consent, have no just Authority or right so to do: but this Church hath a just right and power of electing and calling of Ministers, as all true Churches have; and, if it were not evident from what is said above, might be easily demonstrated from Scripture. The *minor*, to wit, that the Prelates and their Curates have entred into and officiate fixedly in this Church, without her Authority and consent, is evident from matter of fact: for there was no Church Judicatory called or convocated, for bringing of Prelates into this Church; but, on the contrary, her Judicatories were all cashiered and discharged, and all her officers turned out to let them in; and all was done immediately by the King, and Acts of Parliament without the Church; a practice wanting a Precedent in this, and (for any thing we know) in all other Churches: all that the Curates can say is, That they came in by the Bishop and *Patron*, who are not the Church, nor have any power from her for what they do; all their right and power is founded upon and derived from the *Supremacy*, whereby the Diocesan Erastian Prelate is made the King's delegate and substitute, only impowered thereto by his Law. This is Mr. *Smith's* 1st and 6th *Argum.* 'If we suppose a particular 'Congregation acknowledging their own lawful Pastor, 'and a few violent Persons arise and bring in a Mini-'ster by plain force, and cast out their lawful Pastor; 'are not the faithful in that Church obliged to relin-'quish the Intruder, and not only Discountenance him, 'but endeavour his ejection? This is our case, *Naphtali* 'Pag. 106. *Sect.* 5. *first Edition.*' 2. If we cannot submit to these Curates, without consenting to the great encroachments made upon the Privileges of this Church, then we cannot submit to them without sin; but we cannot submit to them without consenting to the great encroachments made upon the Privileges of this Church: therefore we cannot submit to them without sin. The

*Minor*

*Minor* is all the question: but instances will make it out. As *first*, The robbing of the Church of the Privilege of *Election* of her Pastors, and substituting the bondage of *Patrons presentations*, is a great Encroachment upon the Privilege of this Church: but accepting of Curates as Ministers lawfully called, notwithstanding that they want the election of the people, and have nothing for their warrant but a presentation from the Patron, were a consenting to that Robbery and wicked Substitution. It will be of no force to say, Our forefathers did submit to this, and to a Ministry who had no other call. This is answered above in the *Narrative*: 'tis a poor consequence to say, The posterity may return backward, because their forefathers could not advance further forward. *Secondly*, The thrusting out of lawful Ministers without any Cause but their adhering to the Covenanted work of Reformation, and the thrusting in others in their rooms who denied the same, is a great Encroachment on the Churches Privileges; but embracing and encouraging Curates by countenancing their pretended Ministry, were a consenting to this violent extrusion and intrusion. The *Minor* is proven thus. They who leave the extruded, and countenance the intruded, they consent to the extrusion and intrusion, and declare they confess the intruded his right is better than his who is extruded; but they who embrace and encourage Curates by countenancing their pretended Ministry, do leave the extruded, to wit, their old Ministers, and countenance the intruded: *Ergo* ——— To say, That people, in this case, should protest against these Encroachments, is frivolous; for withdrawing is the best protestation: and if after their protestation they still countenance the Encroachment, they should undo their own protestation. The same Argument will militate against countenancing the *Indulged*, or any that obtained Authority to preach in any place by a power encroaching on the Churches Liberties. There is an *Objection* to be removed here, from *Matth.* xxiii. 2, 3. *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses Chair; therefore whatever they bid you observe, that observe and do*; therefore they who, without a title, usurp the office, may be heard. *Ans.* 1. The case is no-

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ways alike; for then the Lord had no other Church in the world but that, which was confined in its Solemnities of worſhip to that place, where they intruded themſelves: he had not yet inſtituted the New Teſtament form of Adminiſtration, in its Ordinances and Officers. Therefore the head of the Church being preſent might give a Toleration, *during pleaſure:* but it is not ſo now. But, 2. Our Lord's words bear no command for the people to *hear* them at all, but only not to reject ſound Doctrine, becauſe it came from them: ſurely he would not bid them hear ſuch, as he calls Plants that his Father had never planted, whom he bids *let alone*, *Matth.* xv. 13, 14. and who were *Thieves* and *Robbers* whom his ſheep ſhould *not hear.*

V. They muſt not only be Miniſters, and acknowledged as ſuch *then* and *there*, *when* and *where* we join with them; but they muſt be ſuch as we can own Church Communion with in the Ordinances adminiſtrated by them, as to the *matter* of them. Otherwiſe, if they *pervert* and corrupt their Miniſtry, by preaching and maintaining *errors*, either in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, or Government, contrary to the Scriptures, our Confeſſions, and principles of our Covenanted Reformation, and contradictory to our Teſtimony founded thereupon, and agreeable thereunto, maintaining errors condemned thereby, or condemning truths maintained thereby, we muſt withdraw from them. For if any ſeek to turn us away from the Lord our God, we muſt put away that evil, and not conſent nor *hearken* to them, *Deut.* xiii. 5, 8. We muſt *ceaſe to hear* the inſtruction that *cauſeth to err* from the words of knowledge, *Prov.* xix. 27. we muſt have a care of theſe leaders that will *cauſe us to err* leſt we be *deſtroyed* with them, *Iſa.* ix. 16. we muſt *mark* theſe who contradict the doctrine that we have learned, and *avoid* them, *Rom.* xvi. 17. If any man teach otherwiſe we muſt *withdraw* ourſelves from ſuch, 1 *Tim.* vi. 3, 5. If there come any, and bring not this doctrine, we muſt not *receive him*, *nor bid him God ſpeed*, in that work of his preaching or practiſing againſt any of the truths, we have received from the word, 2 *John* x. 11. Hence we muſt not hear falſe Teachers, who, in preaching

ing and prayer, bring forth false doctrine contrary to the principles of our Reformation; but the Curates are false Teachers, who, in preaching and prayer, bring forth false doctrine, *&c.* Therefore we must not hear them. The *Minor* is certain, in that not only many of them are tainted with points of *Popery* and *Arminianism*; but all of them do teach false doctrine tending to seduce the Hearers: when in their preaching they cry up the lawfulness of *Prelacy*, and vent bitter invectives against *Presbyterian* Government, condemn the work of Reformation, and inveigh against the *Covenant*, and so teach and encourage people to follow them in open perjury, and condemning all our Testimony, as nothing but Treason and Sedition; which we are persuaded is truth, and that therefore they are Blasphemers: and in their prayers, stuffed with error, and larded with blasphemy, they reproach the work of Reformation, and the power of Godliness, and pray for a blessing on the *Prelates*, and on their courses which are cursed; besides their parasitick prayers for the King, to be blessed in his government when stated in opposition to Christ, and several other things that tender consciences cannot go along with them therein. And yet if they hear them, they must go along and actively concur with them, as their mouth to God. If it be *objected* here: that this doth not strike against all, nor against any at all times, because some preach always sound doctrine, and all preach sometime sound doctrine; and the like may be said of their prayers: therefore sometimes at least they may be heard. I *answ.* 1. This may be alledged for all Hereticks, who do all at sometimes preach sound doctrine, and yet these Scriptures are stringent against them at all times, which I have adduced: for by these fruits which they bring forth at sometimes, they shew themselves to be such as we must beware of at all times. 2. We cannot know when they will preach sound doctrine, seeing by their subjection to that government, they are obliged to maintain Prelacy, and impugn our covenanted constitution.

VI. They must not only be such as we can join with in the Ordinances as to the *Matter* of them, but in the *Manner* also they must be such Administrators, as we are obliged

obliged in charity to think the Lord will approve of them, and their administrations, and of us in our communion with them; or at least, that, in their manner of dispensing Ordinances, they be not such as we find are under a recorded sentence of dreadful punishment, both against them and their partakers: for if it be so, it is as sufficient a ground to withdraw from them, as for men to withdraw from a company staying in a house, that they see will fall and smother them in its ruin; yea it is as warrantable to separate from them, as for *Israel* to separate themselves from the congregation of the Rebels who were to be *consumed* in a moment, *Numb.* xvi. 21. or for the Lord's people to come out of *Babylon*, that they *receive not of her plagues*, *Rev.* xviii. 4. Now we find that not only the Prophets of *Baal*, and Inticers to Idolatry, and Leaders to error upon the matter are threatened, and the people for adhering to them, but we find also (as is observed by *Rectius Instruendum confut. dial. chap.* 1. *pag.* 21.) many terrible charges and adjurations laid upon Ministers, in reference to a faithful diligence in their Ministerial function, and a suitable Testimony concerning the sin and duty of the time, that they are commanded to *cry aloud* and shew the people their sin, *Isa.* lviii. 1. and as they would not have the *blood of souls* upon them, to give faithful *warning* touching the peoples case and hazard, sin and duty, especially in times of great sin and judgment, when God is terribly pleading his Controversy with them, *Ezek.* iii. 17. therefore they must be *instant in season and out of season*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. And for their negligence and unfaithfulness herein, we find many Scripture woes and threatenings thundered against them. When in the deceit of their own heart they promise assured *Peace*, when the Lord is pleading against a generation, they are threatened to be *consumed* with sword and famine, and the *people to whom they prophesy shall be cast out in the streets*, *Jer.* xiv. 13, 15, 16. therefore we dare not admit them to prophesy to us. When they *strengthen the hands*, and harden the hearts of evil-doers, that none doth return from his wickedness, the Lord threatens to *feed them with wormwood*, and commands not to *hearken* to them,

*Jer.*

*Jer.* xxiii. 14, ——16. their *blood* shall be required at their hands, *Ezek.* iii. 18. one builds a wall, and another *daubs* it with untempered morter, then *ye, O great hailstones, shall fall*, and they shall be *consumed* in the midst thereof, *Ezek.* xiii. 10, 11, 14, 18, 22. we dare not join with either Builders or Daubers of such a work, as is carried on to the dishonour of Christ and ruining of Reformation, nor by our countenance and concurrence strengthen either Builders or Daubers; lest we also be consumed in the midst thereof. When there is a conspiracy of the Prophets, and the Priests violate the law, and profane holy things, and shew no difference between the unclean and the clean, then the Lord will *pour out his Indignation* upon all, *Ezek.* xxii. 25, —— to the end. We would endeavour to keep ourselves free of having any hand in that conspiracy. These Scriptures do give the perfect pourtracture of our Curates, in the conviction of all that know them. Hence we draw a complex argument: such Ministers as can do no good by their Ministry, but a great deal of hurt to their Hearers, and expose themselves and them both to the indignation of a jealous God, are not to be heard; but the Curates are such as can do no good by their Ministry, but a great deal of hurt to their Hearers, and expose themselves and them both to the indignation of the jealous Lord: therefore they are not to be heard. The connexion of the *Major* is clear from what is said above. The *Minor* is also evident from the application of these Scriptures, thus: They that in the deceit of their own heart promise peace to, and strengthen the hands of evil-doers, and give them not warning, but seduce them by daubing their wickedness, and shew no difference between the unclean and the clean, *&c.* are such as can do no good by their Ministry, but a great deal of hurt to Hearers, and expose themselves and them both to the indignation of God; but the Curates are such, and all others who are so unfaithful as to give no warning against, but justify the sins of the times. To be short, the *Minor* of both these foregoing arguments is evident from the experience of all that go to the Curates, who wrong thereby their own souls, mar their edification;

and

and run to cisterns without water. What blessing can be expected upon the labours of such, who having perjured themselves in taking on with the Prelates, are prosecuting that course of defection, and making themselves Captains to lead the people back to *Egypt*, encouraging profanity and wickedness, being themselves Patterns and Patrons of the times corruptions? And seeing a blessing cannot be expected upon their labours, but rather a curse, as daily experience maketh good, when instead of any work of conversion or conviction among people, there is nothing seen but a fearful hardening in profanity, ignorance and Atheism: so that many that seemed to have somewhat like Religion before, through hearing of them, are turned loose and lax in all duties: yea never can it be instanced these twenty seven years, that they have brought one soul to Christ, from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; but many instances might be given of their murdering souls, as indeed they cannot be free of it, who cannot warn nor declare the whole Counsel of God. Hence these who cannot but be Soul-murderers, may not be heard nor entertained as Soul-physicians; but the Curates cannot but be Soul-murderers. Again, we can expect no good from them, but a great deal of hurt; seeing their Ministry is not the Lord's Ordinance, which he will approve, and no performances can be acceptable unto the Lord which are not, in manner as well as in matter, agreeable to his will: hence the wickedness even of the Lord's lawful Priests, not only caused the people to *abhore* the offerings of the Lord, but even the Lord himself to abhore his Sanctuary, and to account their incense an abomination, so that he could not away with the calling of their Assemblies, which yet upon the matter were duties. Should not we then hate that which the Lord hates, and withdraw from that which he hath forsaken? But the Meetings of the Curates for Administration of Ordinances in their way, the Lord hates, and hath signally forsaken: therefore we should hate and forsake them. This is confirmed by what Mr. *Durham* says in that digression about hearing, *Rev.* 1. *pag.* 55. *in Quarto*, 'Seeing edification is 'God's gift, can it be expected but in his way, or can

'that

'that be accounted his way which he hath not warrant-'ed.'

VII. As we would not partake of their judgment in countenancing of their Administration of Ordinances, so we would keep ourselves free from all participation of their *sin*; for we must not be *Partakers* with any in *sin*, nor have *Fellowship* with the unfruitful works of darkness, that we must *reprove*, and that we find the Lord reproves and condemns, *Eph.* v. 7, 11. and not only Ministers in ordaining, but people in hearing, may be in hazard of *partaking of some mens sins*, who enter into the Ministry, 1 *Tim.* v. 22. we must keep at the greatest distance from sin: Hence if we cannot hear the Curates without partaking of their sin, then we must not hear them; but we cannot hear the Curates without partaking of their sin: Therefore we must not hear them. The *Minor* I prove. If hearing of them be a *Tessera* of our incorporation with them, a test of our submission to them, a badge of our compliance with them, and sign of our approbation of them, then we cannot hear them without partaking of their sin; but hearing of them is such: the *Major* cannot be denied, if Prelacy and conformity therewith be sin, as is in part proven above: for if these be sins, then we must not incorporate with, nor submit to them, nor comply with them, nor approve them. The *Minor* I prove by parts. 1. Hearing of Curates is a *Tessera* of our incorporation with them; for communion in sacred things doth infer an incorporation of the Communicants or Joiners in all cases, both in lawful and unlawful communions, 1 *Cor.* x. 17--20. All partakers of the bread are *one body*, and they which eat of the sacrifices are *partakers of the Altar*; and also they that partake of the sacrifice offered to *Devils*, though they do not offer it so themselves, yet they are incorporate, and have fellowship with Devils. And 2 *Cor.* vi. 14,---17. where they that do not *come out*, and are *separate* from unlawful Communions, are expostulated with, as making an unequally yoked *fellowship* between righteousness and unrighteousness, light and darkness, Christ and *Belial*, the Temple of God and Idols: Hence then, if we cannot partake of their sacred things, without partaking

taking of their Altar, and becoming one body with them and making such an unequally yoked Mixture with them then we must be separate; but the first is true from these places. This argument concludes with equal force, against joining with any deeply engaged in the gross Defections of the time. 2. Hearing of Curates is a *Test* of our *Submission* to them, and Compliance with them: for so it is required by Law, as the Acts themselves say, 'That a chearful concurrence, countenance, and assistance 'given to such Ministers, and attending all the ordinary 'Meetings for Divine Worship, is an evidence of a due 'acknowledgment of, and hearty compliance with his 'Majesty's Government Ecclesiastical and Civil, as now 'established by Law within this Kingdom, *Act of Parl. July* 10. 1663.' And themselves look on all such as obey this Act as their Friends. Hence, if this be sinful to submit to them, and comply with their Establishment, in obedience to a sinful Act of Parliament, then it is sinful to hear them; but the former is true, as hath been shown: *Therefore* ——. 3. Hence it follows, by native consequence, that hearing of Curates is a sign of our Approbation of them: for he that gives that which is required, and accepted, and interpreted as an evidence of a due acknowledgment, and of compliance with the Government Ecclesiastical, gives the sign of his Approbation of it; but the hearer of Curates does that in obedience to the Act, requiring, accepting, and expresly interpreting it so: therefore, *&c.*

VIII. As we would be free of their sin, in approving of, and complying with their Course; so we must endeavour to stand at the greatest distance from *all Appearance* of sin in ourselves, either by commission or omission, in which our joining with them in these circumstances would involve us. For we must abstain from *all appearance of evil*, 1 *Thess.* v. 22. and from every thing that circumstances may make sinful: for otherwise, suppose a thing might be materially lawful and not sinfully sinful, yet circumstances may make it sinful, and a countenancing it so circumstantiated, doth infer a communion in these circumstances that make it sinful. They that eat of the sacrifice are Partakers of the Altar, and if the

Altar

Altar be not of God's approbation, the thing offered, though otherwise lawful to be eaten, cannot justify the Eaters, so circumstantiated. An Idol is *nothing*, and that which is offered in sacrifice to Idols is *nothing*, yet they who eat of it, when they know it is so circumstantiated, have *fellowship with Devils*, 1 *Cor.* x. 18, 19, 20, 21. And it is called *Idolatry* comp. *vers.* 14. which provokes the Lord to jealousy, *vers.* 22. Especially when an action is so circumstantiated, that it would infer an omission of our duty, and a declining from or denying of our Testimony, then it is clearly sinful. For whosoever shall *deny* the Lord *before men*, him will he deny before his Father, *Matth.* x. 33. And we must *hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering*, *Heb.* x. 23. and *keep the word of his patience*, if we would be kept in the hour of tentation, and hold it fast that no man take our *Crown*, *Rev.* iii. 10, 11. 'All truth must be avowed, 'and practically avowed, on the greatest hazard: and 'as this Testimuny must be full, so must it be also con-'stant. It was *Demas's* shame, that the afflictions of the 'Gospel made him forsake the Apostle, after great ap-'pearances for Christ: and therefore whatever truth or 'duty is opposed, that becomes the special object of this 'Testimony.' *Rectius Instruend. Confut.* 3. *Dial. Chap.* 1. *Pag.* 18, 19. Hence, if hearing of the Curates would infer and involve us under the guilt both of commission of sin, and omission of duty, then we cannot hear them without sin; but the former is true: therefore also the latter. I prove the *Minor* by parts. *First*, That it would infer and involve us under the guilt of *Commission* of sin, All that is said above doth evince it; and besides, palpable breach of Covenant, hereafter to be charged and cleared: and *Idolatry* is a great sin of that nature; but the hearing of the Curates doth infer this. Which may be made out thus; The Breach of the Second Commandment is Idolatry, (for to make the sins against that command odious, they are all comprehended under that odious name of *worshipping Images*, as the sins against the Seventh are called *Adultery*, comprehending all unchast thoughts, words, and actions); hearing of Curates is a Breach of the Second Command: *Ergo*———.The

*Minor* I prove thus: Every worſhip, not according to Chriſt's appointment, is a Breach of the Second Commandment; but hearing of Curates is a worſhip not according to Chriſt's appointment. Which I prove thus: A worſhip enjoined by, and performed in obedience to a law, eſtabliſhing a human Ordinance in the Church, beſides and againſt the Inſtitution of Chriſt, is a worſhip not according to Chriſt's appointment; but the hearing of Curates is a worſhip enjoined by, and performed in obedience to a law eſtabliſhing a human Ordinance, to wit, *Dioceſan Eraſtian* Prelacy, with the Curates their Subſtitutes. Hence alſo the Second doth follow by neceſſary conſequence, that it would infer and involve us under the guilt of *Omiſſion* of duty. For, *firſt*, If reductively it may involve us under the guilt of Idolatry and Breach of the Second Commandment, then it will infer the guilt of Omiſſion of theſe neceſſary duties incumbent to the Lord's people with a reference to Idolatry; to make *no Covenant* with them nor with their gods, nor *let them dwell* in the land, leſt they make us ſin, *Exod.* xxiii. 32, 33. *Exod.* xxxiv. 14, 15. to overthrow their Altars, and break their pillars, and deſtroy the names of them out of the place, *Deut.* xii. 3. *Judg.* ii. 2. I do not adduce theſe precepts, to ſtretch them to the full meaſure of the demerit of the groſſeſt of Idolaters: for as there are degrees of breaches of the Commandment, ſome groſſer, ſome ſmaller, ſo there are alſo degrees of puniſhment, and as to the manner of deſtroying and extirpating all pieces of Idolatry: but that the commands being founded upon a Moral ground, *leſt they be ſins and ſnares* unto us, do oblige us to ſome endeavour of expelling, extirpating and overthrowing all pieces of Idolatry, according to the Word and our Covenants; 'and that the true and right zeal of God ſhould 'and would not only inſpire all with an unanimous a-'verſion againſt the profane intruding Curates, but a-'nimate us as one man to drive away theſe Wolves and 'Thieves, and to eradicate theſe plants which our hea-'venly Father never planted, *Napht. Prior edit. pag.* 108.' The leaſt duty that can be inferred is that of the Apoſtles, *Flee from Idolatry*, 1 *Cor.* x. 14. which Idolatry, there mentioned

mentioned to be avoided, is to eat of the ſacrifices offered to Idols: whence we infer, that if to eat of things conſecrated to Idols be Idolatry, then alſo to partake of ſacred things conſecrated by Idols muſt be Idolatry; as the Curates diſpenſing of Ordinances is conſecrated by, and hath all its ſanction from, an Idol of Dioceſan Eraſtian Prelacy; but we ſee the Apoſtle expreſſes the former: therefore we may infer the latter. *Further*, It will alſo infer a declining from, and denying a neceſſary *Teſtimony*, in the caſe circumſtantiated. Even the ſmalleſt matter is great, when a Teſtimony is concerned in it, were it but the circumſtance of an *open window*; *Daniel* durſt not omit it upon the greateſt hazard. And now this is clearly come to a *caſe of confeſſion*, 'when there is 'no other way to exoner our conſciences before God and 'the world, and declare our *Non-conformity* to this courſe 'of backſliding, no getting of wrongs redreſſed, or cor-'ruptions in the Miniſtry removed, but by this practice: 'and certainly ſome way we muſt give publick Teſti-'mony againſt theſe courſes, and there is no other way 'ſo harmleſs and innocent as this, though ſuffering fol-'low upon it, *Apol. Relat. Sect.* 14. 272, 273.' And now there is no other way apparent, whereby the difference ſhall be kept up betwixt ſuch as honeſtly mind the covenanted work of Reformation, and the corrupt Prelatical and Malignant enemies; but this argument alſo will infer the expediency of withdrawing from all Miniſters with whom our circumſtantiate joining would involve us in a participation with their defections.

IX. As we would endeavour to avoid ſin in ourſelves; ſo we muſt have a care to give no *Occaſion* of *others* ſinning, by our taking Liberty in a promiſcuous joining in Church-communion, whereby we may *offend* and ſtumble the Conſciences of others: for to that, in this as well as in other things, we muſt have a ſpecial reſpect, and forbear things, not only for our own unclearneſs, but for the ſake of *others* alſo. If therefore the hearing of Curates be a *Scandal*, we muſt refuſe it, be the hazard what will: for *whoſo ſhall offend one of* Chriſt's *little ones, it were better for him that a milſtone were hanged about his*

*neck*, Matth. xviii. 6. *No man* must *put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall in his brothers way.* Rom. xiv. 13. They that *sin* so *against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience*, they *sin against Christ*, 1 Cor. viii. 12. we must forbear some things for Conscience sake, *Conscience, I say, not our own, but of others, giving none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God*, 1 Cor. x. 28, 29, 32. and so *cut off all occasion from them that desire occasion*, 2 Cor. xi. 12. 'These 'Commands discharge whatever Practice gives occasion 'of our Brother's sinning, of calling Truth in question, 'of acting with a doubting conscience, or which weakens 'his Plerophory or Assurance; and neither the Lawfulness nor Indifferency of the thing itself, nor mens Authority commanding it, nor the weakness, yea, or 'wickedness of those in hazard to be stumbled, will 'warrant the doing of that out of which offence arises, '*Rectius Instruend. Confut.* 3. *Dial. chap.* 1. *p.* 19.' Mr. *Durham* in that forecited place saith, 'It carries offence 'along with it; in reference to the party who runs unsent, it proves a strengthening and confirming of him, 'and so a partaking of his sin; in reference to others, either strengthens them by that example, to cast themselves in that snare, which possibly may be their ruin; 'or it grieves them, and makes them sad, who are tender of such things, or gives occasion to make all difference of that kind to be thought light of.' Hence, if hearing of the Curates be an Offence or Scandal, both in reference to Malignants, and in reference to the Godly, and in reference to the Posterity, then it must be avoided; but the former is true: which is evidenced by parts. *First*, in reference to *Malignants*, it hardens and encourages them in their opposition to the work of God, and all Backsliders and Compliers with them in their Apostasy; this strengthens their hands in their wicked courses, when they see how they are countenanced by all, and that there is no disrespect put upon them, nor dissatisfaction evinced against their courses, then they conclude that they are approven of all: and this hardeneth them, so that they never once think of the evil of their ways. *Next*, in reference to the *Godly*, it stumbles the truly

truly tender, by encouraging them to do contrary to their light and conscience, even when they are not clear to hear them, then they are emboldened thereunto when they see others doing so; and so it tends to the wounding of their Peace, and makes them halt in the ways of the Lord. *Lastly*, with reference to *Posterity*, it would prejudge them very much: though now the honest party be nor in a capacity to transmit the work of Reformation unto their Posterity, in such a manner as were to be wished; yet they should do something for keeping fresh the memory of the good old Cause, by keeping up some foottsteps of a standing Controversy for *Zion*'s Interest against the common Enemy: but now let all join with, and own the Curates, what appearance of this shall the Posterity see? shall not they conclude that the day is lost, and the cause is gone, when they see that this generation hath fled the fields, or rather sold and betrayed the cause, by owning, countenancing, and complying with the enemy, and no standing Testimony against these corruptions? whereas if there were but this much of a standing difference, betwixt the People of God and the common Enemies of God, to be seen, Posterity shall in some measure be kept from being deceived, and shall see the Interest of Christ not killed nor buried quick, but living, though in a bleeding condition, and this will occasion their engaging for Christ, and interesting themselves in the quarrel; and it is far better to see the cause of Christ owned, though by suffering and blood, than sold and betrayed by base flenching and complying with Persecuters. This Argument may also found and infer a withdrawing from the *addressing* Ministers, who, to the great Scandal of Presbyterians, give forth their Addresses in the name of all of that Perswasion.

X. Our duty to themselves, yea our greatest office of *Love* we owe to them, in order to their conviction, does oblige us to withdraw from them. This may seem a Paradox, yet it will be apparent, if we search the Scriptures, to see what we owe to scandalous Brethren. There we find it is a duty, to endeavour by all lawful means to shame them out of their sin; and it is an argument of *Hatred*, when we do not *rebuke* our Neighbour, or

or when we suffer sin upon him, *Lev.* xix. 17. If we consider them then as neighbours and friends, we must use endeavours to take away their sin from them; if we consider them not as such, but as enemies, then we must avoid them, and not be mingled with them, as I could adduce many Scriptures for that. But I suppose all that will oppose my *Thesis*, would have them considered as friends. Well then, if they be scandalous Brethren, this is the way prescribed by the Apostle to deal with them, in order not to suffer sin upon them, that we should *withdraw* from them our company; and if we must withdraw our company, then also *a fortiori*, we must deny them our religious communion: for that must either be included there, or necessarily inferred. He writes, not to *keep company: If any man that is called a brother* (mark that specialty) *be a fornicator, or covetous, or an Idolater, or a railer, or an extortioner, with such an one no not to eat*, 1 Cor. v. 11. And I presume they that know them best, will grant, that it would not be hard to prove, that all the Curates in *Scotland* were chargeable with some of these, or at least partakers with them; and that if they were all impartially impannelled, they would be rare ones, whom an honest Jury would not bring in guilty of this libel. Then we are expresly commanded, *in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the received tradition. And if any man obey not the word, to note him, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed*, 2 Thes. iii. 6, 14. Sure neither their office nor their innocency can exempt them from these rules. For either they must be considered as our brethren, or not; if not, then we own no Church-communion with them; for that is only among brethren that are so in sympathy and affection, and affinity, having one father and one mother: if they be brethren, then all scandalous brethren are to be withdrawn from; but they are scandalous brethren: therefore they are to be withdrawn from. The *Minor* will not be doubted by any, but such as are strangers to them, who both in their ministerial and personal capacity are so scandalous to the conviction of all, that profaneness hath gone forth from them into all the Land,

Land, and they, as much as ever the profane ſons of *Eli*, have *made men* to *abhor the offering of the Lord*, 1 Sam. ii. 17. But even ſtrangers, that are unacquaint with their perſonal profligateneſs and ignorance, *&c.* cannot be altogether ignorant of the *Scandal* of *Prelacy* and *Eraſtianiſm*, in which they are all involved, of the ſcandal of Apoſtaſy, Perjury, and breach of Covenant, which is their brand, and the Nation's bane, that hath countenanced them. And none can doubt, but if our Church were duly conſtitute, and inveſted with the orderly power of Chriſt, and in capacity to exerce and improve it, they would ſoon be cenſured every ſoul of them as ſcandalous, as they have been alſo previouſly ſentenced as ſuch, by the Acts of our General Aſſemblies. This Argument levels alſo againſt all complying, *indulged*, *addreſſing* Miniſters, who by theſe courſes have incurred the character of diſorderly Brethren.

XI. Our faithfulneſs to God, and to one another, engaged in our Covenants, doth oblige us to turn away from them who have broken it, and ſo claſſed themſelves among theſe *Truce-breaking* Traitors, who make our times perilous, from whom we muſt *turn away*, 2 Tim. iii. 1,---5. It appears from the foregoing deduction, how ſolemnly theſe Nations were engaged, both to keep out and put out this Generation of Prelatiſts, now prevailing; the obligation of which yet lies upon all the inhabitants of the Land, with a binding force, both in regard of their form, and object and end. Hence, if the Curates be Covenant-breakers, and we alſo in owning them, then we cannot own them without ſin; but the Curates are Covenant-breakers, and we alſo in owning them: *Ergo* ——. The *Minor* may be manifeſt by an induction of all the *Articles* of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, broken by them, and all that own them. 1. That Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government in the 1ſt *Article*, ſworn to be preſerved and propagated, was the *Presbyterian* then eſtabliſhed, which our Church was in poſſeſſion of, which they have oppoſed, and their owners reſiled from, and have not maintained. 2. We are engaged in 2d *Article*, to endeavour the *extirpation of Prelacy*, and its dependents; which is diametrically oppoſite

poſite to owning of Curates: Can we own them whom we are bound to abhor? and ſubmit to them whom we are bound to extirpate? Surely this were to rebuild what we have deſtroyed, ſee *Napht. p.* 104. and ſince in relation to *Popery*, Hereſy and Schiſm, this Article obliges us to diſown, and not to hear Papiſts and Schiſmaticks, why not alſo in relation to Prelatiſts, who are the greateſt Schiſmaticks? 3. They have eſtabliſhed and homologated an *Eraſtian Supremacy*, to the prejudice of true Religion, and the Liberties of the Church and Kingdom; and their owners have abetted and countenanced the ſame, and not preſerved either the Liberties of Church or Kingdom, contrary to the 3d *Article.* 4. They have not only concealed and countenanced Malignant Enemies to this Church and Kingdom, but have themſelves been real incendiaries, hindering the reformation of Religion, making factions and parties among the people, contrary to this League and Covenant: and their hearers are ſo far from bringing them to *condign Puniſhment*, that they have ſtrengthened their hands in their avowed oppoſition to the Covenants, contrary to the 4th *Article.* 5. They have broken our *Conjunction* in firm peace and union, and yet their hearers have not marked and avoided theſe cauſers of Diviſions, contrary to Scripture, and the 5th *Article.* 6. Inſtead of *aſſiſting* and defending all theſe that entred into this League and Covenant, *&c.* they have been the greateſt Perſecuters of all them that adhered to it; and their owners have ſuffered themſelves, by combination or perſwaſion, or terror, to be *divided* and withdrawn from their ſuffering Brethren, and have made defection to the contrary part, and given themſelves to a deteſtable indifferency in this cauſe, contrary to the 6th *Article.* 7. Inſtead of humbling themſelves for their ſins, and going before others in the example of a real Reformation, they have obſtinately defended their breach of Covenant, and have been Patrons and Patterns of all deformations; and their owners and hearers have not repented of that neither, when they countenance ſuch Covenant-breakers and profane perſons, nor of their not labouring for the purity and power of the Goſpel, when they ſeek it from ſuch impure hands: neither do they go before

before others in Reformation, when they are such bad examples of defection, contrary to the conclusion of the Covenant. This Argument will also strike against hearing of such Ministers, that have made themselves guilty of the same, or equivalent breaches of Covenant.

XII. Finally, for *Union's* sake, and to avoid *Schism* in the body, we must withdraw from them. This may seem another Paradox; but it is apparent, if we consider, *That there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another*, 1 Cor. xii. 25. And that for to prevent and remeid this, the Apostle *beseeches* us to *mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them*, Rom. xvi. 17. Now then, if the Prelates and their Curates be *Schismaticks* and Separatists, and Dividers, then we must avoid and withdraw from them; but so it is, that the Prelates and their Curates are Schismaticks and Separatists, and Dividers: therefore we must avoid and withdraw from them. The *Minor* I prove from all the Constituents of a formed *Schism*, Separation and sinful division. 1. They that start out from under due relations to a Church, and from her Ministry, are Schismaticks, Separatists and Dividers; but the Prelates and their Curates have started out from under due relations to the covenanted Church of *Scotland*, and from her Ministry, in being so unnatural rebellious Children, as have broken their Mother's beauty and bands, order and union, and razed her covenanted Reformation in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government. 2. These who withdraw from the communion of a true Church, and therefore are censureable by all her standing Acts, are schismatical Separatists; but the Prelates and their Curates have withdrawn from the communion of the true Church of *Scotland*, and therefore are censureable by all her standing Acts, in that they have made a faction and combination repugnant to the communion of this Church, and all her established order. 3. Those who separate from a Church, whose principles and practices are subservient to that Church's true union and communion, and right establishment, are properly Schismaticks; but the Prelates and their Curates have separated

rated from this Church, whose principles and practices are subservient to its true union and communion, and right establishment: for they could never yet impeach or challenge any principle or practice, contrary to the word of God, or not subservient to true union and order, but their principles and practices are stated in opposition to her Purity and Reformation. 4. Those who innovate the Worship and Government, owned and established in a true Church, are Schismaticks; but the Prelates and their Curates have innovated the Worship and Government of the true Church of *Scotland*, in bringing a Doctrine new and odd, and not the voice of this Church; and their worship, over and above the corruption adhering to it, is the worshipping of an innovating party, contrary to our Church's established order. 5. They that make a rent in the bowels of the true and genuine Church, are the Schismaticks; but the Prelates and their Curates have made a rent in the bowels of this Church, and have caused all the divisions in this Church. 4. Those that divide themselves from the fellowship of a pure Church, either in her Ministry, lawful Courts and Ordinances, are the Schismaticks; but the Prelates and their Curates have divided themselves from the fellowship of this pure Church, in her Ministry, lawful Courts and Ordinances, in that they have caused the ejection of her Ministry, dissipation of her Assemblies, and subversion of her pure Ordinances. 7. Those that break union with such, to whom they were under obligations to adhere, are schismatical Dividers; but the Prelates and their Curates have broken union with such to whom they were under obligations to adhere, both from the antecedent morally obliging duty, and from the superadded obligation of the Covenants, neither could they ever pretend any thing that might loose the obligation. 8. That party in a reformed Church, which having overturned her Reformation, hath shut out, laid aside, and persecute away sound adherers thereunto, both Ministers and Professors, and will not admit Ministers to officiate, but upon the sinful terms of compliance with their way, are Schismaticks; but the Prelates and their Curates are that party in this reformed Church, which having overturned her Reformation,

mation, hath shut out, laid aside, and persecute away sound adherers thereunto, *&c:* therefore they are the Schismaticks to be withdrawn from, and their way is the Schism, which we are bound to extirpate in the Covenant.

## HEAD II.

### *The Sufferings of many for refusing to own the Tyrant's Authority vindicated.*

THE other grand Ordinance of God, *Magistracy*, which he hath in his Sovereign Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness, appointed, ordained, and consecrated, for the demonstration, illustration, and vindication of his own Glory, and the communication, conservation, and reparation of the peace, safety, order, liberty, and universal good of mankind, is next to that of the *Ministry* of greatest concern: wherein not only the prudence, policy, property, and liberty of men, but also the conscience, duty, and religion of Christians, have a special interest. And therefore it is no less important, pertinent, profitable, and necessary for every one that hath any of these to care and contend for, keep or recover, to inquire into and understand something of the institution, constitution, nature, and boundaries of the sacred Ordinances of *Magistracy*, than into the holy Ordinance of the Ministry; so far at least as may consist with the sphere of every one's capacity and station, and may conduce to the satisfaction of every one's conscience, in the discharge of the duties of their relations. Every private man indeed hath neither capacity, concern, nor necessity, to study the *Politicks*, or search into the secrets, or *Intrigues* of Government, no more than he is to be versed in all the Administrations of Ecclesiastical Policy, and Interests of the Ministry; yet every man's *Conscience* is no less concerned, in distinguishing the character of God's Ministers of Justice, the *Magistrates*, to whom he owes and owns allegiance, that they be not usurping *Tyrants*, everting

everting the Ordinance of the *Magistracy*, than in acknowledging the character of Christ's Ministers of the Gospel, to whom he owes and owns obedience, that they be not usurping *Prelates* or Impostors, perverting the Ordinance of the *Ministry*. The Glory of God is much concerned, in our owning and keeping pure and intire, according to his Will and Word, both these Ordinances. And our *Conscience* as well as *Interest* is concerned in the advantage or hurt, profit or prejudice, of the right, or wrong, observation or prevarication, of both these Ordinances; being interested in the advantage of *Magistracy*, and hurt of *Tyranny* in the *State*, as well as in the advantage of the *Ministry*, and hurt of Diocesan, or Erastian *Supremacy* in the *Church*; in the advantageof *Liberty*, and hurt of *Slavery* in the State, as well as in the advantage of *Religion*, and hurt of *Profaneness* in the Church; in the profit of *Laws*, and prejudice of *Prerogative* in the State, as well as in the profit of *Truth*, and prejudice of *Error* in the Church; in the profit of *Peace* and true Loyalty, and prejudice of oppression and rebellion in the State, as well as in the profit of *Purity* and Unity, and prejudice of Defection and Division or Schism, in the Church. So that in conscience, we are no more free to prostitute our loyalty and liberty *absolutely*, in owning every Possessor of the Magistracy; than we are free to prostitute our religion and faith *implicitely*, in owning every Pretender to the Ministry. This may seem very Paradoxical to some, because so dissonant and dissentient from the vulgar, yea almost universal and inveterate opinion and practice of the world, that hitherto hath not been so precise in the matter of *Magistracy*. And it may seem yet more strange, that not only some should be found to assert this; but that any should be found so strict and strait-laced, as to adventure upon suffering, and even to death, for that which hath hitherto been seldom scrupled, by any that were forced to subjection under a yoke, which they had no force to shake off, and wherein religion seems little or nothing concerned; for not owning the authority of the present Possessors of the place of Government: which seems to be a Question not only excentrick and extrinsick

ſick to religion, but ſuch *a State-Queſtion*, as for its thorny Intricacies and Difficulties, is more proper for *Politicians* and Lawyers to diſpute about, (as indeed their debates about this head of authority, have been as manifold and multiplied as about any one thing), than for private *Chriſtians* to ſearch into, and ſuffer for, as a part of their Teſtimony. But if we will caſt off prejudices, and the Tyranny of cuſtom, and the bondage of being bound to the world's mind in our inquiries about *Tyranny*, and ſuffer ourſelves to ponder impartially the importance of this matter; and then to ſtate the queſtion right; we ſhall find religion and conſcience hath no ſmall intereſt in this buſineſs. They muſt have no ſmall intereſt in it, if we conſider the importance of this matter, either extenſively, or objectively, or ſubjectively. *Extenſively* conſidered, it is the intereſt of all mankind to know and be reſolved in conſcience, whether the Goverment they are under be of God's Ordination, or of the Devil's adminiſtration? Whether it be Magiſtracy or Tyranny? Whether it gives ſecurity for religion and liberty, to themſelves and their poſterity? Or whether it induces upon themſelves, and entails upon the poſterity, ſlavery as to both theſe invaluable intereſts? Whether they have matter of praiſe to God for the bleſſings and mercies of *Magiſtracy*, or matter of mourning for the plagues and miſeries of *Tyranny*, to the end they may know both the ſins and ſnares, duties and dangers, caſe and *Criſis*, of the times they live in? All men, that ever enjoyed the mercy of a right conſtitute Magiſtracy, have experienced, and were bound to bleſs God for the bleſſed fruits of it: and, on the other hand, the world is full of the tragical monuments of *Tyranny*, for which men were bound both to ſearch into the cauſes, and ſee the effects of ſuch plagues from the Lord, to the end they might mourn over both. And from the beginning it hath been obſerved, that as peoples ſins have always procured the ſcourge of *Tyranny*; ſo all their miſeries might be refounded upon *Tyrants* encroachments, uſurping upon or betraying their truſt, and overturning religion, laws and liberties. Certainly mankind is concerned in point of intereſt and conſcience, to inquire into the cauſe and cure

of

of this *Epidemick* distemper, that hath so long held the world in misery, and so habitually, that now it is become, as it were, natural to ly stupidly under it; that is, that old ingrained Gangrene of the *King's Evil*, or compliance with Tyranny; that hath long afflicted the kingdoms of the world, and affected not only their *backs* in bearing the burden thereof; but their *hearts* into a Lethargick stupor of insensibleness, and their heads in infatuating and intoxicating them with notions of the sacredness and uncontroulableness of Tyranny; and their *hands* in infeebling and fettering them from all attempts to work a cure: or else it hath had another effect on many that have been sensible of a touch of it; even equivalent to that, which an ingenious Author, Mr. *Gee*, in his Preface to the *Divine right and Original of the Civil Magistrate*, (to which Mr. *Durham* is not absonant), expounds to be the effect of the *Fourth Vial*, *Rev.* xvi. 8, 9. when in these *Dog-days* of the world, power is given to the *Sun* of Imperial, especially Popish, *Tyranny*, by their exorbitant stretches of absolute Prerogative, to *scorch men with fire* of furious oppressions, they then *blaspheme the Name of God which hath power over these Plagues*, in their Male-content complaints, grumblings, grudgings, and murmurings under the misery, but they do not repent, nor give him Glory, in mourning over the causes promeriting such a Plague, and their own accession in exposing themselves to such a scorching sun, nakedly without a sconce. Certainly this would be the remedy that conscience would suggest, and interest would incite to, an endeavour either of allaying the heat, or of subtracting from it under a shelter, by declining the oblique malignity of its scorching rays. But will the world never be awakened out of this dream and dotage, of dull and stupid subjection to every monster that can mount a Throne? Sure at length it may be expected, either *Conscience* from within as God's deputy, challenging for the palpable perversion of this His excellent Ordinance, or *Judgments* from without, making sensible of the effects of it, will convince and confute these old inveterate prejudices. And then these *Martyrs* for that universal interest of mankind, who got the fore-start and the first sight of this, will

will not be so flouted as fools, as now they are. And who knoweth, what prelude or preparative, fore-boding and presaging the downfal of Tyranny, may be in its aspirings to this height of arbitrary *Absoluteness*, and in the many questions raised about it, and by them imposed upon consciences to be resolved. If we consider the *Object* of this question; as conscience can only clear it, so in nothing can it be more concerned. It is that great *Ordinance* of God, most signally impressed by a very sacred and illustrious Character of the Glorious Majesty of the Most High, who hath appointed Magistracy; in which, considering either its fountain, or dignity, ends, or effects, conscience must have a very great concern. The *Fountain* or efficient cause of Magistracy, is high and sublime, *The powers that are, be of God*, not only by the all-disposing hand of God in his *Providence*, as Tyranny is, nor only by way of naked *Approbation*, but by Divine *Institution*; and that not only in the general, by at least a secondary law of nature, but also the special investiture of it, in institution and constitution, is from God; and therefore they are said to be *ordained of God*, to which Ordinance we must be subject, *not only for wrath, but also for Conscience sake:* which is the great duty required in the *Fifth Command*, the First Commandment with promise; that hath the priority of place before all the Second Table, because the other Commandments respect each some one interest, this hath a supereminent influence upon all. But Tyrannical powers are not of God in this sense. And it were blasphemy to assert they were of the Lord's authorization, conscience cannot bind to a subjection to this. Again, the *Dignity* of Magistracy, ordained for the maintenance of truth and righteousness, the only foundation of peoples felicity, whether temporal or eternal, including the bonds and boundaries of all Obedience and subjection, for which they are intended, and to which they refer, is *supereminent*; as that Epithet of *higher* added to the *Powers* that are *of God*, may be rendered; making them high and sublime in Glory, whose highest Prerogative is, That, being God's Ministers, they sit in the *Throne of God*, anointed of the Lord; judging not for man, but for the Lord,

Lord, as the Scripture ſpeaks. To this conſcience is concerned in duty to render honour as due, by the preſcript of the Fifth Commandment; but for Tyranny, conſcience is bound to deny it, becauſe not due, no more than obedience, which conſcience dare not pay to a throne of iniquity, and a throne of the Devil, as Tyranny may be called as really, as Magiſtracy is called the Throne of God. Next, Conſcience is much concerned in the *Ends* of Magiſtracy, which are the greateſt, the Glory of God, and the good of mankind. And, in the *Effects* of it, the maintenance of truth, righteouſneſs, religion, liberty, peace, and ſafety, and all choiceſt external bleſſings; but the ends and effects of Tyranny are quite contrary, domineering for pleaſure, and deſtroying for profit. Can we think that conſcience is nothing concerned here, that theſe great ends ſhall be ſubverted, and the effects precluded; and to that effect, that Tyranny not only be ſhrewded under a privilege of impunity, but by our ſubjection and acknowledgement of it, as a lawful power, encouraged into all enormities, and licenſed to uſurp, not only our liberties, but God's Throne by an uncontroulable Sovereignty? But if we conſider the *ſubjective* concern of conſcience, it muſt be very great; when it is the only thing that prompts to ſubjection, that regulates ſubjection, and is a bottom for ſubjection to lawful powers. If it were not out of conſcience, men that are free born are naturally ſuch lovers of liberty, and under corruption ſuch luſters after licentiouſneſs, that they would never come under the order of this Ordinance, except conſtrained for wrath's ſake: but now, underſtanding that they that reſiſt the power, reſiſt the *Ordinance* of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves *Damnation*, they muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for *Conſcience* ſake. If conſcience were not exerciſed in regulating our duty to Magiſtrates, we would either obey none, or elſe would obſerve all their commands promiſcuouſly, lawful or unlawful, and would make no difference either of the matter commanded, or the power commanding: but now, underſtanding that we muſt obey God rather than man, and that we muſt *render to all their dues, fear to whom fear,*

*fear, honour to whom honour*, conſcience regulates us what and whom to obey. And without conſcience there is little hope for government to prove either beneficial or permanent; little likelihood of either a real, regular, or durable ſubjection to it. The decernible ſtanding of government upon conſcientious grounds, is the only thing that can bring in conſcience, and a conſcientious ſubmiſſion to it; it being the higheſt and moſt kindly principle of, and the ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting obligation to, any relative duty. It will not be *Liberty of Conſcience*, (as ſaith the late *Declaration* for it) but *reality of* Conſcience, and government founded upon a bottom of Conſcience, that *will unite the Governed to the Governors, by inclination as well as duty*. And if that be, then there is needful a rule of God's revealed preceptive will, (the only *Cynoſure* and Empreſs of conſcience), touching the founding and erecting of government, that it have the ſtamp of God's Authority. It muſt needs then follow, that conſcience hath a very great concernment in this queſtion in the general, and that, before it be forced to an abandoning of its light in a matter of ſuch moment, it will rather oblige people that are conſcientious to ſuffer the worſt that Tyrants can do; eſpecially when it is impoſed and obtruded upon conſcience, to give its ſuffrage and expreſs acknowledgement that the preſent *Tyranny* is the *Authority* of God, which is ſo viſible in the view of all that have their eyes open, that the meaneſt capacity that was never converſant in laws and politicks can give this verdict that the conſtitution and adminiſtration of the government of the two *Royal Brothers*, under whoſe burden the earth and we have been groaning theſe twenty ſeven years paſt, hath been a compleat and habitual Tyranny, and can no more be owned to be Magiſtracy, than robbery can be acknowledged to be a rightful poſſeſſion. It is ſo plain, that I need not the help of Lawyers and Politicians to demonſtrate it, nor launch into the ocean of their endleſs debates in handling the head of Magiſtracy and Tyranny: yet I ſhall improve what help I find in our moſt approved Authors who have enlarged upon this queſtion, (though not as I muſt ſtate it), to dilucidate the matter in *Theſes*, and refer to

the foregoing deduction of the succession of Testimonies against Tyranny, to clear it in *Hypothesi*. Whence we may see the occasion, and clearly gather the solution of the Question, which is this:

*Whether a people, long oppressed with the encroachments of Tyrants and Usurpers, may disown their pretended Authority; and, when imposed upon, to acknowledge it, may rather choose to suffer than to own it?*

To clear this question: I shall first premit some *concessions*, and then come more formally to resolve it.

I. It must be granted the question is *extraordinary*, and never so stated by any Writer on this head; which makes it the more difficult and odious, because odd and singular, in the esteem of those who take up opinions rather from the *Number* of *Votes* than from the weight of the reasons of the Asserters of them. It will also be yielded, that this was never a *Case of Confession* for Christians to suffer upon. And the reason of both is, because, before these seven years past, this was never imposed upon private and common subjects to give an account of their thoughts and conscience about the lawfulness of the government they lived under. Conquerors and Usurpers sometimes have demanded an acknowledgement of their authority, from men of greatest note and stroke in the countries they have seized; but they never since the creation urged it upon common people, as a test of Loyalty; but thought always their laws and power to execute them on Offenders, did secure their subjection. Or otherwise to what purpose are laws made, and the execution of them committed to men in power, if they be not thought a sufficient fence for the authority that makes them; except it also have the actual acknowledgement of the subjects to ratify it? Men that are really invested with authority, would think it both a disparagement to their authority, and would disdain such a suspicion of the questionableness of it, as to put it as a question to the subjects, whether they owned it or not. But the Gentlemen that rule us, have fallen upon a piece of unprecedented policy; wherein they think both to involve the nation in the guilt of their unparalelled rebellion against the Lord, by owning that authority that pro-

promotes it; and so secure their usurpations, either by the suffrage of all that own them, or by the extirpation of the conscientious that dare not, with the odium and obloquy of being enemies to authority; by which trick they think to bury the honour of their Testimony. Yet in sobriety without propheſying it may be presumed, at the long run, this project will prove very prejudicial to their interest: and herein they may verify that *Scots* proverb, *o'er fast o'er loose*, and accomplish these Divine sayings, *He disappointeth the devices of the Crafty, he taketh the Wise in their own Craftiness, and the Counsel* of the froward is *carried headlong*. For as they have put people upon this question, who would not otherwise have made such inquiries into it; and now finding they must be resolved in conscience to answer it, whenever they shall be brought before them; upon a very overly search, they see terrible *Tyranny* written in legible bloody characters almost on all administrations of the government, and so come to be fixed in the verdict that their conscience and the word of God gives of it; so it may be thought, this question now started, for as despicable beginnings it hath, yet ere it come to a full and final decision, will be more enquired into through the world, and at length prove as fatal to Tyranny, as ever any thing could be, and then they may know whom to thank. But however, though the question be extraordinary, and the sufferings thereupon be unprecedented; and therefore, among other contradictions that may be objected, that neither in History nor Scripture we can find instances of private people their refusing to own the authority they were under, nor of their suffering for that refusal; yet nevertheless it may be duty without example. Many things may be done, though not against the law of God, yet without a precedent of the practice of the people of God. Though we could not adduce an example for it, yet we can gather it from the law of God, that Tyranny must not be owned, this will be equivalent to a thousand examples. Every age in some things must be a precedent to the following, and I think never did any age produce a more honourable precedent, than this beginning to decline a yoke under which all ages have groaned.

2. It will be also granted, it is not always indispensibly necessary, at all times, for a people to declare their disclaim of the Tyranny they are under, when they cannot shake it off; nor, when they are staged for their duty before wicked and tyrannical judges, is it always necessary to disown their pretended authority positively; when either they are not urged with questions about it, then they may be silent in reference to that; or when they are imposed upon to give their judgment of it, they are not always obliged, as in a *Case of Confession*, to declare all their mind, especially when such questions are put to them with a manifest design to entrap their lives, or intangle their conscience. All truth is not to be told at all times; neither are all questions to be answered when impertinently interrogate, but may be both cautiously and conscientiously waved. We have Christ's own practice, and his faithful servant *Paul's* example, for a pattern of such prudence and Christian caution. But yet it were cruel and unchristian rigour, to censure such as, out of a pious principle of zeal to God and conscience of duty, do freely and positively declare their judgment, in an absolute disowning of their pretended authority, when posed with such questions, though to the manifest detriment of their lives, they conscientiously looking upon it as a case of confession. For where the Lord hath not peremptorily astricted his Confessors to such rules of prudence, but hath both promised, and usually gives his Spirit's conduct, encouraging and animating them to boldness, so as before hand they should not take thought how or what they shall speak, and in that same hour they find it given them, it were presumption for us to stint them to our rules of prudence. We may indeed find rules to know, what is a case of confession; but hardly can it be determined, what truth or duty we are questioned about is not, or may not be, a case of confession. And who can deny, but this may be in some circumstances a case of confession, even positively to disown the pretended authority of a bloody court or council? when either they go out of their sphere, taking upon them Christ's supremacy, and the cognizance of the concerns of his crown, whereof they are judges noways com-

competent; then they must freely and faithfully be declined. Or when, to the dishonour of Christ, they blaspheme his authority, and the sacred boundaries he hath prescribed to all human authority, and will assert an illimited *absolute* authority, refusing and discharging all offered Legal and Scriptural restrictions to be put thereupon, (as hath been the case of the most part of these worthy, though poor Martyrs, who have died upon this head) then they must think themselves bound to disown it. Or when they have done some cruel indignity and despight to the Spirit of God, and to Christ his Prerogative and Glory, and work of Reformation, and people, in murdering them without mercy, and imposing this owning of their King, by whose authority all is acted, as a condemnation of these Witnesses of Christ their Testimony, and a justification of their bloody cruelties against them, which hath frequently been the case of these poor people that have been staged upon this account: in this case, and several others of this sort that might be mentioned, then they may be free and positive in disowning this test of wicked Loyalty, as the *Mark* of the *Dragon* of the secular beast of Tyranny. And in many such cases, when the Lord gives the spirit, I see no reason but that Christ's Witnesses must follow his Pattern of *Zeal* in the case of confession, which he witnessed before *Pontius Pilate* in asserting his own Kingship, as they may in other cases follow his Pattern of *Prudence*. And why may we not imitate the Zeal of *Stephen*, who called the Council before whom he was staged *stiff necked Resisters of the Holy Ghost*, Persecuters of the Prophets, and Betrayers and Murderers of Christ the just One, as well as the Prudence of *Paul*? But, however it be, the present Testimony against this pretended authority lies in the *Negative*, which obliges always, *for ever* and *for ever*; that is to say, we plead, that it must *never be owned*. There is a great difference between a positive *Disowning* and a *not Owning*; though the first be not always necessary, the latter is the Testimony of the day, and a negative case of confession, which is always clearer than the positive. Though we must not always confess every truth, yet we must never deny any.

3. It

3. It is confeſſed, we are under this ſad diſadvantage beſides others, that not only all our Brethren, groaning under the ſame yoke with us, will not take the ſame way of declining this pretended authority, nor adventure, when called, to declare their judgment about it, (which we do not condemn, as is ſaid, and would expect from the rules of equity and charity, they will not condemn us, when we find ourſelves in conſcience bound to uſe greater freedom) but alſo ſome when they do declare their judgment, give it in terms condemnatory of, and contradictory unto our Teſtimony, in that they have freedom poſitively to own this Tyranny as Authority, and the Tyrant as their lawful Sovereign: and many of our Miniſters alſo are of the ſame mind. And further, as we have few expreſly aſſerting our part of the debate, as it is now ſtated; ſo we have many famous and learned Divines expreſly againſt us in this point, as eſpecially we find in their Comments upon *Rom.* xiii. among whom I cannot diſſemble my ſorrow to find the great *Calvin*, ſaying, *Sæpe ſolent inquirere, &c.* 'Men often enquire, by 'what right they have obtained their power who have 'the rule! it ſhould be enough to us that they do go-'vern; for they have not aſcended to this eminency by 'their own power, but are impoſed by the hand of the 'Lord.' As alſo *Pareus* ſaying too much againſt us. For anſwer to this, I refer to Mr. *Knox* his reply to *Lethington*, producing ſeveral Teſtimonies of Divines againſt him upon this very ſame head; wherein he ſhews, that the occaſions of their Diſcourſes and Circumſtances wherein they were ſtated, were very far different from thoſe that have to do with Tyrants and Uſurpers, as indeed they that are moſt concerned, and ſmart moſt under their ſcourge, are in beſt caſe to ſpeak to the purpoſe. I ſhall only ſay, mens averment, in a caſe of Conſcience, is not an oracle, when we look upon it with an impartial eye, in the caſe wherein we are not prepoſſeſſed: it will bear no other value, than what is allayed with the imperfections of fallibility; and moreover is contradicted by ſome others, whoſe Teſtimony will help us as much to confirm our perſuaſion, as others will hurt us to infirm it.

4. But now when Tyrants go for Magiſtrates, leſt my plea

plea againſt owning Tyranny, ſhould be miſtaken, as if it were a pleading for Anarchy, I muſt aſſert, that I and all thoſe I am vindicating, are for Magiſtracy, as being of Divine Original, inſtitute for the common good of human and Chriſtian Societies, whereunto *every Soul* muſt be ſubject, of whatſoever quality or character, and not only for wrath but alſo for conſcience ſake (though as to our ſoul and conſcience, we are not ſubject) *which whoſoever reſiſteth, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God*, and againſt which Rebellion is a damnable ſin, whereunto (according to the fifth Commandment, and the many reiterated exhortations of the Apoſtles) we muſt be ſubject, and obey Magiſtrates, and *ſubmit ourſelves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be unto the King as Supreme*, &c. And we account it a hateful brand of them *that walk after the fleſh*, to *deſpiſe Government*, to be *preſumptuous, ſelf-willed, and not afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities*; and that *they are filthy dreamers, who deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities, and of thoſe things which they know not.* We allow the Magiſtrate, in whatſoever form of Government, all the power the Scripture, Laws of Nature or Nations, or Municipal do allow him; aſſerting, that he is the keeper and avenger of both the Tables of the Law, having a power over the Church, as well as the State, ſuited to his capacity, that is, not *formally* Eccleſiaſtical, but *objectively*, for the Church's good; an *external* power, of providing for the Church, and protecting her from outward violence, or inward diſorder, an *imperate* power, of commanding all to do their reſpective duties; a *civil* power of puniſhing all, even Church-officers, for crimes; a *ſecondary* power of judicial approbation or condemnation; or diſcretive, in order to give his ſanction to ſynodical Reſults; a *cumulative* power, aſſiſting and ſtrengthening the Church in all her privileges, ſubſervient, though not ſervile, co-ordinate with Church-power, not ſubordinate (though as a Chriſtian he is ſubject) in his own affairs, to wit, Civil; not to be declined as Judge, but to be obeyed in all things lawful, and honoured and ſtrengthened with all his dues. We would give unto *Ceſar* the things that are *Ceſar's*, and to God the things that are God's; but

but to *Tyrants*, that usurp and pervert both the things of God and of *Cesar*, and of the peoples liberties, we can render none of them, neither God's, nor *Cesar's*, nor our own: nor can we from conscience give him any other deference, but as an enemy to all, even to God, to *Cesar*, and the people. And in this, though it doth not sound now with Court-parasites, nor with others that are infected with royal *Indulgencies* and *Indemnities*, we bring forth but the transumpt of old principles, according to which our fathers walked when they still contended for Religion and Liberty, against the attemptings and aggressions of Tyranny, against both.

5. It must be conceded, it is not an easy thing to make a man in the place of Magistracy a Tyrant: for as every escape, error, or act of unfaithfulness, even known and continued in, whether in a Minister's entry to the Ministry, or in his Doctrine, doth not unminister him, nor give sufficient ground to withdraw from him, or reject him as a Minister of Christ: so neither does every enormity, misdemeanour, or act of Tyranny, injustice, perfidy, or profanity in the Civil Magistrate, whether as to his way of entry to that office, or in the execution of it, or in his private or personal behaviour, denominate him a Tyrant or an Usurper, or give sufficient ground to divest him of magistratical power, and reject him as the lawful Magistrate. It is not any one or two Acts contrary to the royal Covenant or Office, that doth denude a man of the royal Dignity, that God and the People gave him. *David* committed two acts of Tyranny, *Murder* and *Adultery*; yet the people were to acknowledge him as their King (and so it may be said of some others, owned still as Kings in Scripture) the reason is, because though he sinned against a man or some particular persons, yet he did not sin against the State, and the catholick Good of the Kingdom, subverting Law; for then he would have turned Tyrant, and ceased to have been lawful King. There is a great difference between a Tyrant in *act*, and a Tyrant in *habit*; the first does not cease to be a King. But on the other hand, as every thing will not make a Magistrate to be a Tyrant; so nothing will make a Tyrant *by habit* a

Magi-

Magistrate. And as every fault will not unminister a Minister; so some will oblige the people to reject his Ministry, as if he turn heretical, and preach Atheism, *Mahometanism*, or the like, the people, though they could not formally depose him, or through the corruption of the times could not get him deposed; yet they might reject and disown his Ministry: so it will be granted, that a people have more power in creating a Magistrate, than in making a Minister; and consequently they have more right, and may have more light in disowning a King, as being unkinged; than in disowning a Minister, as being unministred. It will be necessary therefore, for clearing our way, to fix upon some ordinary characters of a Tyrant, which may discriminate him from a Magistrate, and be ground of disowning him as such. I shall rehearse some, from very much approved Authors; the application of which will be as apposite to the *two Brothers*, that we have been burdened with, as if they had intended a particular and exact description of them. *Buchanan de jure regni apud Scotos*, shews, 'That the word *Tyrant* was at first honourable, being attributed to them that had the full 'power in their hands, which power was not astricted 'by any bonds of Laws, nor obnoxious to the cognition 'of Judges; and that it was the usual denomination of '*Heroes*, and thought at first so honourable, that it was 'attributed to the *gods:* but as *Nero* and *Judas* were 'sometimes among the *Romans* and *Jews* names of greatest account, but afterwards by the faults of two men 'of these names, it came to pass, that the most flagitious would not have these names given to their Children, 'so in process of time, Rulers made this name so infamous by their wicked deeds, that all men abhorred it, 'as contagious and pestilentious, and thought it a more 'light reproach to be called a hangman than a Tyrant.' Thereafter he condescends upon several characters of a Tyrant. '1. He that doth not receive a Government 'by the will of the people, but by force invadeth it, or '*intercepteth* it by fraud, is a Tyrant; and who domineers even over the unwilling (for *a King rules by Consent, but a Tyrant by Constraint*) and procures the supreme

'Rule

'Rule without the peoples Consent, even though for se-
'veral years they may so govern, that the people shall
'not think it irksome.' Which very well agrees with the present Gentleman that rules over us, who, after he was by publick vote in Parliament secluded from the Government, of which the standing Laws of both Kingdoms made him incapable for his Murders, Adulteries and Idolatries, by force and fraud did intercept first an *Act* for his Succession in *Scotland*, and then the actual Succession in *England*, by blood and treachery, usurping and intruding himself into the Government, without any compact with, or consent of the people; though now he studies to make himself like another *Syracusan Hiero*, or the *Florentine Cosmo de Medices*, in a mild moderation of his usurped power; but the *West* of *England*, and the *West* of *Scotland* both, have felt the force of it. 2. *He does not govern for the subjects welfare, or publick utility, but for himself, having no regard to that, but to his own lust*; 'acting in this like robbers, who cunningly dis-
'posing of what wickedly they have acquired, do seek
'the praise of Justice by injury, and of Liberality by
'robbery; so he can make some shew of a civil Mind;
'but so much the less assurance gives he of it, that it is
'manifest, he intends not thereby the subjects good, but
'the greater security of his own lusts, and stability of
'empire over posterity, having somewhat mitigated the
'peoples hatred, which when he hath done, he will
'turn back again to his old manners; for the fruit which
'is to follow, may easily be known, both by the seed,
'and by the sower thereof.' An exact copy of this we have seen within these two years, as oft before in the rule of the other brother. After God hath been robbed of his Prerogatives, the Church of her Privileges, the State of its Laws, the Subjects of their Liberty and Property, he is now affecting the praise, and captating the applause of tenderness to conscience, and love of Peace, by offering now *Liberty* after all his *Cruelties*; wherein all the thinking part of men do discern he is prosecuting that hellish Project, introducing Popery and Slavery, and overturning Religion, Law and Liberty. 3. *The Kingly Government is according to Nature, the Tyrannical*

*against*

*againſt it*; *Principality is the kingly Government of a Freeman amongſt Freemen*; *the Tyrannical a Government of a Maſter over Slaves.* Tyranny is againſt Nature, and a maſterly Principality over Slaves. Can he be called a father, who accounts his ſubjects ſlaves? or a ſhepherd, who does not feed, but devours his flock? or a Pilot, who doth always ſtudy to make ſhipwrack of the goods, and ſtrikes a leak in the very ſhip where he ſails? What is he then that bears command, not for the peoples advantage, but ſtudies only himſelf, who leadeth his ſubjects into manifeſt ſnares? He ſhall not verily be accounted by me either Commander, Emperor or Governor.' King *James* VI. alſo, in a ſpeech to the Parliament in the year 1609, makes this one character of a Tyrant, *when he begins to invade his Subjects Rights and Liberties.* And if this be true, then we have not had a King theſe many years: the foregoing deduction will demonſtrate, what a ſlavery we have been under. 4. *What is he then, who doth not contend for virtue with the good, but to exceed the moſt flagitious in vices?* 'If you ſee then any uſurping the royal Name, and not excelling in any virtue, but ſtriving to exceed all in baſeneſs, not tendering his ſubjects good with native affection, but preſſing them with proud domination, eſteeming the people committed to his truſt, not for their ſafeguard, but for his own gain; will you imagine this man is truly a King, albeit he vapours with a numerous Levee-guard, and makes an oſtentation of gorgeous Pomp?' The learned *Althuſius* likewiſe in his *Politicks*, *Chap.* 38. *Num.* 15. (as he is cited by *Jus Populi*, *Chap.* 16. *p.* 347.) makes this one character of a Tyrant, that 'living in Luxury, Whoredom, Greed and Idleneſs, he neglecteth, or is unfit for his Office.' How theſe ſuit our times we need not expreſs; what effrontry of impudence is it, for ſuch monſters to pretend to rule by virtue of any Authority derived from God, who pollute the world with their Adulteries and Inceſts, and live in open defiance of all the Laws of the univerſal King; with whom to exceed in all villanies is the way to purchaſe the countenance of the Court, and to aſpire to preferment? No *Heliogabaldus*, &c. could ever come up the length in wicked-

wickedneſs, that our Rulers have profeſſed. 5. *He can transfer unto himſelf the ſtrength of all Laws, and abrogate them when he pleaſes.* King *James* VI. in that forecited ſpeech ſaith, *A King degenerateth into a Tyrant, when he leaveth to rule by Law. Althuſius* alſo, *in the forecited place*, ſaith, 'There is one kind of Tyranny, which 'conſiſteth in violating, changing, or removing of fun-'damental Laws, ſpecially ſuch as concern Religion; 'ſuch, ſaith he, *Philip* the King of *Spain*, who, contra-'ry to the fundamental *Belgick* Laws, did erect an ad-'miniſtration of Juſtice by force of arms; and ſuch was '*Charles* IX. of *France*, that thought to overturn the *Sa-'lick* Law.' All that knoweth what hath been done in *Britain* theſe 27 years, can atteſt our Laws have been ſubverted, the Reformation of Religion overturned, and all our beſt Laws reſcinded; and now the *penal Statutes* againſt Papiſts diſabled and ſtopped, without and againſt Law. 6. *He can revoke all things to his nod, at his pleaſure.* This is alſo one part of King *James* VI. his character of a Tyrant, *when he ſets up an arbitrary power*; and of *Althuſius, in the forecited place*, 'when he makes uſe 'of an *abſolute Power*, and ſo breaks all bonds for the 'good of human Society.' We allow a King an abſolute power, taken in a good ſenſe, that is, he is not ſubaltern, nor ſubordinate to any other Prince, but ſupreme in his own dominions: or if by *abſolute* be meant *perfect*, he is moſt abſolute that governs beſt, according to the word of God; but if it be to be *looſed from all Laws*, we think it blaſphemy to aſcribe it to any Creature. Where was there ever ſuch an arbitrary and abſolute power arrogated by any mortal, as hath been claimed by our Rulers theſe years paſt? eſpecially by the preſent Uſurper, who, in this Liberty of Conſcience now granted to *Scotland*, aſſumes to himſelf an *abſolute power, which all are to obey without reſerve*, which carries the ſubjects ſlavery many ſtages beyond what ever the *Grand Seignior* did attempt. 7. *For by a Tyrant ſtrangers are imployed to oppreſs the Subjects:* 'they place the eſtabliſhment of their 'Authority in the peoples weakneſs, and think that a 'Kingdom is not a Procuration concredited to them by 'God, but rather a prey fallen into their hands; ſuch

are

'are not joined to us by any civil Bond, or any bond of 'humanity, but should be accounted the most capital e-'nemies of God, and of all men.' King *James*, as above, says, *He is a Tyrant that imposes unlawful Taxes, raises Forces, makes War upon his Subjects, to pillage, plunder, waste, and spoil his Kingdoms.* *Althusius*, as above, 'makes a Tyrant, who by immoderate exactions, and 'the like, exhausts the subjects, and cites Scripture, *Jer.* 'xxii. 13, 14. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 1 *Kings*, xii. 19. *Psal.* xiv. 4.' It is a famous saying of *Bracton*, *He is no longer King, than while he rules well, but a Tyrant whensoever he oppresseth the people that are trusted to his Care and Government.* And *Cicero* says, *He loseth all legal power in and over an Army or Empire, who by that Government and Army does obstruct the welfare of that Republick.* What oppressions and exactions by armed force our Nation hath been wasted with, in part is discovered above. 8. *Althusius* in the place above quoted, makes this another mark, 'When he keepeth not his faith and promise, but de-'spiseth his very oath made unto the people.' What shall we say of him then, who not only brake, but burnt, and made it criminal to assert the obligation of the most solemnly transacted Covenant with God and with the people, that ever was entred into, who yet upon these terms of keeping that Covenant only was admitted to the Government? And what shall we say of his Brother succeeding, who disdains all bonds, whose professed principle is, as a Papist, to keep no faith to Hereticks? 9. In the same place he makes this one character: 'A Ty-'rant is he, who takes away from one or moe Members 'of the Commonwealth the free exercise of the orthodox 'Religion.' And the grave Author of the *Impartial Enquiry into the administration of affairs in* England, doth assert, *p.* 3, 4. 'Whensoever a Prince becomes depraved to 'that degree of wickedness, as to apply and employ 'his power and interest, to debauch and withdraw 'his subjects from their fealty and obedience to God, 'or sets himself to extirpate that Religion, which 'the Lord hath revealed and appointed to be the 'rule of our living, and the means of our happiness, 'he doth by that very deed depose himself; and instead

'of

'of being owned any longer for a King, ought to be 'treated as a Rebel and Traitor against the supreme and 'universal Sovereign.' This is the perfect portracture of our Princes; the former of which declared an open war against religion, and all that professed it; and the latter did begin to prosecute it with the same cruelty of persecution, and yet continues without relenting against us; though to others he tolerates it under the notion of a crime, to be for the present dispensed with, until he accomplish his design. 10. *Ibid.* he tells us, 'That, for 'corrupting of youth, he erecteth stage-plays, whore-'houses, and other play-houses, and suffers the colleges 'and other seminaries of learning to be corrupted.' There were never more of this in any age, than in the conduct of our Court, which, like another *Sodom*, profess it to be their design to debauch mankind into all villanies, and to poison the fountains of all learning and virtue, by intruding the basest of men into the place of teachers, both in Church and University, and precluding all access to honest men. 11. Further he says, 'He is a Ty-'rant who doth not defend his subjects from injuries 'when he may, but suffereth them to be oppressed, '(and what if he oppress them himself?') It was one of the laws of *Edward the Confessor*, *If the King fail in the discharge of his trust and office, he no longer deserves nor ought to enjoy that name.* What name do they deserve then, who not only fail in the duty of defending their subjects, but send out their *Lictors* and bloody Executioners to oppress them, neither will suffer them to defend themselves! But *Althusius* makes a distinct character of this. 12. Then, in fine, he must certainly be a Tyrant, who will not suffer the people, by themselves nor by their Representatives, to maintain their own rights, neither, by law nor force; for, saith my Author forecited, 'He is a Tyrant who hindereth the free suffrages 'of members of Parliament, so that they dare not speak 'what they would; and chiefly he who takes away 'from the people all power to resist his Tyranny, as 'arms, strengths, and chief men, whom therefore, tho' 'innocent, he hateth, afflicteth, and persecuteth, ex-'hausts their goods and livelihoods, without right or 'reason.'

'reason.' All know that our blades have been all along enemies to Parliaments; and when their interest forced to call them, what means were used always to pacque and prelimit them and over-aw them, and how men, who have faithfully discharged their trust in them, have been prosecuted with the height of envy and fury, and many murdered thereupon; and how all the armed force of the kingdoms have been inhanced into their hand, and the people kept so under foot, that they have been rendered incapable either to defend their own from intestine Usurpers, or foreign Invaders. All that is said amounts to this, that when ever men in power do evert and subvert all the ends of government, and intrude themselves upon it, and abuse it, to the hurt of the Commonwealth, and the destruction of that for which government was appointed; they are then Tyrants, and cease to be magistrates. To this purpose I shall here append the words of that forecited ingenious Author of the *Impartial Inquiry*, *pag.* 13, 14. 'There can be nothing 'more evident from the light of reason as well as Scrip-'ture, than that all Magistracy is appointed for the be-'nefit of mankind, and the common good of societies; 'God never gave any one power to reign over others for 'their destruction, (unless by his Providence where he 'had devoted a people for their sins to ruin), but on 'whomsoever he confers authority over cities or nations, 'it is with this conditional *Proviso* and limitation, that 'they are to promote their prosperity and good, and to 'study their defence and protection; all Princes are thus 'far pactional ——And whosoever refuseth to per-'form this fundamental condition, he degrades and de-'poses himself; nor is it rebellion in any to resist him; 'whensoever Princes cease to be for the common good, 'they answer not the end they were instituted unto, 'and cease to be what they were chosen for.'

6. It will not be denied, but when the case is so circumstantiate, that it would require the arbitration of judgment to determine, whether the King be a Tyrant or not, that then people are not to disown him; for if it be a question, whether the people be really robbed of their rights and liberties, and that the King might pre-

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tend as much reason to complain of the people their doing indignity to his Sovereignty, as they might of his Tyranny; then it were hard for them to assume so far the umpirage of their own cause, as to make themselves absolute judges of it, and forthwith to reject his authority upon these debateable grounds. But the case is not so with us; no place being left for doubt or debate, but that our fundamental rights and liberties civil and religious are overturned, and an absolute Tyranny, exactly characterized as above, is established on the ruins thereof. Hence we have not disowned the pretended authority, because we judged it was tyrannical, but because it was really so. Our discretive judgment in the case was not our rule, but it was our understanding of the rule, by which only we could be regulated, and not by the understanding of another, which cannot be better, nor so good, of our grievances, which certainly we may be supposed to understand best ourselves, and yet they are such as are understood everywhere. To the question then, who shall be judge between these usurping and tyrannizing Rulers and us? We answer briefly and plainly. We do not usurp a judgment in the case, pretending no more authority over them in our private capacity, than we allow them to have over us, that is none at all? Nor can we admit that they should be both judges and party; for then they might challenge that Prerogative in every case, and strengthen themselves in an uncontroulable immunity and impunity to do what they pleased. But we appeal to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, agreeable to the word of God, to judge, and to the whole world of impartial Spectators to read and pronounce the judgment. *Lex Rex Quest.* 24. *Pag.* 213. saith in answer to this, 'There is a court of necessity no less than a 'court of justice; and the fundamental laws must then 'speak, and it is with the people in this extremity as if 'they had no ruler. And as to the doubtsomness of these 'laws, he saith, (1.) As the Scriptures in all fundamen-'mentals are clear, and expound themselves, and *in the first 'instance* condemn Heresies; so all laws of men in their 'fundamentals, which are the law of nature and nations, 'are clear. (2.) Tyranny is more visible and intelli-'gible

'gible than Hereſy, and it is ſoon diſcerned——The 'people have a natural throne of policy in their con-'ſcience, to give warning, and materially ſentence a-'gainſt the King as a Tyrant;——where Tyranny is 'more obſcure, and the thread ſmall, that it eſcape the 'eye of man, the King keepeth poſſeſſion, but I deny 'that Tyranny can be obſcure long.'

7. I ſhall grant that many things are yieldable even to a graſſant Dominator, and tyrannical Occupant of the place of Magiſtracy; as 1. There may be ſome caſes, wherein 'tis lawful for a people to yield *Subjection* to a lawleſs Tyrant, when groaning under his overpowering yoke, under which they muſt patiently *bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe* they *have ſinned againſt him, until he* ariſe and *plead* his own *cauſe, and execute judgment* in the earth, (*Mic.* vii. 9.), until which time they muſt kiſs the rod as in the hand of God, and own and adore the Holineſs and Sovereignty of that Providence that hath ſubjected them under ſuch a ſlavery; and are not to attempt a violent ejection or excuſſion, when either the thing attempted is altogether impracticable, or the means and manner of effectuating it dubious and unwarrantable, or the neceſſary Concomitants and conſequents of the cure more hurtful or dangerous than the diſeaſe, or the like. As in many caſes alſo a man may be ſubject to a Robber prevailing againſt him; ſo we find the people of *Iſrael* in *Egypt* and *Babylon*, *&c.* yielded ſubjection to Tyrants. But in this caſe we deny two things to them, (1.) Allegiance or active and voluntary ſubjection, ſo as to own them for Magiſtrates. (2.) Stupid *paſſive Obedience*, or ſuffering without reſiſtence. For the firſt, we owe it only to Magiſtrates, by virtue of the law, either ordinative of God, or conſtitutive of man. And it is no argument to infer; as a man's ſubjecting himſelf to a Robber aſſaulting him, is no ſolid proof of his approving or acknowledging the injury and violence committed by the Robber, therefore a perſon's yielding ſubjection to a Tyrant a publick Robber does not argue his acknowledging or approving his Tyranny and Oppreſſion. For, the ſubjection that a Tyrant requires, and which a Robber requires, is not of the ſame nature; the one is

*Legal* of subjects, which we cannot own to a Tyrant; the other is *forced* of the subdued, which we must acknowledge to a Robber. But to make the parallel; if the Robber should demand, in our subjecting ourselves to him, an owning of him to be no Robber, but an honest man, as the Tyrant demands in our subjecting ourselves to him in owning him to be no Tyrant, but a Magistrate, then we ought not to yield it to the one no more than to the other. For the second, to allow them *passive Obedience* is unintelligible *Nonsense*, and a mere contradiction; for nothing that is merely passive can be obedience as relative to a law; nor can any obedience be merely passive; for obedience is always active. But not only is the inaccuracy of the phrase excepted against, but also that position maintained by many, That, in reference to a yoke of Tyranny, there is a time which may be called the proper season of suffering, that is, when suffering (in opposition to acting or resisting) is a necessary and indispensible duty, and resisting is a sin: for if the one be an indispensible duty, the other must be a sin at the same time; but this cannot be admitted. For, though certainly there is such a season of suffering, wherein suffering is lawful, laudable and necessary, and all must lay their account with suffering, and little else can be attempted, but which will increase sufferings; yet even then we may resist as well as we can: and these two, Resistance and Suffering, at the same time, are not incompatible: *David* did bear most patiently the injury of his Son's usurpation, when he said, *Let the Lord do to me as seemeth him good*, 2 *Sam.* xv. 26. *chap.* x. 12. and betaketh himself to fervent prayers, *Psal.* iii. and yet these were not all the weapons he used against him; neither did he ever own him as a Magistrate. We are to suffer all things patiently as the Servants of the Lord, and look to him for mercy and relief, (*Psal.* cxxiii. 2.); but we are not obliged to suffer even in that season, as the slaves of men. Again, Suffering in opposition to resistence, does never fall under any moral law of God, except in the absolutely extraordinary case of Christ's passive obedience, which cannot fall under our deliberation or imitation; or in the case of a positive law, as was given

given to the *Jews* to submit to *Nebuchadnezzer*, which was expreſs and peculiar to them, as ſhall be cleared. That can never be commanded as indiſpenſible duty, which does not fall uuder our free will or deliberation, but the enemies will, as the Lord permits them, as the Caſe of ſuffering is. That can never be indiſpenſible duty, which we may decline without ſin, as we may do ſuffering, if we have not a call to it; yea, in that caſe, it were ſin to ſuffer; therefore, in no caſe it can be formally and indiſpenſibly commanded, ſo as we may not ſhift it, if we can, without ſin. Suffering ſimply the evil of puniſhment, juſt or unjuſt, can never be a conformity to God's preceptive Will, but only to his providential diſpoſal; it hath not *the will of the ſign* for its rule, but only *the will of well-pleaſing*. All the Commands that we have for ſuffering, are either to direct the *manner* of it, that it be patiently and cheerfully, when forced to it wrongfully, 1 *Pet.* ii. 19, 20, or *comparatively*, to determine our *Choice* in an unavoidable alternative, either to ſuffer or ſin; and ſo we are commanded, rather to ſuffer, than to deny Chriſt, *Matth.* xiii. 33. and we are commanded upon theſe terms to follow Chriſt, to take up his Croſs, when he lays it on in his Providence, *Matth.* xvi. 24. See at length this cleared *Lex Rex*, Q. 30. *p.* 317---320. otherwiſe in no caſe ſubjection, even paſſive, can be a duty; for it is always to be conſidered under the notion of a plague, judgment and curſe, to be complained of as a burden, never to be owned as a duty to Magiſtrates. As we find the Lord's people reſenting it as a ſervitude, under which they were ſervants even in their own Land, which did yield increaſe unto the Kings whom the Lord had ſet over them, becauſe of their ſins, *Neh.* ix. 36, 37. 2. In divers caſes there may be ſome *Compliance* with a mere occupant, that hath no right to reign; as upon this account the Noble Marquis of *Argyle* and Lord *Wariſtoun* ſuffered for their Compliance with the Uſurper *Cromwel*. Such may be the warrantableneſs, or goodneſs, or neceſſity, or profitableneſs of a compliance, when people are by Providence brought under a yoke which they cannot ſhake off, that they may part with ſome of their Privileges, for the avoidance

of the loſs of the reſt, and for the conveniency and profit, peace and ſafety of themſelves and their Country which would be in hazard, if they did not comply; they may do whatſoever is due from them to the publick weal, whatſoever is an office of their ſtation or place, or which they have any other way a call unto, whatſoever may make for their own honeſt intereſt, without wroning others, or the Country's Liberties, in their tranſactions with theſe powers, even though ſuch a Compliance may be occaſionally to the advantage of the Uſurpers ſeeing good and neceſſary actions are not to be declined for the ill effects that are accidental to them, and ariſe from the uſe which others make of them. But though this may be yielded in ſome caſes to ſuch Uſurpers. eſpecially Conquerors, that have no right of occupying the empire, but are capable of it by derivation from the peoples conſent: yet it muſt not be extended to ſuch Uſurpers as are alſo Tyrants, that have no right of their own, nor are capable of any, and that overturn all rights of ſubjects. To ſuch we can yield no compliance, as may infer either tranſacting with them, or owning them as Magiſtrates. We find indeed the Saints enjoyed places under theſe, who were not their Magiſtrates; as *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai*, and *Eſther* was Queen to *Ahaſuerus*. But here was no compliance with Tyrants (for theſe Heathens were not ſuch) only ſome of them were extraordinary Perſons, raiſed up by an extraordinary ſpirit, for extraordinary ends, in extraordinary times, that cannot be brought to an ordinary rule, as *Eſther*'s marriage; and all of them in their places kept the Law of their God, ſerved the work of their generation, defiled not themſelves with their Cuſtoms, acted againſt no good, and engaged to no evil, but by their compliance promoted the welfare of their Country, as *Argyle* and *Wariſtoun* did under *Cromwel*. Again, we find they paid Cuſtom to them, as *Neh.* ix. 36, 37. and we read of *Auguſtus* his Taxation univerſally complied with, *Luk.* ii. 1---5. and Chriſt paid it. This ſhall be more fully anſwered afterwards. Here I ſhall only ſay (1.) It can never be proven that theſe were Tyrants. (2.) Chriſt paid it with ſuch a Caution, as leaves the title unſtated;

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not for conſcience (as tribute muſt be paid to Magiſtrates, *Rom.* xiii. 5, 6.) but only that he might *not offend* them. (3.) Any other inſtances of the Saints taxations are to be judged forced acts, badges of their bondage, which, if they had been exacted as *Teſts* of their *Allegiance*, they would not have yielded. Strangers alſo, that are not ſubjects, uſe to pay cuſtom in their trafficking, but not as teſts of their allegiance. 3. There may be alſo, in ſome caſes, *Obedience* allowed to their lawful commands, becauſe of the lawfulneſs of the thing commanded, or the coincidency of another juſt and obliging Authority commanding the ſame. We may do many things which a Tyrant commands, and which he enforces, and many things alſo whether he will or not; but we muſt do nothing upon the conſideration of his command, in the acknowledgment of obedience due by virtue of Allegiance, which we own of conſcience to a lawful Magiſtrate. We muſt do nothing, which may ſeem to have an acceſſorineſs to the Tyrant's unlawful occupancy, or which depends only on the warrant of his Authority to do it, or may entrench on the Divine Inſtitution of Magiſtracy, or bring us into a participation of the Uſurper's ſin. In theſe caſes we can neither yield obedience in lawful things, nor in unlawful: 'nor can we own abſolute ſubjection, no more than we can own abſolute obedience; for all ſubjection is enjoined, in order to obedience: and to plead for a privilege in point of obedience, and to diſclaim it in point of ſubjection, is only the flattery of ſuch, as having renounced with conſcience all diſtinction of obedience, would diveſt others of all privileges, that they may exerciſe their Tyranny without controul, *Napthali, p.* 28. *prior edit.*' 4 There may be *Addreſſes* made to ſuch as are not rightful Poſſeſſors of the Government, for juſtice, or mercy, or redreſs of ſome intolerable grievances, without ſcruple of accepting that which is materially juſtice or mercy, or ſeeking them at the hand of any who may reach them out to us, tho' he that conveys them to us be not intereſted in the umpirage of them. Thus we find *Jeremiah* ſupplicated *Zedekiah* for mercy, not to return to priſon: and *Paul* appealed to *Ceſar* for juſtice. But in theſe Addreſſes, we may not acknow-

acknowledge the wicked Laws that brought on these grievances, nor conceal the wickedness, no more than the misery of them which we have endured; nor may we own the legal Power of them that we address, to take them off, nor signify any thing, in the matter or manner of our Representations, that may either import a declining our Testimony, for which we have suffered these grievances, or a contradiction to our declinature of their pretended Authority: only we may remonstrate, what cruelties we have endured, and how terrible it will be to them to be guilty of, or accessory to our blood, in not pitying us; which was all that *Jeremiah* did. And as for *Paul's* appeal, we find he was threatned to be murdered by his Countrymen, *Acts* xxiii. 14. from whose hands he was rescued, and brought before the judicatory of *Festus* the *Roman* deputy, not voluntarily; thence also they sought to remand him to *Jerusalem*, that they might kill him, *Acts* xxv. 3. whereupon he demands in justice that he might not be delivered to his Accusers and Murderers, but claims the benefit of the *Heathens* own Law, by that appeal to *Cesar*, which was the only constrained expedient of saving his own life, *Acts* xxviii. 19. by which also he got an opportunity to witness for Christ at *Rome*. But, as shall be cleared further afterwards, *Cesar* was not an Usurper over *Judea*; which not obscurely is insinuated by *Paul* himself, who asserts, that both his person, and his Cause criminal, of which he was accused (it was not an Ecclesiastical Cause, and so no advantage hence for the *Supremacy*) appertained to *Cesar's* Tribunal, and that not only in fact, but *of right*, Acts xxv. 10. *I stand at Cesar's judgment-seat, where I ought to be judged.* We cannot say this of any tribunal, fenced in the name of them that Tyrannize over us. 5. I will not stand neither upon the Names and Titles of Kings, *&c.* to be given to Tyrants and Usurpers, in speaking to them or of them, by way of appellation or compellation: for we find even Tyrants are called by these names in Scripture, being Kings *in fact*, though not *by right*; and indeed not impertinently, Kings and Tyrants for the most part are reciprocal terms. But in no case can we give them any Names or Titles

Titles, which may signify our love to them whom the Lord hates, or *who hate the Lord,* 2 Chron. xix. 2. or which may flatter them, which *Elihu durst* not give, for *fear his Maker should take him away,* Job xxxii. 22. or which may be taken for honouring of them, for that is not due to the *vilest of men,* when exalted never so high, *Psal.* xii. *ult. a vile person* must be *contemned in* our *eyes,* Psal. xv. 4. nor which may any way import or infer an owning of a magistratical Relation between them and us, or any Covenant-transaction or *Confederacy* with them, which in no terms with them, as such, we will say or own, *Isa.* viii. 12. Hence many sufferers upon this head forbear to give them their titles.

8. It will be yielded very readily by us, that a Magistrate is not to be disowned, merely for his *differing in Religion* from us: yea, though he were a Heathen. We do not disown our pretended Rulers merely upon that account, but cheerfully do grant and subscribe to that Truth in our *Confession of Faith*, chap. xxiii. Sect. 4. *That Infidelity, or Difference in Religion, doth not make void the Magistrate's just and legal Authority, nor free the people from their due Obedience to him:* on which our Adversaries have insulted, as if our Principles and Practices were thereby disproved. But it is easy to answer, 1. Let the words be considered, and we are confident, 'That no 'sober man will think, the acknowledgment of just and 'legal Authority, and due Obedience, a rational ground 'to infer, that Tyranny is thereby either allowed or 'privileged, *Napht. p. 60. prior Edition.* 2. Though Infidelity, or Difference of Religion, does not make void Authority, where it is lawfully invested; yet it may incapacitate a person, and lawfully seclude him from Authority, both by the Word of God, which expresly forbids to set a *Stranger* over us, who is not our *Brother,* Deut. xvii. 15. which includes as well a stranger of a strange Religion, as one of a strange Country, and by the Laws of the Land, which do incapacitate a *Papist* of all Authority, supreme or subordinate. And so, if this *James* VII. II. had been King before he was a *Roman* Catholick, if we had no more to object, we should not have quarrelled his succession. 3. We both give and grant

grant all that is in the *Confession*, to wit, that *Dominion is not founded in Grace:* yet this remains evident, that a Prince, who not only is of another Religion, but an avowed Enemy to, and Overturner of the Religion established by Law, and intending and endeavouring to introduce a false, heretical, blasphemous and idolatrous Religion, can claim no just and legal Authority, but in this case the people may very lawfully decline his pretended Authority; nay, they are betrayers of their Country and Posterity, if they give not a timeous and effectual check to his Usurpings, and make him sensible that he hath no such Authority. Can we imagine, that Men in the whole of that blessed work so remarkably led of God, being convocate by a Parliament of the wisest and worthiest Men that ever were in *England*, whom they did encourage, by writing and preaching, and every way to stand fast in their opposition to the then King displaying a banner for his prerogative (a Court-dream) against Religion and Liberty, should be so far left, as to drop that as a principle and part of our Religion, which would sacrifice Religion itself to the lust of a raging Tyrant? Must we believe, that a Religion-destroying Tyrant is a righteous Ruler? And must we own him to be a nursing Father to the Church? Shall we conclude, that the common Bounds and Limits, whereby the Almighty hath bounded and limited Mankind, are removed by an Article of our *Confession of Faith*, which hereby is turned into a Court-creed? Then welcome *Hobs de Cive*, with all the rest of *Pluto's* train, who would babble us into a belief, that the world is to be governed according to the pleasure of wicked Tyrants. I would fain hope at length the world would be awakened out of such ridiculous dreams, and be ashamed any more to own such fooleries. And it may be, our two *Royal Brothers* have contributed more to cure men of this moral Madness, than any who went before them. And this is the only advantage, I know, that the Nations have reaped by their reign.

9. Though we deny that *Conquest* can give a just Title to a Crown; yet we grant, in some cases, though in the beginning it was unjust, yet by the peoples after-consent

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it may be turned into a juſt Title. It is undeniable, when there is juſt ground of the war, if a Prince ſubdue a whole Land, who have juſtly forfeited their Liberties, when by his grace he preſerves them, he may make uſe of their right now forfeited, and they may reſign their Liberty to the Conqueror, and conſent that he be their King, upon fair and legal, and not tyrannical Conditions. And even when the war is not juſt, but ſucceſsful on the invading Conquerors ſide, this may be an inducement to the conquered, if they be indeed free and unengaged to any other, to a ſubmiſſion, dedition, and delivery up of themſelves to be the ſubjects of the victor, and to take him for their Sovereign: as it is like the caſe was with the Jews in *Ceſar's* time, whoſe Government was tranſlated by dedition to the *Roman* power; in the tranſlation, when a-doing, there was a fault, but after it was done, it ceaſed; though the beginning was wrong, there was a poſt-fact, which made it right, and could not be diſſolved, without an unjuſt diſturbance of publick order. Whence, beſides what is ſaid above, in anſwer to that much inſiſted Inſtance of *Chriſt's paying Tribute*, and commanding it to be paid to *Ceſar*, the difficulty of that inſtance may be clearly ſolved. That Tribute which he paid, *Matth.* xvii. 24 *&c.* and that about the payment whereof he was queſtioned, *Matth.* xxii. 21. ſeem to be two different Tributes. Many think, very probably, they were not one and the ſame Tribute. 'Tis a queſtion, for whom, and by whom that of *Matth.* xvii. was gathered; 'tis moſt likely, it was gathered by the officers of the *Temple* for its ſervice: however, the payment was made, with ſuch caution (tacitely declining the ſtrict right to exact it from him, but to avoid *Offence*, in an act in itſelf unobliging) that their claim is left as much in the dark, as if the queſtion had never been moved. The other, *Matth.* xxii. was exacted for *Ceſar:* but to that captious queſtion our Lord returns ſuch an anſwer, as might both ſolve it, and evade the ſnare of the propounders, giving a general Rule of giving to God and to *Ceſar* each their own, without defining which of them had the right to the payment in queſtion; whether *Ceſar* ſhould have it, or whether it ſhould

should be paid only for the Temple's use: upon which they marvelled, which they needed not do, if they had understood in his words an express and positive declaration of an obligation to make that payment to *Cesar*; for then they would have obtained one of their ends, in making him odious to the people, who were not satisfied with the payment of it. But however, the knot is loosed, by considering, that they were now lawfully subject to the *Roman* Emperors, as their Governors, to whom they were obliged (I do not say Christ was) to pay tribute. For they had yielded themselves unto, and owned the *Roman* Dominion in *Pompey*, *Cesar Augustus* and *Tiberius*, ere this question about Tribute paying was proposed to our Saviour; and therefore they who stuck at the payment of it, were a seditious party, dissenting from the body of the Nation: else it is not supposeable readily, that their Dominion in *Judea* could have been exercised long without some consent, sufficient to legitimate it to the present Rulers; and this is the more likely, if we consider the confession of the *Jews* themselves, disavowing the power of capital punishment, *It is not lawful for us to put any Man to Death*, and owning *Cesar* as their King, with an exclusive abrenunciation of all other, *we have no King but* Cesar; as *Paul* also acknowledges, he *ought to be judged* at *Cesar's* bar, in his appeal to *Cesar*. It is also acknowledged by very good Authors, that this was the tribute which *Judas* the *Galilean* stood up to free the people from; and that the sedition of those *Jews* that followed him, mentioned *Acts* v. 37. who mutinied upon this occasion, was, according to *Gamaliel's* speech, disallowed by that *Sanhedrin*, or Council of the *Jews*. And it may be gathered out of *Josephus*, that the *Jews* of *Hircanus* his party came under the *Roman* power by consent and dedition, while they of *Aristobulus* his party looked upon the *Romans* as Usurpers. Which difference continued till our Saviour's time, when some part of them acknowledged the *Cesarean* Authority, some part looked upon it as an usurpation; and of this generally were the *Pharisees*. To confirm this, *Calvin's* Testimony may be adduced, upon *Matth.* xxii. who saith, 'The Authority 'of the *Roman* Emperors was by common use approved

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'and received among the *Jews*, whence it was manifeſt, 'that the *Jews* had now of their own accord impoſed on 'themſelves a Law of paying the tribute, becauſe they 'had paſſed over to the *Romans* the power of the ſword.' And *Chamiers Panſtrat. Tom. 2. lib.* 15. *cap.* 16. *p.* 635. 'What then? if *Ceſar*'s Authority was from bad begin-'nings, did therefore Chriſt untruly ſay it was from a-'bove? Can no power, at firſt unjuſt, afterward be-'come juſt? if that were ſo, then either none, or very 'few kingdoms would be juſt.'

10. As Tyranny is a deſtructive plague to all the Intereſts of men and Chriſtians; ſo *Anarchy*, the uſual product of it, is no leſs pernicious, bringing a Community into a Paroxyſm as deadly and dangerous. We muſt own Government to be abſolutely neceſſary, for the conſtitution and conſervation of all Societies. I ſhall not enter into a diſquiſition, let be determination of the *Species* or kind of Magiſtracy, whether *Monarchy*, *Ariſtocracy*, or *Democracy*, be preferable. My diſpute, at preſent, is not levelled againſt *Monarchy*, but the preſent Monarch: not againſt the Inſtitution of the Species (though I believe, except we betake our ſelves to the divine allowance and permiſſion; we ſhall be as puzzled to find out the divine original of it, as Coſmographers are in their ſearch of the Spring of *Nilus*, or Theologues of the Father of *Melchizedeck*) but the conſtitution of this individual Monarchy eſtabliſhed among us, which, in its root and branch, ſpring and ſtreams, in its original, nature, ends, and effects, is diametrically oppoſite to Religion and Liberty; and becauſe its Contagion, univerſally perverting and corrupting all the ends and orders of Magiſtracy, doth affect and infect all the ſubordinate officers, deriving their power from ſuch a filthy fountain; we muſt alſo ſubſtract and deny their demanded acknowledgments as any way due, ſo long as they ſerve the pride and projects of ſuch a wicked power: and do not reckon our ſelves obliged by Covenant, or any otherwiſe (though, in the *third Article* of the Solemn League, we are bound to preſerve the rights and privileges of our Parliaments, and conſequently the honour and deference that's due to our Peers, or other Par-

Parliament men, acting according to the truſt committed to them, but not when they turn Traitors engaged in a Conſpiracy with the Tyrant) to own or defend a Soul-leſs ſhadow of a Court-cabal, made up of perſons who have ſold themſelves to work wickedneſs, in conſpiring with this throne of iniquity againſt the Lord, which is all we have for a Parliament, whom we can in no ways own as our Repreſentatives, but muſt look upon them as perjured and perfidious Traitors to God and their Country, which they have betrayed into the hands of a Tyrant; and therefore diveſted of that power and authority, which they had of the people as their Repreſentatives, which now is returned to the fountain. And therefore we muſt act as we can againſt them, and alſo what is neceſſary for ſecuring of our ſelves, Religion and Liberty, without them. We would think *Nobles*, ennobled with virtue, a great mercy and encouragement; and if they would concur in the Teſtimony for Religion and Liberty, we would be glad that they ſhould lead the van, and prove themſelves to be powers appointed by God, in acting for him and his Intereſt. But for the want of their Conduct, we muſt not ſurceaſe from that duty that they abandon, nor think that the Concurrence of Peers is ſo neceſſary to legitimate our actions, as that without that formality our reſolutions to maintain the Truth of God on all hazards, in a private Capacity, were unlawful in the Court of God and Nature: but, on the contrary, muſt judge that their relinquiſhing or oppoſing their duty, which before God they are obliged to maintain, preſerve, and promove, is ſo far from looſing our obligation, or exeeming us from our duty, that it ſhould rather preſs us to proſecute it with the more vigour, without ſuſpending it upon their precedency. For now they can pretend to no precedency, when they do not anſwer the end of their erection, and do not ſeek the publick good, but their own private advantage, they ceaſe to be the Miniſters of God and of the people, and become private perſons. And reaſon will conclude, 'That when the 'Ephori or *Truſtees* betray their Truſt, and ſell, or baſe-'ly give away the Liberties and Privileges of the peo-'ple,

'ple, which they were entrusted with, the people cannot be brought into a remedilesse condition; if a Tutor waste and destroy the pupils estate, the Law provides a remedy for the pupil, *Jus popu. vind. cap.* 15. *Pag.* 335. 336.' 'The remedy, in this case, can only be, as every one must move in his own sphere, while all concur in the same duty; so if any, in higher place, become not only remiss, but according to the influence of their power would seduce others into their Apostasy, it is their duty to resist and endeavour their Reformation or removal: and if these more eminently entrusted shall turn directly Apostates, and obstructive and destructive to common Interests, the people of an inferior degree may step forward to occupy the places, and assert the Interests, which they forefault and desert. Neither is this a breach of good order; for *Order* is only a mean subordinate to, and intended for the glory of God, and the peoples good, and the regulation thereof must only be admitted as it is conducible, and not repugnant to these ends. A General's command to his soldiers in battle, does not impede the necessity of succession, in case of vacancy of any charge, either through death or desertion, even of such as in quality may be far inferior to those whose places they step into, *Naphtali*, *Pag.* 151. *first Edition.*' I do not assert this for private peoples aspiring into the Capacity of *Primores* or *Peers*; but that they may do that which the Peers desert, and dare not, or will not do, if the Lord put them in a Capacity to do it. And more plainly I assert, that if the Peers of the Land, whose duty it is principally to restrain and repress Tyranny, either connive at it, or concur with it, and so abandon or betray their Trust, then the common people may do it; at least are obliged to renounce, reject, and disown allegiance to the Tyrant, without the Peers. For which I offer these reasons, 1. Because all men have as much Freedom and Liberty by nature as Peers have, being no more slaves than they; because slavery is a penal evil contrary to nature, and a misery consequent of sin, and every man created according to God's image, *is a sacred thing*; and also no more subjects

jects to Kings, &c. than they; freedom being natural to all, (except freedom from subjection to Parents, which is a moral duty, and most kindly and natural, and subjection of the wife to the husband, &c.) but otherwise as to civil and politick subjection, man, by nature, is born as free as beasts; no Lion is born King of Lions, nor no man born King of men, nor Lord of men, nor Representative of men, nor Rulers of men, either supreme or subordinate; because none, by nature, can have those things that essentially constitute Rulers, the calling of God, nor gifts and qualifications for it, nor the election of the people. 2. The original of all that power, that the *Primores* or Representatives can claim, is from the people, not from themselves; from whence derived they their being Representatives, but from the peoples commission or compact? when at the first constitution of parliaments, or publick conventions for affairs of state, necessity put the people, who could not so conveniently meet all, to confer that honour and burden upon the best qualified, and who had chief interest, by delegation. Hence, if the people give such a power, they may wave it when perverted, and act without their own impowered servants. 3. The peoples power is greater than the power of any delegated or constituted by them; the cause is more than the effect; Parliament-men do represent the people, the people do not represent the Parliament: they are as Tutors and Curators unto the people, and in effect their servants deputed to oversee their publick affairs, therefore, if their power be less, the people can act without them. 4. It were irrational to imagine, the people committing the administration of their weighty affairs unto them, did denude themselves of all their *radical* power; or that they can devolve upon them, or they obtain, any other power but what is for the good and advantage of the people; therefore they have power to act without them, in things which they never resigned to them; for they cannot be deprived of that natural aptitude, and nature's birth-right, given to them by God and Nature, to provide the most efficacious and prevalent means for the preservation of their rights and liberties. 5. As the people have had

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power before they made Peers, and have done much without them; so these *Primores* could never do without them, therefore in acts of common interest, the Peers depend more upon the people than the people do upon them. 6. All these primeve rights, that gave rise to Societies, are equal to both people and Peers, whereof the liberty to repress and reject Tyranny is a chief one. The people as well as Peers have a hand in making the King, and other Judges also, as is clear from *Deut.* xvii. 14. *Judg.* ix. 6. 1 *Sam.* xi. 15. 2 *Kings* xiv. 21. therefore they may unmake them as well as they. To seek to preserve the ends of government, when they are overturned, is essentially requisite to all Societies, and therefore common and competent to all Constituents of these Societies, Superiors or Inferiors. The Glory of God and Security of Religion, the end of all Christian Government, doth concern all equally. As every one equally is bound to obey God rather than Man, so violence in this case destroys both the Commonwealth, and maketh the end and the means of Government, and the injured person's obligation thereto to cease; and this equally to every man of private or publick Capacity. In the concern of Religion at least, we must not think, because we are not Nobles, or in Authority, that the care of it, or Reformation thereof does nothing pertain to us; nay in that, and carrying on the work thereof, there is an equality: as in the erection of the Old Testament *Tabernacle*, all the people were to contribute alike, half a *Shekel*, Exod. xxx. that it might be for a remembrance before the Lord. Hence it follows, if we disown the supreme Ruler, and the inferior confederate with him, and cannot have the concurrence of others: 'now 'through the manifest and notorious perversion of the 'great ends of Society and Government, the bond there-'of being dissolved, we liberated therefrom, do relapse 'into our primeve Liberty and Privilege; and accord-'ingly, as the similitude of our Case, and exigence of 'our Cause doth require, may, upon the very same prin-'ciples, again join and associate, for our better defence 'and preservation, as we did at first enter into Societies, '*Naph. p.* 150.' yet, whatever we may do in this case,

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we are not for presumptuous assumptions of Authority, which maleversers have forefaulted: neither are we for new erections of Government, but are for keeping the Society, of which we are members, intire, in an endeavour to have all our fellow-members united unto God, and to one another, in Religion and Liberty, according to the bond of the Solemn League and Covenant. Certain it is, that greater Societies, under one Government, may in some cases make a secession, and divide into lesser, without sedition: or else, how would there be now so many distinct Commonwealths in the world? seeing at first all was under one head: and how comes it to pass, that there are so many Kingdoms in *Europe*, when it can be instanced, when all, or the most part, were under one *Roman* Emperor? But this, in our circumstance, is noway expedient, neither was it ever in projection. But our aim is to abstract ourselves inoffensively, and maintain our rights that remain unrobbed, and to adhere closely to the fundamental Constitutions, Laws, and laudable Practices of our native Kingdom.

11. We own the obligation of our sacred *Covenants*, unrepealably and indispensibly binding to all the duties of Christian subjection to Magistrates. But we deny, that hereby we are bound either to maintain *Monarchy*, especially thus perverted; nor to own the authority of either of the two Monarchs that have *Monarchized* or Tyrannized over us these twenty seven years past. For as to the first, we assert, That that which is in its own nature mutable, cannot be simply sworn unto to be maintained and preserved, but *Hypothetically* at most, else it were simply sinful; since it were to make things, in their own nature, and in the Providence of God changeable, unchangeable; yea it were a downright swearing not to comply with, but to spurn against, the various vicissitudes of Divine Providence, the great Rector of the Universe. And it is unquestionable, that when things alterable and unalterable are put in the same oath, to make the engagement lawful the things must be understood, as they are in their own nature, and no otherwise: else both the Imposer and the Taker grievously transgress; the former, in taking upon him what is in the power of

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no mortal, and a contradiction to the Prerogative of the Immortal God; and the other, in owning that power as just. Hence, when these two fall to be in the same oath, they must be so understood as it may not be made a snare to the conscience of the Swearer. For it may fall so out in the Providence of God, that the preservation of both is in all respects made impossible: and an adhesion to the one, may so far interfere with the preservation of the other, as if the *Mutable* and that which hath no objective obligation be stuck to, the other, which, with the loss of all interests we are to maintain, must be abandoned; yea, that which was sworn to be maintained as a mean only, and a mutable one too, may not only cease to be a mean, but may actually destroy the main end, and then it is be laid aside, because then it inverts the order of things. Hence also it may be questioned, if it were not more convenient, to leave out those things that are alterable in themselves, out of the same Oath with things unalterable, and put them in a distinct Oath or Covenant by themselves; as we see *Jehojadah* did. 2 *Kings* xi. 17. *He made a Covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the People, that they should be the Lord's People; between the King also and the People.* Here are two distinct Covenants; the one made with God, about things eternally obligatory, wherein the King and people engage themselves upon level ground, to serve the Lord, and *Joash* the King, his treacherous dealing with God in that matter, brought the Curse of that Covenant upon him: the other Covenant was civil, about things alterable, relating to points of government and subjection. And as he, by virtue of that prior Covenant, had obliged himself, under the pain of the Curse thereof, to carry as one covenanted to God with the people, and so not to tyrannize over his Brethren: so the people, by virtue of that same Covenant, were to yield obedience, but in nothing to acknowledge him, as having power or authority to countermand God's Command; neither had it been an act of disloyalty, to have broken down his groves, which he had, with the addition of the guilt of perjury, set up, and to have bound his ungrateful hands from the blood of the gracious *Zechariah:* a perfect parallel to our case under the former Dominator, save that

it was outdone as to all dimensions of wickedness by him. To speak more plainly, the religious part of our Covenant is of an eternal obligation; but as to the civil part, it is impossible it can ever be so, unless it be well and cautiously understood; that is, unless, instead of any species of government, as *Monarchy*, &c. we put in *Magistracy* itself. For this is that power which is of God; but Monarchy, &c. is only a human creature, about the creation whereof men take a liberty, according to what suits them best in their present circumstances. And as to this *Species* of Monarchy; men are never left at liberty to clothe therewith any inept or impious person. And they are perfectly loosed from it. 1. When that *Species* of government becomes opposite to the ends of government, and is turned Tyranny, especially when a legal establishment is pretended, then it affects with its contagion the very species itself: the house is to be pulled down, when the Leprosy is got into the walls and foundation. 2. When it is exercised, it is turned inept for answering the ends of its erection, and prejudicial to the main thing for which government is given, to wit, the Gospel and the coming of Christ's Kingdom: hence it is promised to the Church, *Isa.* xlix. 23. *Kings shall be nursing Fathers to the Church*: —— And *Isa* lii. 15. It is promised to the Mediator, that *Kings shall shut their mouths*, —— *i. e.* never a word in their head, but out of reverence and respect to his absolute Sovereignty, they shall take the law from him, without daring to contradict, far less to take upon them to prescribe in the house of God, *as they in their wisdom think fit*. 3. When Providence, without any sinful hand, makes that *Species* impossible to be kept up, without the ruin of that for which it was erected: when things come to this push and pinch, whosoever are clothed with the power, are then under an obligation to comply with that alteration of providence, for the safety of the people; else they declare themselves unworthy of rule, and such who would sacrifice the interest of the people to their particular interest; in which case the people may make their *Publick Servant* sensible, he is at his highest elevation but a *Servant*. Hence now, when this *Species* named in the

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Covenant, *viz. Monarchy*, is by law so vitiate, as it becomes the mean and instrument of the destruction of all the ends of that Covenant, and now by law transmitted to all successors as a hereditary, pure, perfect and perpetual opposition to the coming of Christ's Kingdom; so that as long as there is one to wear that Crown, (but *Jehovah* will in righteousness execute *Coniahs* doom upon the race *Jer.* xxii. *ult. write this man childless* ———) and enter heir to the government as now established, he must be an enemy to Christ; there is no other way left, but to think on a new model moulded according to the true pattern. As to the *Second*, we are far less obliged to own and acknowledge the interest of any of the two Monarchs, that we have been mourning under these many years, from these sacred Covenants. For, as to the *first* of them, *Charles* II. Those considerations did cassate his interest, as to any Covenant-obligation to own him. 1. In these Covenants we are not sworn *absolutely* to maintain the King's Person and Authority, but only *conditionally*, in *the Preservation and Defence of Religion and Liberties.* Now, when this condition was not performed, but, on the contrary, professedly resolved never to be fulfilled; and when he laid out himself to the full of his power and authority, for the destruction of that reformed religion and liberties of the kingdom, which he solemnly swore to defend when he received the crown, only in the terms that he should be a Loyal subject to Christ, and a true and faithful Servant to the people, in order to which a Magistrate is chosen, and all his worth, excellency, and valuableness, consists in his answering that purpose; for the excellency of a mean, as such, is to be measured from the end, and its answerableness thereunto: we were not then obliged, to maintain such an enemy to these precious interests. 2. Because, as the people were bound to him, so he was bound to them by the same Covenant, being only on these terms entrusted with the government: all which conditions he perfidiously broke, whereupon only his authority and our allegiance were founded; and thereby we were loosed from all reciprocal obligation to him by virtue of that Covenant. 3. Though he and we stood equally enga-

ged to the duties of that Covenant, only with this difference, that the King's capacity being greater, he was the more obliged to have laid out that power, in causing all to stand to their Covenant engagements, as *Josiah* did, 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 31, 32, 33. (but, alas! there was never a *Josiah* in the race), yet he rose up to the height of rebellion against God and the people, in heaven-daring insolency, and not only brake, but burnt that Covenant, and made laws to cass and rescind it, and made a not-concurring in this Conspiracy, a note of incapacity for any trust in Church or State. Therefore to plead for an owning of him in this case, were only concludent of this, that the generation had dreamed themselves into such a distraction, as may be feared will be pursued with destruction, and make such Dreamers the detestation of posterity, and cause all men proclaim the righteousness of God, in bringing ruin upon them by that very power and authority they owned in such circumstances. 4. It is a known maxim, *He that does not fulfil the conditions, falls from the benefit of it, and whoso remits the obligation of the party obliged upon condition, cannot exact it afterwards.* So then it is evident, that the Subjects of *Scotland* were, by King *Charles* II. his consent, yea express command, disengaged from so much of that Covenant as could be alledged in favours of himself: so that all that he did, by burning and rescinding these Covenants, and pursuing all who endeavoured to adhere to them, was a most explicite liberating his subjects from, and remission of their allegiance to him, (and in this we had been fools, if we had not taken him at his word); yea he rescinded his very *Coronation*, by an act of his first parliament after his return, which did declare null and void all acts, constitutions and establishments, from the year 1633 to that present session, not excepting those for his own Coronation, after which he was never recrowned, and therefore we could not own that right, which himself did annul. But as for his *Royal Brother*, *James* the VII. and II. we cannot indeed make use of the same reasons and arguments to disown him, as we have now adduced; yet, as we shall prove afterwards, this Covenant does oblige to renounce him. So it is so clear, that it

it needs no illuſtration, that there lies no obligation from the Covenant to own him: and alſo that, for this cauſe, we are obliged not to own him, 1. Becauſe, as he is an enemy to the whole of our Covenant, and eſpecially to theſe terms upon which authority is to be owned therein: ſo he will not come under the bond of this Covenant, nor any other compact with the people, but intrude himſelf upon the throne, in ſuch a way as overturns the baſis of our government, and deſtroys all the liberties of a free people, which by Covenant we are bound to preſerve, and conſequently, as inconſiſtent therewith, to renounce his uſurpation. For, a Prince that will ſet himſelf up without any tranſactions with the people, or conditions giving ſecurity for religion and liberty, is an uſurping Tyrant, not bounded by any law but his own luſts. And to ſay to ſuch an one, *Reign thou over us*, is all one as to ſay, come thou and play the Tyrant over us, and let thy luſt and will be a law to us: which is both againſt Scripture and Natural ſenſe. If he be not a King upon Covenant-terms, either expreſly or tacitely, or general ſtipulations according to the word of God, and laws of the land, he cannot be owned as a Father, Protector, or Tutor, having any fiduciary power entruſted to him over the Commonwealth, but as a lawleſs and abſolute Dominator, aſſuming to himſelf a power to rule or rage as he liſts: whom to own were againſt our Covenants: for there we are ſworn to *maintain his Majeſty's juſt and lawful authority*, and by conſequence not to own *Uſurpation* and *Tyranny*, ſtated in oppoſition to religion and liberty, which there alſo we are engaged to maintain. Sure, this cannot be lawful authority which is of God, for God giveth no power againſt himſelf; nor can it be of the people, who had never power granted them of God to create one over them, with a liberty to deſtroy them, their religion and liberty, at his pleaſure. 2. As he is not, nor will not be our *covenanted* and ſworn King, (and therefore we cannot be his covenanted and ſworn ſubjects); ſo he is not, nor cannot be our *crowned King*, and therefore we muſt not be his *Liege-ſubjects*, owning fealty and obedience to him. For, according to the National Covenant,

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'as all Lieges are to maintain the King's Authority, 'consistent with the Subjects Liberties; which, if they 'be innovated or prejudged, such Confusion would en- 'sue, as this Realm could be no more a free Monarchy; '—— so for the preservation of true Religion, Laws 'and Liberties of this Kingdom, it is statute by the 8th '*Act*, *Parl.* 1. repeated in the *99th Act*, *Parl.* 7*th*, ratified in the *23d Act*, *Parl.* 11*th*, and 114*th Act*, *Parl.* '12*th* of King *James* VI. and *4th Act* of King *Charles* 'I. that all Kings and Princes, at their Coronation and 'Reception of their Princely Authority, shall make 'their faithful Promise by their solemn Oath, in the 'Presence of the Eternal God, That enduring the whole 'time of their Lives, they shall serve the same Eternal 'God, to the uttermost of their power, according as he 'hath required in his most holy Word, contained in the 'Old and New Testaments; and according to the same 'Word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, 'the preaching of his holy Word, the due and right 'Ministration of the Sacraments, now received and 'preached within this Realm (according to the Confes- 'sion of Faith immediately preceding) and shall abolish 'and gainstand all false religion, contrary to the same; 'and shall rule the people committed to their charge, ac- 'cording to the Will and Command of God, revealed in 'his foresaid Word, and according to the laudable Laws 'and Constitutions received in this Realm, noways re- 'pugnant to the said Will of the Eternal God; and shall 'procure, to the uttermost of their power, to the Kirk 'of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfect 'peace in all time coming; and that they shall be care- 'ful to root out of their Empire all Hereticks, and Ene- 'mies to the true Worship of God, who shall be convi- 'cted by the true Kirk of God of the foresaid Crimes.' Now, this *Coronation Oath* he hath not taken, he will not, he cannot take; and therefore cannot be our crowned King according to Law. As there be also many other Laws, incapacitating his admission to the Crown, being a professed Papist, and no Law for it at all, but one of his own making, by a packed Cabal of his own complices, a Parliament, wherein himself presided as Com-

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miſſioner, enacting materially his Succeſſion, and reſcinding all theſe ancient Laws: which *Act of Succeſſion* (which is all the legal right he can pretend to in *Scotland*) becauſe it cannot be juſtified; therefore his right cannot be owned, which is founded upon the ſubverſion of our ancient Laws. But as he cannot be our legally crowned King, ſo he is not ſo much as formally crowned. And therefore before his Inauguration, whatever right to be King (whom the Repreſentatives may admit to the Government) he may pretend to, by hereditary Succeſſion; yet he cannot formally be made King, till the people make a *Compact* with him, upon terms for the ſafety of their deareſt and neareſt Liberties, even though he were not diſabled by Law. He might, as they ſay, pretend to ſome *right to the thing*, but he could have no *right in the thing*. The Kings of *Scotland*, while uncrowned, can exerce no Royal Government; for the Coronation in Concrete, according to the ſubſtance of the Act, is no *Ceremony* (as they, who make Conſcience itſelf but a Ceremony, call it) nor an accidental ingredient in the Conſtitution of a King, but as it is diſtinctive, ſo it is conſtitutive: it diſtinguiſhed *Saul* from all *Iſrael*, and made him from no King to be a King; it is *dative*, and not only *declarative*; it puts ſome honour upon him that he had not before. 3. Though the Laws ſhould not ſtrike againſt his Coronation, and though the Repreſentatives legally ſhould take the ſame meaſures with him that they took with his brother, and admit him upon the terms of the Covenant; yet after ſuch doleful experiences of ſuch tranſactions with theſe Sons of *Belial*, who muſt not be taken with hands, nor by the hand, it were hard to truſt, or entruſt them with the Government, even though they ſhould make the faireſt Profeſſions; ſince they, whoſe Principle is to *keep no faith to Hereticks* (as they call us) and who will be as abſolute in their promiſes as they are in their power, have deſervedly forfeited all Credit and Truſt with honeſt men; ſo that none could rationally refer the determination of a *half Crown Reckoning* to any of them, far leſs own them and their Government in the Management of the weightieſt affairs of State, ſince their Maleverſations are written in ſuch bloody Characters, as

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he that runs may read them. At least it were wisdom, and is our duty, to take our Measures from the General Assembly's Procedure with the other *Brother*, before his admission to the Government, to suspend our Allegiance to him, until Authority be legally devolved upon him, and founded upon, and bounded by terms, giving all security for Religion and Liberty.

12. As I said before, wary *Prudence*, in waving such an impertinent and tickliſh Question, cannot be condemned; since whatever he may be in conscience, no man in Law can be obliged, so far to surrender the common privilege of all Mankind, to give an account of all his inward thoughts, which are always said to be *free*. And as in nothing they are more various, so in nothing they can be more violented, than to have our opinion and sentiments of the current Government extorted from us, a declining of which Declaration of Thoughts, where no *ouvert Act* in project or practice can be proven against it, cannot be *Treason* in any Law in the world: so a cautelous Answer, in such a tickliſh and intrapping imposition, cannot be censured in point of Lawfulness or Expediency, even though much be conceded, to stop the Mouths of these bloody Butchers, gaping greedily after the blood of the Answerer; if he do not really *own*, but give them to understand, he cannot *approve* of this Tyranny. But as these poor faithful Witnesses, who were helped to be most free, have always been honoured with the most signal Countenance of the Lord in a happy issue of their Testimony: so those that used their Prudentials most, in seeking shifts to shun Severity, and studying to satisfy these *Inquisitors* with their stretched Concessions, were ordinarily more exposed to snares, and found less Satisfaction in their Sufferings, even though they could say much to justify, or at least extenuate their Shiftings. I knew one, who had proof of this, who afterwards was ashamed of this kind of Prudence. A short account of whose managing of Answers to this Question, because it may conduce somewhat to the explication of it, may here be hinted. The Question moved after the usual form, was, *Do ye own the Authority of King* James VII. In answer to which, he pleaded

pleaded first, for the immunity of his Thoughts, which he said were not subject to theirs or any Tribunal. When this could not be an evasion from their extortions, he objected the ambiguity of the terms in which the Question was conceived, being capable of divers senses: and enquired, what they meant by *Authority*? What, by *owning* Authority? By Authority, whether did they mean the *Administration* of it, as now improved? If so, then he was not satisfied with it: or the *Right*, as now established? If so, then he was not clear to give his opinion of it, as being neither significant nor necessary; and that it was fitter for Lawyers, and those that were better acquaint with the *Secrets of Government*, than for him to dispute it. Again he asked, What they meant by *owning*? Either it is *passive Subjection*, that he did not decline; or *active Acknowledgment* of it, and that he said he looked upon as all the *Suffrage* he could give to its establishment in his station, which he must demur upon some scruple. The replies he received were very various, and some of them very rare, either for ignorance or imposture. Sometimes, it was answered: To own the King's Authority, is to take the *Oath of Allegiance*; this he refused. Some answered, It is to engage never to rise in Arms against the King, upon any pretence whatsoever; this he refused likewise. Others explained it to be, to acknowledge his right to be King: To this he answered, When the Authority is legally devolved upon him by the Representatives of both Kingdoms, it was time enough for him to give account of his sentiments. Others defined it, to own him to be lawful King by succession. To this he answered, He did not understand succession could make a man formally King, if there were not some other way of conveyance of it; it might put him in the nearest Capacity to be King, but could not make him King. Some did thus paraphrase upon it, That he must own him to be his sovereign Lord under God, and God's Vicegerent, to be obeyed in all things lawful. To this he answered, Whom God appoints, and the People choose according to Law, he would own. When those shifts would not do, but from time to time being urged to a *Categorical* Answer; he told

told them, He was content to live in subjection to any Government Providence set up; but for owning the present Constitution as of God, and according to Law, he durst not acknowledge it, nor own any mortal as his lawful Sovereign, but in terms consistent with the Covenant securing Religion and Liberty. This not satisfying, when he came to a more pinching Trial; he declared, he owned all lawful Authority according to the Word of God, and all Authority that was the Ordinance of God by his preceptive Will, and he could be subject to any; but further to acknowledge it, he behoved to have more clearness; for sometimes a Nation might be charged with that, *ye have set up kings, and not by me*, &c. Further he conceded, He owned his providential Advancement to the Throne; he owned as much as he thought did oblige him to subject himself with patience; he owned him to be as lawful, as Providence possessing him of the Throne of his Ancestors, and lineal Succession, as presumed next in Blood and Line, could make him: but still he declined to own him as *lawful King*, and alledged that was all one, whether he was lawful or not, he refused not *Subjection*, distinguishing it always from *Allegiance*. But all these concessions did not satisfy them, and alledged he might say all this of a *Tyrant*; and therefore commanded him to give it under his hand, to own not only the *lineal*, but the *legal* Succession of King *James* VII. to the Crown of *Scotland*; which he did, upon a fancy, that *Legal* did not import *Lawful*, but only the formality of their Law; withal protesting, he might not be interpreted to *approve* of his succession. But this was a vain *Protestation against Fact*. However, by this we see, what is *owning this Authority*, in the sense of the *Inquisitors*. The result of all is, to acknowledge Allegiance to the present possessor, and to approve his pretended Authority as lawful, rightful and righteous; which indeed is the true sense of the Words, and any other, that men can forge or find out, is strained. For, to speak properly, if we own his Authority in any respect, we own it to be lawful: for every *Authority*, that is owned to be Authority indeed, is lawful; *Authority* always importing *Authorization*, and con-

consisting in a *Right* or *Call* to rule, and is formally and essentially contradistinct to *Usurpation:* where-ever the place of power is merely usurped, there is no Authority but *according to his Word*; a Stile without truth, a barely pretended nominal equivocal Authority, no real denomination: if we then own this Man's Authority, we own it to be lawful Authority: and if we cannot own it so, we cannot own it at all. For it is most suitable, either to manly ingenuity, or Christian simplicity, to speak properly, and to take words always in the sense, that they to whom they are speaking will understand them, without equivocating.

These Preliminaries being thus put by, which do contribute to clear somewhat in this Controversy, and both furnish us with some Arguments for, and solutions in most of the objections against my *Thesis*, in answer to the Questions above stated. I set it down thus: *A people long oppressed with the Encroachments of Tyrants and Usurpers, may disown all Allegiance to their pretended Authority, and when imposed upon to acknowledge it, may and must rather chuse to suffer, than to own it.* And consequently we cannot, as matters now stand, own, acknowledge, or approve the pretended Authority of King *James* VII. as lawful King of *Scotland*; as we could not, as matters then stood, own the Authority of *Charles* II. This consequence is abundantly clear from the foregoing deduction, demonstrating their Tyranny and Usurpation. In prosecuting of this general *Thesis*, which will evince the particular *Hypothesis*, I shall, 1. Adduce some *historical* Instances, whence it may be gathered, that this is not altogether without a precedent, but that people have disowned Allegiance to Tyrants and Usurpers before now. 2. Deduce it from the Dictates of *Reason.* 3. Confirm it by *Scripture*-arguments.

I. Albeit, as was shewed before, this Question, as now stated, is in many respects unprecedented; yet the practice, which in our day hath been the result of it, to wit, to *disown*, or *not to own* prevailing Dominators usurping the Government, or abusing it, is not so alien from the examples of *History*, but that by equivalency or consequence it may be collected from, and confirmed by instances.

1. To

1. To begin at home, beſides many Paſſages related already for confirmation, we may add, (1.) That for about 1025 years, the people had in their choice whom to own, or admit to ſucceed in the Government, 'Even 'though the Kingdom was hereditary; and uſed to e-'lect, not ſuch who were neareſt in blood and line, but 'theſe that were judged moſt fit for Government, being 'of the ſame progeny of *Fergus*, Buchanan's *Hiſtory of* 'Scotland, *Book* vi. *Pag.* 195. *in the Life of* Kenneth III.' This continued until the days of *Kenneth* III. who to cover his villainous Murder of his Brother's Son *Malcolm*, and prevent his, and ſecure his own Son's ſucceſſion, procured this Charter for Tyranny, the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion of the next in line from the Parliament: which, as it pretended the prevention of many inconveniencies, ariſing from Contentions and Competitions about the ſucceſſion; ſo it was limited by Laws, precluding the ſucceſſion of Fools or Monſters, and preſerving the peoples liberty to ſhake off the yoke, when Tyranny ſhould thereby be introduced: otherwiſe it would have been not only an irrational ſurrender of all their own Rights, and enſlaving the poſterity, but an irreligious contempt of Providence, refuſing and anticipating its determination in ſuch a caſe. However it is clear, before this time, that as none but the fitteſt were admitted to the Government; ſo if any did uſurp upon it, or afterwards did degenerate into Tyranny, they took ſuch order with him, as if he had not been admitted at all; as is clear in the inſtances of the *firſt Period*, and would never own every pretender to hereditary ſucceſſion. (2) As before *Kenneth*'s days, it is hard to reckon the numerous inſtances of Kings that were dethroned, or impriſoned, or ſlain, upon no other account than that of their oppreſſion and Tyranny; ſo afterwards, they maintained the ſame power and privilege of repreſſing them, when ever they began to encroach. And altho' no Nation hath been more patient towards bad Kings, as well as Loyal towards good ones; yet, in all former times, they underſtood ſo well their Right they had, and the duty they owed to their own preſervation, as that they ſeldom failed of calling the exorbitantly flagi-

tious

tious to an account. And albeit, instead of condoling or avenging the death of the Tyrannous, they have often both excused and justified it, yet no Kingdom hath inflicted severer Punishments upon the Murderers of just and righteous Princes: and therefore, though they did neither enquire after, nor animadvert upon those that slew *James* the III. a flagitious Tyrant, yet they did, by most exquisite Torments, put them to death who slew *James* the I. a vertuous Monarch. Hence, because these and other instances I mind to adduce of deposing Tyrants, may be excepted against, as not pertinent to my purpose, who am not pleading for exauctoration and deposition of Tyrants, being impracticable in our case: I shall once for all remove that, and desire it may be considered, [1.] That though we cannot formally exauctorate a Tyrant; yet he may, *by Law it self*, fall from his right, and may exauctorate himself, by his Law by whom Kings reign; and this is all we plead for as a foundation of not owning him. [2.] Though we have not the same power, yet we have the same grounds, and as great and good, if not greater and better reasons to reject and disown our Tyrant, as they, whose example is here adduced, had to depose some of their Tyrannizing Princes. [3.] If they had power and ground to *depose* them, then *a fortiori*, they had power and ground to *disown* them; for that is less, and included in the other, and this we have. [4.] Though it should be granted, that they did not disown them *before* they were deposed; yet it cannot be said that they did disown them only *because* they were deposed: for it is not deposition that makes a Tyrant; it only declares him to be justly punished, for what he was before. As the sentence of a judge does not make a man a murderer or Thief, only declares him convict of these Crimes, and punishable for them; 'tis his own committing them that makes him Criminal: and, as before the sentence, having certain knowledge of the fact, we might disown the Man's innocency or honesty; so a Ruler's Acts of Tyranny and Usurpation make him a Tyrant and Usurper, and give ground to disown his just and legal authority; which he can have no more than a Murderer

or Thief can have innocency or honesty. (3) We find also examples of their disowning Kings undeposed; as King *Baliol* was disowned with his whole race, for attempting to enslave the Kingdoms Liberties to foreign power. And if this may be done for such an attempt, as the greatest Court parasites, and Sycophants consent; what then shall be done for such as attempt to subject the people to domestick or intestine Slavery? shall we refuse to be slaves to one without, and be, and own our selves contented Slaves to one within the Kingdom? It is known also that King *James* the I. his Authority was refused by his subjects in *France*, so long as he was a Prisoner to the *English* there, though he charged them upon their Allegiance, not to fight against the party who had his person Prisoner: They answered, They owned no Prisoner for their King, nor owned no Allegiance to a Prisoner. Hence Princes may learn, though people submit to their Government; yet their resignation of themselves to their obedience is not so full, as that they are obliged to own Allegiance to them, when either morally or physically they are incapacitate to exerce Authority over them. They that cannot rule themselves, cannot be owned as Rulers over a people.

2. Neither hath there been any Nation, but what at one time or other hath furnished examples of this Nature. The *English* History gives account, how some of their Kings have been dealt with by their Subjects, for impieties against the Law and Light of Nature, and encroachments upon the Laws of the Land. *Vortigern* was dethroned for incestuously marrying his own Sister. Neither did ever Blasphemies, Adulteries, Murders, plotting against the lives of innocents, and taking them away by *Poison* or *Razor*, use to escape the animadversion of men, before they were Priest-ridden unto a belief that Princes persons were sacred. And if men had that generosity now, this man that now reigns might expect some such animadversion. And we find also King *Edward*, and *Richard* the II. were deposed, for Usurpation upon Laws and Liberties, in doing whereof the people avowed, *They would not suffer the Laws of* England *to be changed.* Surely the people of *England* must

now

now be far degenerate, who having such Laws transmitted to them from their worthy Ancestors, and they themselves being born to the possession of them without a change, do now suffer them to be so encroached upon, and mancipate themselves, and leave their Children vassals to Popery, and slaves to Tyranny.

3. The *Dutch* also, who have the best way of guiding of Kings of any that ever had to do with them (witness their having so many of them in chains, now in *Batavia* in the *East-Indies*) are not wanting for their part to furnish us with examples. When the King of *Spain* would not condescend to govern them according to their ancient Laws, and rule for the good of the people, they declared him to be *fallen from the Seigniory of the Netherlands*, and so erected themselves into a flourishing Common-wealth. It will not be amiss to transcribe some of the words of the Edict of the *States General* to this purpose. It is well known, (say they) 'That a Prince and 'Lord of a Country is ordained, by God, to be Sove-'reign and Head over his subjects, to preserve and de-'fend them from all injuries, force, and violence; and 'that if the Prince therefore faileth therein, and instead 'of preserving his subjects, doth outrage and oppress 'them, depriveth them of their Privileges and ancient 'Customs, commandeth them, and will be served of 'them as slaves; they are no longer bound to respect 'him as their sovereign Lord, but to esteem of him as a 'Tyrant, neither are they bound to acknowledge him 'as their Prince, but may abandon him, &c.' And with this agrees the answer of *William*, Prince of *Orange*, to the Edict of *Proscription*, published against him by *Philip* the II. There is, says he, 'A reciprocal Bond be-'twixt the Lord and his vassal; so that if the Lord 'break the Oath, which he hath made unto his vassal, 'the vassal is discharged of the Oath made unto his 'Lord.' This was the very Argument of the poor suffering people of *Scotland*, whereupon they disowned the Authority of *Charles* the II.

4. The Monarchy of *France* is very *absolute*; yet there also the State hath taken order with their Tyrants; not only have we many instances of resistances made

made againſt them, but alſo of diſowning, diſabling, and invalidating their pretended Authority, and repreſſing their Tyranny. So was the two *Childerici* ſerved: ſo alſo *Sigebertus*, *Dagabertus*, and *Lodowick* the II. Kings of *France*.

5. The great body of *Germany* moves very ſlowly, and is inured to bear great burdens: yet there alſo we find *Joanna* of *Auſtria*, Mother of *Charles* the V. was put to perpetual impriſonment: which example is adduced by the Earl of *Morton*, in his diſcourſe to the Queen of *England* (whereof I rehearſed a part before) vindicating the depoſing and diſowning Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*. If, ſaith he, 'We compare her with *Joan*-'*na* of *Auſtria*,——— what did that poor wretch com-'mit, but that ſhe could not want a little luſtful plea-'ſure, as a remedy neceſſary for her age? and yet, poor 'Creature, ſhe ſuffered that puniſhment, of which our 'Dame, convicted of moſt grievous Crimes, now com-'plains.'——— *Buchanan's Hiſtory of* Scotland, *Book* xx. *Pag.* 748. The Duke of *Saxon*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Magiſtrates of *Magdeburgh*, joined in a war againſt her Son *Charles* the V. and drew up a concluſion by reſolution of Lawyers, wherein are theſe words. ——— 'Neither are we bound to him by any o-'ther reaſon, than if he keep the conditions on which he 'was created Emperor. By the Laws themſelves it is 'provided, That the Superior Magiſtrate ſhall not in-'fringe the right of the inferior, and if the Superior 'Magiſtrate exceed the limits of his power, and com-'mand that which is wicked, not only we need not 'obey him, but if he offer force we may reſiſt him.' Which Opinion is confirmed by ſome of the greateſt Lawyers, and even ſome who are Patrons of Tyranny, *Grotius* none of the greateſt enemies of *Tyrants*, *de jure belli. lib.* 1. *chap.* 4. *Pag.* 11. ſaith out of *Barclaius*, and with him, *That the King doth loſe his power when he ſeeketh the deſtruction of his ſubjects*. It was upon the account of the Tyranny of that bloody houſe of *Auſtria* over the *Helvetians*, that they ſhook off the rule and Government of that family, and eſtabliſhed themſelves into a republick. And at this preſent time, upon the ſame

accounts, the Tyranny and Treachery of this *Imperial Majesty*, the *Hungarians* have essayed to maintain and justify a revolt in disowning the Emperor, now for several years.

6. *Poland* is an elective Kingdom, and so cannot but be fertile of many instances of casting off Tyrants. *Henricus Valesius*, disowned for fleeing, and *Sigismundus* for violating his faith to the States, may suffice. *Lex Rex* Q. 24. *Pag.* 217.

7. In *Denmark*, we find *Christiernus* their King, was, for his intolerable Cruelty, put from the Kingdom, he and all his Posterity, and after twenty years did end his life in Prison.

8. In *Swedland*, within the Compass of one Century, the people deposed and banished the two *Christierns*, and dethroned and imprisoned *Ericus*, for their oppressions and Tyranny, and for pursuing the destruction of their Subjects.

9. The *Portuguese*, not many years ago, laid aside and confined *Alphonsus* their King, for his rapines and Murders.

10. Some *Dukes* of *Venice* have been so disowned by these Common-Wealths Men, that laying aside their royal honours as private men, they have spent their days in Monasteries. *Buchan. de jure regni apud Scotos.*

11. If we will revolve the old *Roman* Histories, we shall find no small store of such examples, both in the time of their Kings, Consuls, and Emperors. Their seventh King *Tarquinius Superbus* was removed by the people, for his evident Usurpation: saith *Livius*, *That is, for he had nothing for a right to the Government, but mere force, and got the rule neither by the peoples consent and choice, nor by the Authority of the Senators.* So afterwards the Empire was taken from *Vitellius*, *Heliogabulus*, *Maximinus*, *Didius Julianus*, *Lex Rex*, *ub*, *supra.*

12. But it will be said. Can there be any instances of the *Primitive Christians* adduced? Did ever they, while groaning under the most insupportable Tyranny of their persecuting Emperors, disown their Authority, or suffer for not owning it? To this I answer, 1. What they did, or did not of this kind, is not of moment to

enquire: seeing their practice and example, under such disadvantages, can neither be known exactly, nor what is known of it be accommodated to our case: for (1) they were never forced to give their judgment, neither was the question ever put to them, whether they owned their Authority or not? If they transgressed the Laws, they were liable to the punishment, they craved no more of them. (2) They confess themselves to be *strangers*, that had no establishments by Law; and therefore they behoved to be passively subject, when in no capacity to resist; there was no more required of them. Yet *Lex Rex Quest.* 35. *pag.* 371. cites *Theodoret* affirming, *Then evil men reigned through the unmanliness of the subjects.* (3) Their examples are not imitable in all things: they were against resistance, which we doubt not to prove is lawful against Tyrannical violence: many of them refused to flee from the fury of Persecuters: they ran to Martyrdom, when neither cited nor accused; and to obtain the Crown thereof they willingly yielded up their lives and liberties also to the rage of Tyrants. We cannot be obliged to all these. 2. Yet we find some examples not altogether unapplicable to this purpose. When *Barochbach*, the pretended King of the *Jews*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, set himself up as King in *Bitter*, a City in *Arabia*; the Christians that were in his precincts, refused to own him as King; which was one great cause of his persecuting them. 'Tis true he persecuted them also for other things, as for their not denying Christ; so are we persecuted for many other things, than for our simple disowning of the King: yet this is reckoned as a distinct cause of their suffering, by Mr. *Mede*, on the *Revel. Part.* 1. *Pag.* 43. *Gees Magist. Origin. Chap.* 10. *Sect.* 7. *Pag.* 361. The same last cited Author shews, that when *Albinus*, *Niger*, and *Cassius*, successively usurped the Empire, having none of them any legal investiture, the Christians declined the recognition of their claim, and would not own them; and that upon this *Tertullian* says, *That is, the Christians could never be found to be* Albinians, *or* Nigrians, *or* Cassians, *meaning they were never Owners of these men for Magistrates.* And so may we say, *We may be ashamed to be found*

*found amongſt the* Charlites *and* Jacobites *of theſe Times.* Not unlike is the paſſage of *Ambroſe*, who, in favours of *Valentinian* the rightful Governor, conteſted againſt *Maximus* the Tyrant, and not only diſowned him, but excommunicated him, for which he was threatened with death. And yet it is obſervable, that when *Maximus* offered to interpoſe his power in defence of *Ambroſe*, that he might not be baniſhed by *Juſtina* the Empreſs, he would not accept of the help of *Maximus*, whoſe power he diſallowed and diſowned. Whence I obſerve, that it is not without a Precedent for a Miniſter to diſown a *Tyrant*, to refuſe favour from him; yea, and to excommunicate him, yea, even without the concurrence of his fainting Brethren; for all which ſome of our faithful Miniſters have been much condemned in our day, eſpecially Mr. *Donald Cargil* for excommunicating *Charles* the II. and *James*, Duke of *York*, as if ſuch a thing had never been done before: whereas, we ſee what *Ambroſe* did to *Maximus*. And this ſame faithful Miniſter, *Ambroſius* Miniſter at *Milan*, in *Italy*, did alſo hold out of the Aſſembly of the Chriſtians *Theodoſius* the Emperor, though a moſt virtuous Prince, for that grievous Scandal committed by him, againſt the innocent people at *Theſſalonica*, in killing ſo many of them in a paſſionate tranſport. But, 3. ſince this objection of the primitive Chriſtians is much inſiſted on, both againſt this and the head of defenſive Arms: I ſhall further take notice of ſeveral diſtinctions, that do make the difference between their caſe and ours very vaſt. (1) There is a great difference betwixt a Prince of the common Religion of his Subjects, but diſtinct from ſome of them, whom yet he does not ſeek to entice to his Religion, but gives them liberty, and the benefit of the Law as other Subjects: (which was the caſe of many in theſe primitive times ſometimes.) And a Prince, by all means, both foul and fair, preſſing to a revolt from the true, and to embrace a falſe Religion. In this caſe (which is ours with a witneſs) it muſt be granted we ſhould be wary, that we neither engage with him, nor own Allegiance to him, when he would withdraw us from our Allegiance to God. (2) There is a great difference betwixt a Prince

perſecuting the true Religion, which only a few of his ſubjects here and there did profeſs, who, in regard of their Paucity were never in capacity to be looked upon as the body of the people, impowering him as their publick Servant; (which was their caſe) and a Prince perſecuting that Religion, which was profeſſed by the body of the Nation, when they ſet him up. In this latter caſe, men of great ſenſe have denied he ſhould be owned for a Prince, becauſe then he is ſtated againſt the common good. This was our caſe under the former King, and yet under this, though all Profeſſors be not now perſecuted, the publick Religion and ancient Reformation is perſecuted in a few, whom he intends to deſtroy, and in their deſtruction to bury it. (3) There is a difference betwixt a Prince perſecuting Religion, publickly owned and received of his ſubjects, yet never approved nor confirmed by *Law* (as it was not in the primitive times) and a Prince perſecuting Religion ratified and eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land, which is our caſe. It will ſeem clear to every ſoul, not benighted with Court darkneſs, that he then *of courſe*, and, *by Law*, falleth from his right in this caſe, becauſe now he is not only ſtated againſt the common good, but againſt the very Laws by which the Subjects muſt be ruled. Then he ruleth not as a Prince, to whom the Law giveth his Meaſures and bounds, but rageth as a Tiger and Tyrant, and ought to be carried towards as ſuch. (4) There is a difference betwixt a Prince ſuppreſſing that Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, which he never *profeſſed*, nor never gave his conſent to theſe Laws (as might be the caſe of ſome of the *Arrian* Emperors) though it be unlawful for any people to ſet up any Mortal over them, who is not in this caſe bound to the good behaviour; and a Prince, oppoſing and oppreſſing that Religion, which himſelf hath *profeſſed*, and is ratified by Laws with his own conſent: which was our caſe under the former King, who did give the moſt ſolemn Ratification of them that ever was given, but afterwards moſt perfidiouſly retracted it. As alſo this *Apoſtate Papiſt*, did ſometime profeſs himſelf Proteſtant, and conſented to the Laws eſtabliſhing it, and the penal Statutes a-

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gainſt Papiſts, though now he is going about to raze all, and ruin that alone valuable Treaſure of our Nation, Religion. (5.) There is a difference betwixt a Prince conſenting to Laws eſtabliſhing Religion which he now *perſecuteth* (which might have been the Caſe of *Julian* the *Apoſtate*) and a Prince, who not only conſented to theſe Laws, but who did upon theſe very terms, and no other, get and receive his Crown and Sceptre, that he ſhould preſerve the Religion as reformed, and protect as a Father the Profeſſors thereof, and maintain the Laws eſtabliſhing it, which yet he, perfidiouſly and perniciouſly, being once ſettled in the Government, breaks, caſts, caſſates and overturns (which was done by *Charles*) or, and a Prince who will be bounded by the Laws he conſented to, nor be bound to the obſervation of any Laws whatſoever; but challenges it as his Prerogative royal, to be *abſolute* above all Laws, and denying all Security upon terms, is free to deſtroy Religion and Liberty, and all the valuable Intereſts of the Nation, when he pleaſes. This is *James* his Character. (6.) There is a difference betwixt a Prince breaking the main and only Article of his Covenant, in a fit of fury and rage, being tranſported upon ſome Miſtakes (which was the caſe of *Theodoſius* the Emperor) and a Prince not only violating this upon deliberation, but plainly declaring, that neither Oath nor Declaration can or will bind him; but theſe being made void, he will deſtroy without reſtraint all theſe covenanted privileges (this was the caſe of *Charles*) or, and a Prince, who, as he never will come under the bond of a Covenant with his people: So tho' he make never ſo many fair promiſes with the greateſt Solemnities, maintains a principle, that he will keep no promiſes, but when, and with whom he pleaſes, and can get a Diſpenſation to break all when he likes. (This is *James* his Ingenuity.) Sure in this caſe, ſuch as are ſo characterized, declare themſelves ſo far from being Princes, that they profeſs before the world, they are no more men to be converſed with: for, if neither their Words, Writs, Vows, Promiſes, Oaths, Declarations, nor Proteſtations can bind them, what Society can be had with them? Are they

not

not to be looked upon, and carried towards as common Enemies of Morality, Religion, Righteousness, Liberty, Humanity, yea even of Mankind itself? Now then, let the world be Judge, if the people of *Scotland* can be judged in Conscience, Reason, Prudence, Policy, or any imaginable way, bound to own their Authority, being so stated, and by the Act rescissory, all human ground rescinded, that ever it shall be otherwise: let them go seek other slaves where they can find them, for we will not sell ourselves and posterity to Tyrants as slaves, nor give up our Religion and the exercise of it to the Mouldings of the Court.

II. In the *second* place, It being clear from these forementioned instances, that Tyrants and Usurpers have been disowned; and it being also as clear as light can make any thing, from the foregoing Account of their Government, and all the characters of Truculency, Treachery and Tyranny, conspicuously relucent therein, that these two Gentlemen, whose Authority we are pressed to own, were Tyrants and Usurpers: it remains therefore to prove from all dictates of Reason about Government, that their pretended Authority could not nor cannot be owned. For the Argument runs thus; the Authority of Tyrants and Usurpers cannot be owned; but the Authority of *Charles* and *James* was and is the Authority of Tyrants and Usurpers: therefore their Authority cannot be owned. Now 'tis the *Major* of this *Syllogism* that I undertake to prove, the *Minor* being so clear from their History, that to prove it by witnesses were *to do what is already done.*

1. All Authority to be owned of men must be *of God*, and *ordained of God*: for so the Apostle teacheth expressly, *Rom.* xiii. 1. &c. which is the alone formal reason of our Subjection to them, and that which makes it a damnable sin to resist them; because it is a resisting the *Ordinance of God.* The Lord owns himself to be the Author of Magistrates, *Prov.* viii. 15. *By me Kings reign and Princes decree Justice.* As he is the Author of man, and hath made him a sociable Creature, so he is the Author of the Order of human Society, which is necessary for the preservation of Mankind, he being the God of Order and not of Confusion. And this must hold not only of the supreme

ſupreme Authority, but of ſubordinate Magiſtrates alſo; for they muſt be included in the higher Powers, to whom we muſt be *ſubject*, Rom. xiii. and they that reſiſt them, reſiſt God's Ordinance too. Their judgment is *God's*, as well as the judgment of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, *Deut.* i. 17. 2 *Chron.* xix. 6, 8. they are called gods among whom the Lord judgeth, *Pſal.* lxxxii. 1. He ſpeaketh not there of a Congregation of Kings. We are to be ſubject to them for the Lord's ſake, as well as to the ſupreme Magiſtrate, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. therefore all Magiſtrates, ſuperior and inferior, are ordained of God in the reſpective places. 'Tis true, *Peter* calls every degree of Magiſtracy an *Ordinance of man*, not that he denies it to be an Ordinance of God (for ſo he would contradict *Paul*, Rom. xiii.) but terms it ſo emphatically, to commend the worth of obedience to Magiſtrates, though but men, when we do it for the Lord's ſake: not *effectively*, as an invention of men, but *ſubjectively*, becauſe exerciſed by men, and created and inveſted by human ſuffrages, conſidered as men in Society, and *objectively*, for the good of man, and for the external peace and ſafety of man, thereby differenced from the Miniſtry, an Ordinance of Chriſt, for the ſpiritual good of mens ſouls. Hence, thoſe Rulers that are not of God, nor ordained of God, cannot be owned without ſin; but Tyrants and Uſurpers are the Rulers, that are not of God, nor ordained of God, but are ſet up, and not by him, &c. Hoſ. viii. 1---4. therefore they cannot be owned without ſin. I refer it to any man of Conſcience and Reaſon to judge, if theſe Scriptures, proving Magiſtracy to be the Ordinance of God, for which alone it is to be owned, can be applied to Tyrants and Uſurpers. How will that, *Rom.* xiii. read of Tyrants? *Let every ſoul be ſubject to Tyrants, for they are ordained of God as his Miniſters of Juſtice*, &c. *and are a terror to good works, and a praiſe to the evil.* Would not every man nauſeate that as not the Doctrine of God? Again, how would that ſound, *Prov.* viii. *By me Tyrants reign, and Uſurpers decree injuſtice?* Harſh to Chriſtian ears. Can they be ſaid to be *gods* among whom the Lord judgeth? If they be, they muſt be ſuch as the witch of *Endor* ſaw, gods coming out of the earth, when ſhe raiſed the Devil; in a very

a very catechreſtical Meaning, as the Devil is called the *God of this world.* And indeed they have no more power, nor otherwiſe to be owned, than he hath: for this is a Truth, Tyranny is a work of Satan, and not from God; becauſe ſin, either habitual or actual, is not from God; Tyranny is ſin in habit and act: therefore——. The Magiſtrate, as Magiſtrate, is good in nature and end, being the Miniſter of God for good, a Tyrant, as a Tyrant, is quite contrary. *Lex Rex* ſaith well, 'A Power 'Ethical, Politick or Moral, to oppreſs, is not from 'God, and is not a Power, but a licentious Deviation of 'a power, and no more from God, but from ſinful Na-'ture, and the old Serpent, than a Licence to ſin, *Queſt.* '9. *p.* 59. Hence ſin, a licence to ſin, a licentious ſinning, cannot be from God; but Tyranny, Uſurpation, abſolute power encroaching upon all Liberties, Laws, Divine and human, is ſin, a licence to ſin, a licentious ſinning: Therefore——. But, to make this clear, and to obviate what may be ſaid againſt this, let it be conſidered, how the powers that be are *of God*, and *ordained of God.* Things are ſaid to be *of God* and *ordained of God*, two ways; by his Purpoſe and *Providence*, and by his *Word* and Warrant. Things may be of God, either of his *Hand* working, or bringing them about, ordaining and ordering them to be to his Glory, either by a holy over-ruling Providence, as *Samſon*'s deſire of a wife was of God, *Judg.* xiv. 4. and *Amaziah*'s inſolent and fooliſh rejection of *Joaſh* his peaceable overture, 2 *Chron.* xxv. 20. or by a powerful effective Providence; ſo *Rom.* xi. 36. *Of him and through him are all things*, 1 Cor. viii. 6 *One God, of whom are all things.* Or things be of God, of his *Word* warranting and authorizing. So we are commanded to *try the ſpirits, whether they be of God* (1 *John*, iv. 1.) So in this Senſe, ſin, tentation, luſt, corruptions of the world are not of God, *Jam.* i. 13. 1 *John* ii. 16. Again, things are ordained of God, either by the order of his Counſel or providential Will; either effectively, by way of Production or Direction; or permiſſively, by way of Non-impedition: or they are ordained by the order of his Word and preceptive Will. The former is God's Rule, the latter is ours: the former is always accompliſhed,

compliſhed, the latter is often contradicted: the former orders all actions, even ſinful; the latter only that which is good and acceptable in the ſight of God: by the former *Iſrael* rejected *Samuel*, by the latter they ſhould have continued *Samuel*'s Government, and not ſought a King: by the former *Athaliah* uſurped the Government, by the latter ſhe ſhould have yielded obedience, and reſigned the Government to the poſterity of *Ahaziah*: by the former all have a phyſical ſubordination to God as Creatures, ſubject to his all-diſpoſing Will; by the latter, thoſe whom he approves have a moral ſubordination to God, as obedient ſubjects to his commanding Will. Now Magiſtrates are of God, and ordained by him both theſe ways; Tyrants but one of them. I ſay, Magiſtrates, the higher powers, to whom we owe and muſt own ſubjection, are of God both theſe ways, both by his Purpoſe and Providence; and that not merely eventual, but effective and executive of his Word, diſpoſing both of the Title and Right, and poſſeſſion of the power, to them whom he approves, and bringing the People under a conſcientious ſubjection, and by his Word and Warrant. So *Adonijah* the Uſurper (though he had the pretence of hereditary Right, and alſo poſſeſſion by Providence) was forced to own King *Solomon* in theſe terms, upon which only a Magiſtrate may be owned: *The kingdom*, ſays he, *was mine, and all Iſrael ſet their faces on me that I ſhould reign: howbeit the kingdom is turned about, and become my brother's, for it was his from the Lord*, 1 Kings ii. 15. He had both Providence turning about the Kingdom to him, and alſo the Warrant of the Lord's approbative and preceptive Will. But Tyrants and Uſurpers are only of God, and ordained of God, by his overruling Purpoſe and permiſſive Providence, either for performing his holy purpoſe towards themſelves, as *Rehoboam*'s profeſſing he would be a Tyrant, and refuſing the lawful deſires of the people was of God, 2 *Chron.* x. 15. or for a judgment and vengeance upon them that are ſubject to them, *Zech.* xi. 6. whereby they get a power in their hand, which is the *Rod of the Lord's indignation*, and a Charge and Commiſſion againſt a hypocritical Nation, *Iſa.* x. 5, 6. This is all the power they have from God, who *gives Jacob to the ſpoil, and Iſrael*

*Israel to the robbers, when they sin against him, Isa.* xlii 24. This doth not give these Robbers any right, no more than they whose *tabernacle prosper, into whose hand God bringeth abundantly*, Job xii. 6. Thus all Robbers, and the great legal Robbers, Tyrants and their authorized Murderers, may be of God, to wit, by his Providence. Hence those that are not ordained of God's preceptive will, but merely by his providential Will, their Authority is not to be owned; but Tyrants and Usurpers are not ordained of God's preceptive, but merely by his providential Will. The *Minor* needs no proof, yet will be cleared by many following arguments; the *Major* will be afterwards more demonstrated. Here I shall only say, They that have no other ordination of God impowering them to be Rulers, than the Devil hath, must not be owned; but they that have no other than the ordination of Providence, have no other ordination of God impowering them to be Rulers, than the Devil hath: therefore they that have no other than the ordination of Providence, must not be owned.

2. But let us next consider what is comprehended in the Ordination of that authority which is to be owned as *of God:* and it may be demonstrated, there are two things in it, without which no authority can be owned as of God, *viz. Institution* and *Constitution:* so as to give him, whom we must own as God's Minister, authority both in the *Abstract* and *Concrete*, that is, that he should have Magistracy by God's Ordination, and be a Magistrate by and according to the will of God. All acknowledge that Magistracy hath God's *Institution*, for the powers that be are *ordained of God:* which contains not only the appointment of it, but the qualification and form of it. That government is appointed by divine precept all agree but whether the precept be moral natural, or moral positive, Whether it was appointed in the state of innocency, or since disorder came in the world, Whether it be *Primario* or *Secundario*, from the law of nature, is not agreed upon. It may possibly be all these ways; government in the general may be from the law and light of nature appointed in innocency, because all its relative duties are enjoined in the fifth Command, and all nation

ions naturally have an eſteem of it, without which there ould be no order, diſtinction, or communion in human ocieties, but the ſpecification or individuation may be y a poſtnate, poſitive and ſecondary law, yet natural oo, for though there be no reaſon in nature why any nan ſhould be King and Lord over another, being in ome ſenſe all naturally free, but as they yield themelves under juriſdiction: the exalting of *David* over *Iſael* is not aſcribed to nature, but to an act of divine ounty, which took him from following the ewes, and nade him feeder of the people of *Iſrael*, *Pſal.* lxxviii. 70, 71: yet nature teacheth, that *Iſrael* and other *People* hould have a government, and that this ſhould be ſubected to. Next, Not only is it appointed to be, but qualified by inſtitution, and the *Office* is defined, the *End* preſcribed, and the meaſures and *Boundaries* thereof are limited, as we ſhall hear. Again, The forms of it, though politically, they are not ſtinted, that people ſhould have ſuch a form and not another: yet *Morally*, at leaſt negatively, whatever be the form, it is limited to the rules of equity and juſtice, and muſt be none other than what hath the Lord's Mould and Sanction. But there is no inſtitution any of theſe ways for Tyranny. Hence, that power that hath no inſtitution from God, cannot be owned as his ordinance; but the power of Tyrants is that power, being contrary in every reſpect to God's inſtitution, and a mere deviation from it, and everſion of it: *Ergo* ——— To the *Minor* it may be replied; tho' the power which Tyrants may exerce, and Uſurpers aſſume, may be in *Concrete* contrary to God's Inſtitution, and ſo not to be owned; yet, *in the Abſtract*, it may be acknowledged of God. It is but the *Abuſe* of the power, and that does not take away the *Uſe*. We may own the power, though we do not own the abuſe of it. I *anſw.* 1. I acknowledge the diſtinction as to Magiſtrates is very pertinent; for it is well ſaid by the *Congregation* in a Letter to the Nobility, *Knox's Hiſtory of Scotland*, *Book* 2. 'That there is a great difference betwixt the authority, 'which is God's Ordinance, and the perſons of theſe 'who are placed in authority; the Authority and Or'dinance of God can never do wrong, for it command-

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'eth that vice be punished, and virtue maintained; bu
'the corrupted person placed in this authority may offend
——— It is certain, higher powers are not to be resisted
but some persons in power may be resisted. The power
are ordained of God; but Kings commanding unjus
things are not ordained of God to do such things; Bu
to apply this to Tyrants, I do not understand. Magi-
strates in some acts may be guilty of Tyranny, and ye
retain the power of Magistracy; but Tyrants cannot be
capable of Magistracy, nor any one of the Scripture-cha-
racters of righteous Rulers. They cannot retain that
which they have forfeited, and which they have over-
turned; and Usurpers cannot retain that which they ne-
ver had. They may act and enact some things mate-
rially just, but they are not formally such as can make
them Magistrates, no more than some unjust actions can
make a Magistrate a Tyrant. A Murderer, saving the
life of one and killing another, does not make him no
Murderer: once a Murderer ay a Murderer, once a Rob-
ber ay a Robber, till he restore what he hath robbed:
so once a Tyrant ay a Tyrant, till he make amends for
his Tyranny, and that will be hard to do. 2. The Con-
crete does specificate the abstract in actuating it, as a
Magistrate, in his exercising government, makes his
power to be Magistracy; a Robber, in his robbing,
makes his power to be Robbery; an Usurper, in his
usurping, makes his power to be Usurpation; so a Ty-
rant, in his tyrannizing, can have no power but Tyran-
ny. As the abstract of a Magistrate is nothing but Ma-
gistracy, so the abstract of a Tyrant is nothing but Ty-
ranny. It is frivolous then to distinguish between a ty-
rannical power in the Concrete, and Tyranny in the ab-
stract; the power and the abuse of the power: for he
hath no power as a Tyrant, but what is abused. 3.
They that object thus, must either mean, that power
in its general notion is ordained of God, but this par-
ticular power abused by Tyrants, and assumed by U-
surpers, is not ordained: or they must mean, that the
very power of Tyrants and Usurpers is ordained of God,
but the way of holding and using it is not of God. If
the first be said, they grant all I plead for: for though
the

he power in general be ordained, yet what is this to Tyrants and Usurpers? would not this claim be ridiculous for any man to say, God hath ordained governments to be, therefore I will challenge it? God hath ordained Marriage, therefore any may cohabit together as man and wife, without formal Matrimony? If the second be alledged, that the power of these prevailing Dominators is ordained, but not their holding and using of it: this is nonsense, for how can a power be ordained, and the use of it be unlawful? For the abuse and use of tyrannical power is all one and reciprocal: an Usurper cannot use his power but by usurpation. Again, is it not plain, that the *Abstract* and the *Concrete*, the act or habit, and the subject wherein it is, cannot have a contrary denomination? if Drunkenness and Theft, Lying or Murder, be of the Devil; then the Drunkard, the Thief, the Lyar, and the Murderer, are of the Devil too: so if Tyranny and Usurpation, or the use or abuse of Tyrants and Usurpers be of the Devil, then must the Tyrants and Usurpers also be of him: none can say, the one is of the Devil, and the other of God. Wherefore it is altogether impertinent to use such a distinction, with application to Tyrants or Usurpers, as many do in their pleading for the owning of our Oppressors; for they have no power, but what is the abuse of power.

3. As that authority which is God's ordinance must have his *Institution*; so it must have his divine *Constitution* from himself and by the people. Where-ever then there is authority to be owned of men, there must be these two, Constitution from God and Constitution from the people. For the *first*, God hath a special interest in the constitution of authority, both immediately and mediately. *Immediately*, he declares such and such forms of government to be lawful and eligible, and does order whom, and who, and how people shall direct Governors. And so, he confers royal graces, and endowments, and gifts for government on them, as on *Joshua* and *Saul*: so they become the *Lord's Anointed*, placed and *set on the Throne of the Lord*, 1 *Chron.* xxix. 23. and honoured with Majesty, as his Deputes and Vicegerents, having their *Crown set* on by God, *Psal.* xxi. 3. But in regard now

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he doth not by any ſpecial Revelation determine, who ſhall be the Governors in this or that place; therefore he makes this conſtitution by mediation of men, giving them rules how they ſhall proceed in ſetting them up. And ſeeing, by the law of nature, he hath enjoined government to be, but hath ordered no particular in it with application to ſingulars, he hath committed it to the poſitive tranſaction of men, to be diſpoſed according to certain general rules of juſtice. And it muſt needs be ſo; for 1*ſt*, without this conſtitution, either all or none would be Magiſtrates: if he hath ordained civil power to be, and taken no order in whom it ſhall be, or how it ſhall be conveyed, any might pretend to it; and yet none would have a right to it, more than another. If then he hath affixed it to a peculiar *having* and *holding*, by virtue whereof this man is enſtated and entitled to the office, and not that man, there muſt be a law for conſtituting him in authority, which will diſcover in whom it is. 2. If it were not ſo, then reſiſting of a particular Magiſtrate would not be a reſiſting of the Ordinance of God, if a particular Magiſtrate were not conſtitute of God, as well as Magiſtracy is inſtitute of God: for ſtill it would be undetermined, who were the power; and ſo it would be left as free and lawful for the Reſiſter to take the place, as for the Reſiſted to hold it; the inſtitution would be ſatisfied if any poſſeſſed it: therefore there muſt be conſtitution to determine it. 3. No common law of nature can be put into practice, without particular conſtitution regulating it. That Wives and Children own their ſuperior relations, is the law of nature; but there muſt be ſuch a relation firſt fixed by human tranſaction, before they can own them; there muſt be Marriage authorized of God, there muſt be Children begotten, and then the Divine Ordination of theſe relative duties take place. So the Judges of *Iſrael* for four hundred and fifty years were given of God, *Acts* xiii. 20. not all by an immediate expreſs deſignation, but a mediate call from God by men, as *Jephthah*, *Judg.* xi 6, 11. Inferior Judges alſo are Magiſtrates appointed by God, yet they have their deputation from men. Our Saviour ſpeaks of all Magiſtrates, when he applies that

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of the 82 *Psalm* to them, *I said ye are gods*; and shews how they were *gods*, because unto them the *Word of God came. John* x. 35. that is, by his word and warrant he authorized them, not by immediate designation in reference to the most of them, but the word of God comes to them, or his constitution is past upon them, who are advanced by men according to his word. When men therefore do act according to the Divine rule, in the moulding and erecting of Government and Governors, there the Constitution is of God, though it be not immediate. And where this is not observed, whatever power (so named or pretended) there may be, or whatsoever persons there be that take upon them to be the power, and are not thereto appointed or therein instated, and do exerce such a power as God hath not ligitimated, they are not a power ordained of God. Hence, whatsoever power hath no Constitution from God, either immediate or mediate, cannot be owned: but the authority of Tyrants and Usurpers, is a power that hath no Constitution from God, either immediate or mediate; *therefore* it cannot be owned. The *Major* is cleared above. The *Minor* is also undeniable: for, either they must pretend to an immediate Constitution by Revelation, that *James* Duke of *York*, a Vassal of Antichrist, had, by all his plots and pranks, merited the Crown of *Britain*, and therefore must be constitute King; and this I hope they will not pretend to, except the *Pope* hath gotten such a Revelation from *Pluto*'s Oracle; or they must have recourse to the mediate Constitution by men: and if so; then either this mediate Constitution of God is left undetermined, indefinitely and absolutely giving way to any that will assume what power they please and can: and then, I confess, Tyrants may have a Constitution; but this Constitution cannot be of God; or else it is fixed by a rule, regulating the succession or constitution of the Governors, and obliging the people to own the Government so constituted, with exclusion and disallowance of any other. And so, if in that Constitution there be a substantial deviation from the rule, as when incompetent or unallowed persons be the Advancers of themselves, or others, into that place by illegal and sinistrous

ſtrous means, in as much as in that caſe there is the Divine diſapprobation, it may be ſaid there is no Ordinance of God, but a Contradiction and Contraordination to God's order. *Gee's Magiſt. Origin. Chap.* 5. *Sect.* 4. *Subject.* 3. *Pag.* 135. This will ſhake off this of ours, and all other Tyrants and Uſurpers, that come into the Government, and hold it not according to God's rule.

4. It is clear alſo in the *ſecond* place, that the authority which we can own out of conſcience, muſt have *Conſtitution* by the people. The ſpecial way by which men ſhould be called into the place of ſovereign power, may perhaps not be found ſo expreſly defined in Scripture, as mens call to the other Ordinance of the Miniſtry is; yet in this two things are eſſentially neceſſary to the conſtitution of a Magiſtrate, the peoples *conſent* and *compact* either formal or virtual. And without theſe we can own conſcientious ſubjection and Allegiance to no man living. That the firſt is neceſſary will be evident, from the law of Nature and Nations, and from Scripture. *Firſt*, The light and Law of nature dictates, that the right and intereſt of conſtituting Magiſtrates is in the elective vote or ſuffrage of the people. This will appear, 1. If we conſider the original of Government among men, eſpecially after they were ſo multiplied, that there was a Neceſſity of a Reduction into diverſe Communities; which, whatever was before the flood, yet after it, behoved to be by a Coalition with conſent under an elective Government. The Scripture makes it more than probable, that the firſt partition of Commonwealths was in *Peleg*'s days, in whoſe time the earth was *divided*, *Gen.* x. 25. occaſioned by the confuſion of *Languages at Babel*, *which did diſſolve their union*, *and ſcatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth*, Gen. xi. 9. Then was it that we may conceive, as *Buchanan* ſays, *de Jure Regni apud Scot.* 'The time was, when men dwelt in cottages and 'caves, and as ſtrangers did wander to and fro without 'laws, and ſuch as could converſe together of the ſame 'language, aſſembled together as their humours did lead 'them, or as ſome common utility did allure them, a 'certain inſtinct of nature did oblige them to deſire con-'verſe and Society.' But this confuſion of Languages,

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and communion of Language, in several divided parcels, could not incorporate these several Parties into Communities; that behoved to be the effect of some other cause: and what should that be, but the joint will, consent and agreement of the severally languaged? It could not be by *Consanguinity*; for there is no direction from Nature for a confinement of that into such and such degrees, to make out the bounds of a Commonwealth, or possibility of knowing all within such degrees; besides all within these degrees might not be of the same Language. Now, the Scripture says, they *were divided every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations*, Gen. x. 5. Next, it could not be by *Cohabitation*: for how that must go to be the boundaries of a Commonwealth, inclusively or exclusively, is not defined by nature, nor can it be otherwise determined, than by human choice. Then, it could not be by mens *belonging to such a Sovereign*: for, after that Division and Confusion, they could not all be under one Sovereign, nor under the same that they were subject to before; and a Sovereign cannot be before the aggregation of the Subjects whereof he is head, they must first be a Commonwealth before they can belong to it. Again, it cannot be founded upon the Right of *Fatherhood*: for, in that scattering, such a Right could not be uninterruptedly preserved: and then *Noah* should also have been the universal Magistrate, which he could not be in these multiplied successions. And further, if it be refounded on the Right of Fatherhood, either every Company had one common Father over all, or every Father made a Commonwealth of his own Children: the latter cannot be said, for that would multiply Commonwealths *in infinitum*: neither can the first be said; for, if they had one common Father, either this behoved to be the natural Father of all the Company, which none can think was so happily ordered by *Babel's* confusion: or else the eldest in age, and so he might be incapable for Government, and the Law of Nature does not direct that the Government should alway be astricted to the eldest of the Community: or else, finally, he behoved to be their *political* Father, by *Consent*. For, before this Consent, they were unengaged

as to common order of Government; none of the Community having any legal Claim to Sovereignty more than the reſt. When therefore they were forced to conclude upon Aſſociation, for their mutual preſervation, they muſt be thought to act rationally, and not to make their condition worſe, but rather better by that concluſion; and, if they found it worſe, to reſume their radical Right which they had conferred upon men ſubject to Law, not to tyrannize over them: and in this caſe, certainly they had the power of chooſing what kind of Government ſuited moſt to their advantage, and would beſt preſerve their Liberties, and how far this ſhould be extended, and who ſhould be aſſumed into this Combination; ſtill with a reſervation of the privilege to their own ſafety, if their Aſſociates ſhould not do their duty: and ſo they might alſo reſerve to themſelves a Liberty to alter the form, when they found it productive of more prejudice than advantage, and never to leave their condition remedileſs; and to pitch upon this way of ſucceſſion, and not another, the way of free election of every ſucceſſor, or of definite election limited to one line, or to the neareſt in line; and *e contra*, with a reſerve ſtill of their primeve privileges, to ſecure themſelves from the inconveniencies of that determination, or to change it; and to make choice of ſuch a family and line, and not another, and whether the eldeſt always of that Family, or the fitteſt is to be choſen; and however it be, yet ſtill by the peoples conſent: and in all this to have reſpect to ſome good, great and neceſſary Ends, which, if they ſhould be diſappointed of, and find theſe means uſeleſs or deſtructive to, they were to be looſed from their obligation to uſe or to own them. See *Jus populi vindicat. ch. 5. p.* 80, &c. 2. If we conſider how Nature determines the peoples intereſt in the conſtitution of Governors: whence comes it that this man, and not that man, this race and family, and not that, is inveſted with that Title? It will be found there is no Title on earth now to the Crowns, to families, to perſons, but the peoples ſuffrage: for the inſtitution of Magiſtracy in general does not make *James Stewart* a King, no more than *John Chamberlain:* neither do *Qualifications* make one

one, otherwise there might be many better than is this day extant; for there are many men better qualified: and there is no prophetical or immediate Callings to Kingdoms now: and as for Conquest without Consent, and having no more for a Title, it is no better than *royal Latrociny*. It is certain, God would not command us to obey Kings, and leave us in the dark, that we should not know him that hath a real Call to it. And if he have not the peoples Call, where shall we find another? It remains therefore they must have it from the people, who have it to give *radically* and *virtually*, having a power to preserve themselves. and to put it in the hands of one or moe Rulers, that they may preserve themselves by them. All men are born alike as to civil Power (no man being born with a Crown on his head) and yet men united in Society may give it to this man, and not to that man; therefore they must have it virtually, for they cannot give what they have not. And as Cities have power to choose their Magistrates, so many Cities have power to create an universal Ruler over them all. The people also have power to limit the Magistrates power with conditions; so that the present Ruler shall not have so much prerogative as his predecessor, as *Royalists* cannot deny, therefore they must have given that power which they can limit. See *Lex Rex*, *Quest.* 4. *p.* 10, &c. *2dly*, The Scripture also gives Light in this particular. 1. In giving Directions and Rules about their orderly calling their Governors, impowering them to *Take wise men, and understanding, and known among their tribes, to be made Rulers*, Deut. i. 13. *To make Judges and Officers in all their gates*, Deut. xvi. 18. *To set one among their brethren King over them, and not a Stranger*, Deut. xvii, 15. To what purpose are these Rules given them, if they had no interest to choose their Magistrates? Would God command them to set a King over them, if they had not power to do it? And to set such a man over them, and not such an one, if they had no influence in making one at all? And accordingly that wise Statist says very well, 2 *Sam.* xvi. 18. *Hushai* to *Absalom*, *Nay, but whom the Lord and this people, and all the men of Israel choose, his will I be, and with him will I abide.* Which

will also hold in the negative, whom the Lord and the people, and all the men of the Kingdom do not choose, his we will not be, nor with him will we abide. 2. The Scripture expresly attributeth the *making of Kings* to the people. *All the people of Judah took Azariah, and made him king, instead of his father Amaziah,* whom they had executed, 2 *Kings,* xiv. 21. They *came with a perfect heart to make David king in Hebron,* 1 Chron. xii. 38. So *they made Joash king,* 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. 3. Even these that were particularly designed of God, and chosen to be Rulers, yet were not formally invested with power, before the people conferred it upon them. *Gideon* was called of God to it, but was not Judge, till the people said, *Rule thou over us, both thou and thy son, giving* him an hereditary right for his children, *Judg.* viii. 12. *Saul* was appointed to be King, and therefore *Samuel* honoured him, because he was marked out of God to be King, 1 *Sam.* ix. 24. and *anointed him with oil,* 1 Sam. x. 1. after which he was gifted and qualified for Government. God gave him another heart, *vers.* 9. yet all this did not make him King, till the people met for his inauguration, *vers.* 17, &c. and crowned him, and *made him king in Gilgal,* 1 Sam. xi. *last verse. David* was anointed by *Samuel,* and yet was a persecuted fugitive for several years, and never acknowledged formally King, till *the Men of Judah came and anointed him,* 2 Sam. ii. 4. for if he had been King before, then there were two Kings in *Israel* at one time, and *David* failed of his royal Duty, in not punishing the murderer *Saul*; whereas himself says, he would not *touch the Lord's anointed.* Therefore the people made all these Kings, and that by choice and consent, without which they were no Kings. Hence I argue, if the consent and choice of the people be so essentially necessary to the making of Kings, then they who set up themselves against the consent of the body of the Land, and without the choice of any, must be Usurpers, not to be acknowledged for lawful Kings; but the former is true, as is proven above: therefore----. Now plain it is, that this *Duke* set up himself against the consent of the body, being excluded from the Government by the Representatives of *England,* and generally hated

hated of all; who disdaining to wait upon the formal choice of any, but after he had paved his passage to the Throne upon his Brother's blood, did usurp the Title without all Law.

5. The *second* thing necessary for the legal Constitution of a King by the people, is their *Compact* with him: which must either be *express* or *tacite*, explicite or implicite. Two things are here to be proven, that will furnish an argument for disowning both the Brothers. *First*, That there must be a *conditional* reciprocally obliging *Covenant* between the Sovereign and the Subjects, without which there is no such relation to be owned. *Secondly*, That when this compact is broken in all or its chiefest conditions by the Sovereign, the peoples obligation ceases. The *first* I shall set down, in the words of a famous Author, our renowned Countryman *Buchanan*, in his Dialogue *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*. *There is then (or there ought to be) a mutual Compact between the King and his Subjects*, &c. That this is indispensibly necessary and essential to make up the Relation of Sovereign and Subjects, may be proved both from the Light of Nature and Revelation. First, it may appear from the Light of natural Reason. 1. From the Rise of Government, and the interest people have in erecting it by consent and choice (as is shewed above) if a King cannot be without the peoples *making*, then all the power he hath must either be by *Compact* or *Gift*: if by compact, then we have what we proposed: and if by *Gift*, then if abused, they may recal it; or if they cannot recover it, yet they may and ought to hold their hand, and give him no more that they may retain, that is, no more honour or respect, which is in the honourer before the honoured get it. Can it be imagined, that a people acting rationally, would give a power absolutely, without restrictions, to destroy all their own rights? Could they suppose this boundless and lawless Creature, left at liberty to Tyrannize, would be a fit Mean to procure the Ends of Government? for this were to set up a rampant Tyrant to rule as he listeth, which would make their condition a great deal worse than if they had no Ruler at all, for then they might have more liberty to see to their safety. See

*Jus*

*Jus populi, chap. 6. pag.* 96, 97. 2. This will be clear from the nature of that authority, which only a Sovereign can have over his subjects; which, whatever be the nature of it, it cannot be *absolute*, that is against Scripture, Nature, and Common Sense, as shall be proven at more length. That is to set up a Tyrant, one who is free from all conditions, a roaring lion and a ranging bear to destroy all if he pleases. It must be granted by all, that the Sovereign authority is only *fiduciary*, entrusted by God and the people with a great charge: a great pledge is impawned and committed to the care and custody of the Magistrate, which he must take special care of, and not abuse; or waste, or alienate or sell: (for in that case, *Royalists* themselves grant he may be deposed). He is by office a Patron of the subjects liberties, and Keeper of the law both of God and man, the Keeper of both Tables. Sure, he hath no power over the laws of God, but a ministerial power, he may not stop and disable them as he pleases; of the same nature is it, over all other parts of his charge. He is rather a *Tutor*, than an Inheritor and *Proprietor* of the Commonwealth, and may not do with his pupil's interest what he pleases. In a word, the nature and whole significancy of his power lies in this, that he is the *Nations publick Servant*, both objectively in that he is only for the good of the people, and representatively in that the people hath impawned in his hand all their power to do Royal service. The Scripture teaches this, in giving him the titles of Service, as *Watchman*, &c. allowing him Royal *Wages* for his Royal work, *Rom.* xiii. he is God's Minister attending continually on this thing. There is his *Work*, *for this Cause pay you Tribute also*. There is his *Wages* and *Maintenance*. He is called so in that transaction with *Rehoboam*; the old men advised him to be a *Servant* unto the people, then they should be his Servants, 1 *Kings* xii. 7. There was a conditional bargain proposed: as to be a Servant, or Tutor, or Guardian upon trust, always implies Conditions and Acountableness to them that entrust them. 3. It must needs be so, otherwise great absurdities would follow. Here would be a voluntary contracted relation, obliging

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us to relative duties, to a man that owed none correlative to us, and yet one whom we set over us. It were strange, if there were no condition here; and no other voluntarily suscepted relations can be without this, as between man and wife, master and servant, &c. This would give him the disposal of us and ours, as if both we and what we have were his own, as a man's goods are, against which he does not sin whatever he doth with them. So this would make a King that could not sin against us; being noways obliged to us, for he can no otherwise be obliged to us, but upon Covenant-conditions; he may be obliged and bound in duty to God otherwise, but he cannot be bound to us otherwise: and if he be not bound, then he may do what he will, he can do no wrong to us to whom he is noways bound. This also is point blank against the Law of God, which is the second way to prove it, by the light of Revelation or Scripture. 1. In the very directions about making and setting up of Kings, the Lord shews what conditions shall be required of them, *Deut.* xvii. 15. &c. and in all directions for obeying them, the qualifications they should have are rehearsed, as *Rom.* xiii. 3, 4. Therefore none are to be set up but on these conditions, and none are to be obeyed but such as have these qualifications. 2. In his promises of the succession of Kings, he secures their continuation only *conditionally*, to establish the kingdom, *if* they be constant to *do his Commandments and Judgments*, 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 7. There shall not fail a man to sit upon the throne, *yet so* that they take heed to their way to walk in God's Law, as *David* did, 2 *Chron.* vi. 16. Now he was not otherwise to perform these promises, but by the action and suffrage of the people setting him up, (which he had appointed to be the way of calling Kings to thrones), if therefore the Lord's promise be conditional, the peoples actions also behoved to be suspended upon the same conditions. 3. We have many express Covenants betweeen Rulers and Subjects in Scripture. *Jephthah* was fetched from the land of *Tob*, and made the head of the *Gileadites* by an explicite mutual stipulation, wherein the Lord was invocated as a Witness, *Judg.* xi. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11. So all the

the Elders of *Israel* came to make *David* King; and King *David* made a *League* with them in *Hebron* before the Lord, and then they anointed him over *Israel*, 2 *Sam.* v. 3. he made there a *Covenant* with them before the Lord, 1 *Chron.* xi. 3. He was no King before this Covenant, and so it was a pactional oath between him and the kingdom, upon terms according to the law, *Deut.* xvii. He was only a King *in fieri*; one who was to be King, but now actually inaugurate a *Covenanted King* upon terms that satisfied them. It is true, they came to recognosce his right from the Lord; but so did they recognosce *Rehoboam*'s right, and came to *Shechem* to make him King, 1 *King.* xii. 1. and yet when he would not enter in Covenant-terms with them, to satisfy their just demands, the people answered the King, saying, *What portion have we in David, neither have we inheritance in the Son of Jesse, to your tents, O Israel, vers.* 16. They refused to acknowledge such an Usurper, and we find no Prophets ever condemning them for it. So when *Jehoash* or *Joash* was crowned, *Jehojada* made a *Covenant* between the Lord and the King and the People, that they should be the Lord's people, between the King also and the people, 2 *King.* xi. 17. 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 11. 16. From all these reasons and Scriptures, it is clear, there must be a mutual *Compact* between the Subjects and every Sovereign they own subjection to, which if he refuse, and usurp the sword, they are under an anterior obligation to substract their allegiance, and to make use of their sword, if they be in capacity to pull it out of his hands, and use it against him. And of this we are put in mind by the *Motto* of our old *Coronation-pieces*, which have these words about the sword, *For me, but, if I deserve, against me:* and surely to him that hath it now in his hands, it may be said, *Thou hast deserved, and as yet deserves.* We see then, the allegiance that this Usurper alledges is his due, wants a bottom, to wit, a compact with the people. Whence I argue, if there must of necessity be a compact between the King and the people, when he is advanced to the government; then he that advances himself, without and against this compact, is an Usurper not to be owned; but the former

mer is true: *therefore* he that advances himself without and against this compact, is an Usurper not to be owned. And who more notoriously deserving such a signature, than *James* VII and II, who hath made horns of his own strength, or the *Pope's Bulls*, to push his Brother out and himself into the throne, upon no terms at all, or any security for religion and liberty. One *Objection* is to be removed here: Can the customs of the *Jews* be binding to all nations? The Kings of *Judah* made such Covenants, shall therefore all Kings do so? *Answ.* Why not this custom, as well as *Crowning*, which they used likewise? These rules are not *typical* or ceremonial, nor only so *judicial* as to be peculiarly *Judaical*, but are matters of moral equity, bearing a standing reason founded upon that law, *Deut.* xvii. 15. *&c.* limiting the Prince to stand to conditions. If we cast at Divine laws for rules of government where will we find better laws? It is recorded of the first of the *British* Kings who was Christian, that writing to *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome* (before Antichrist took that seat) for the *Roman* laws, he received this answer: 'By Divine clemency ye have received the 'law and faith of Christ, you have the Old and New 'Testaments, out of them in God's name by counsel of 'your States take laws, and govern your kingdom.' And of another, that he began his laws thus: *God spake all these words*, &c. And so repeated the laws of God. The *second* thing I undertook to prove, is that assertion of *Buchanan ubi supra, de Jure Regni.* 'There being a 'paction between the King and Subjects, he who first 'recedes from what is covenanted, and doth counteract 'what he hath covenanted, he looses the contract; 'and the bond being loosed which did hold fast the 'King with the people, whatever right did belong to 'him by virtue of that compact, he looses it, and the 'people are as free as before the stipulation.' Which is also asserted by the Author of *Jus populi, chap. 6. pag.* 112th. 'It is no less clear, that when the Sovereign doth 'not perform the principal, main, and most necessary 'conditions, condescended and agreed upon, *by right* he 'falleth from his Sovereignty: and *pag.* 117. when the 'Prince doth violate his compact, as to all its conditions,

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'or as to its chief main and most necessary condition, 'the subjects are *by right* free from subjection to him, 'and at liberty to make choice of another.' This is so clear that it needs no labour to prove it, that, upon this head, we were loosed from all allegiance to the former Tyrant, who was admitted upon terms of an explicite Covenant, the conditions whereof he did as explicitely break. There are two cases wherein subjects are loosed from covenanted allegiance to their Princes. 1. When the Prince remits the obligation of the Subjects, and refuses allegiance upon that *Basis*; then he can no more demand it by virtue of that compact. He that remits, and will not have that allegiance, that the Subjects covenanted upon such and such conditions to him, these Subjects should not give it that they so covenanted, for they should not prostitute it to a Refuser and Remitter: but *Charles* the II. remitted and would not have that allegiance, which we covenanted upon such and such conditions, *viz.* upon the terms of the Covenant, which he cassed and annulled, and made criminal to own: *therefore* to him we should not have given it, which we so covenanted. 2. When the Prince doth enter into a mutual Covenant with the people upon mutual conditions, and does not only cease to perform the conditions, but simply denies all obligation to do it, and makes it a quarrel to insinuate so much, yea persecutes all who dare assert the obligation of that Covenant; and yet demands allegiance, not upon the obligation of that Covenant which he hath remitted, but absolutely upon the grounds of his Prerogative: In this case it will be evident also, the Subjects are not bound either to own their formerly covenanted allegiance to him, or that which he demands on other grounds. *Grotius de Jure belli*, is clear as to this, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. *numb.* 12. *If there be such a Clause or Condition in the very Devolution of the Government upon a Prince, as if he do so and so, the Subjects shall be loosed from all Bonds of Obedience, then, when he does so, he becomes a mere private Person.* *Grotius* there supposes the power is transferred upon a *resolutive condition*; that is, if he transgress the condition the power shall be resolved into its first fountain: much more if it be transferred expressly also upon a *suspensive*

*condition*

*condition*, that he ſhall continue to maintain the ends of the Covenant, defend Religion and the Liberties of the Subjects, in the defence whereof we ſhall own Allegiance to him, otherwiſe not. In that caſe, if he do not maintain theſe ends, plain it is our obligation ceaſes; for how can it ſtand upon a conditional obligation, when his performance of the condition ſiſts? But whatever be the conditions mutual, it flows natively from the Nature of a mutual compact, *That he who doth not perform the Conditions agreed upon, hath no right to the benefit granted upon Condition of performance of theſe Conditions*; eſpecially if he perform not, or violate theſe conditions upon ſuppoſition whereof he would not have gotten the benefit: it were very abſurd to ſay, In a mutual conditional compact one party ſhall ſtill be bound to perform his conditions, though the other perform none, but break all. Were it the act of rational Creatures to ſet up a Sovereign, upon conditions he ſhall not play the Tyrant, and yet be bound to him though he Tyrannize never ſo much? We have the Nature of mutual compacts in the *Spies Covenant with Rahab*, Joſh. ii. 20. *If thou utter this our buſineſs, then we will be quit of thine Oath, which thou haſt made us to ſwear:* if ſhe ſhould break condition, then the obligation of the Oath on their part ſhould ceaſe. But next, all the ſtreſs will ly in proving that the Covenant, on ſuch and ſuch conditions between a Prince and Subjects, doth equally and *mutually oblige* both to each other: for if it equally oblige both, then both are equally diſengaged from other by the breach on either ſide, and either of them may have a juſt claim in Law againſt the other for breach of the conditions. But Royaliſts and Court-ſlaves alledge, that ſuch a Covenant obliges the King to God, but not to the people at all; ſo that he is no more accountable to them, than if he had made none at all. But the contrary is evident: for, [1.] if the compact be mutual, and if it be infringed on one ſide, it muſt be ſo in the other alſo; for in contracts, the parties are conſidered as equals, whatever inequality there may be betwixt them otherwiſe: I ſpeak of contracts among men. [2] If it be not ſo, there is no Covenant made with the people

ple at all: and so *David* did no more Covenant with *Israel*, than with the *Chaldeans*: for to all with whom the Covenant is made it obliges them to it. Otherwise it must be said, He only made the Covenant with God, contrary to the Text; for he made it only *before* the Lord as a Witness, not *with* him as a party. *Joash*'s Covenant with the Lord is expressly distinguished from that with the people. [3.] If it be not so, it were altogether Nonsense to say, There were any Covenant made with the King on the other hand: for he is supposed to be made King on such and such terms; and yet, by this, after he is made King he is no more obliged unto them, than if there had been no compact with him at all. [4] If he be bound as *King*, and not only as a *man* or Christian, then he is bound with respect to the people; for with respect to them he is only King: but he is bound as King, and not only as a man or Christian, because it is only with him as King that the people Covenant, and he must transact with them under the same consideration. Next, that which he is obliged to, is the specifical act of a King, to defend Religion and Liberty, and rule in Righteousness; and therefore his Covenant binds him as King. Again, if he be not bound as King, then as a King he is under no obligation of Law or Oath, which is to make him a lawless Tyrant; yea, none of God's subjects. It would also suppose that the King as King could not sin against the people at all, but only against God: for as King he could be under no obligation of duty to the people, and where there is no obligation, there is no sin; by this he would be set above all obligations to love his neighbour as himself, for he is above all his neighbours, and all mankind, and only less than God; and so, by this doctrine, he is loosed from all duties of the second Table, or at least he is not so much obliged to them as others. But against this it is *objected*: both Prince and people are obliged to perform their part to each other, and both are obliged to God, but both are not accountable to each other; there is not mutual power in the parties to compel one another to perform the promised duty; the King hath it indeed over the people, but not the people over the King,

and

and there is no indifferent judge ſuperior to both, to compel both, but God. *Anſ.* 1. What if all this ſhould be granted? Yet it doth not infringe the propoſition: what if the people have not power to compel him? Yet, *by Law*, he may fall from his Sovereignty, though, *indeed*, he is not depoſed: he loſes his right to our part, when he breaks his part. 2. There is no need of a ſuperior Arbiter: for as in contracting they are conſidered as *equal*, ſo the party keeping the contract is *Superior* to the other breaking it. 3. There may be mutual coactive power, where there is no mutual relation of Superiority and Inferiority: yea, in ſome caſes, inferiors may have a coactive Power by Law, to compel their Superiors failing in their duty to them; as a Son, wronged by his Father, may compel him to reparation by Law; and independent Kingdoms, nothing inferior to each other, being in Covenant together, the wronged may have a coactive power to force the other to duty, without any ſuperior Arbiter. 4. The bond of ſurety-ſhip brings a man under the obligation to be accountable to the Creditor, though the ſurety were never ſo high, and the Creditor never ſo low: *Solomon* ſays, In general, without exception of Kings; yea, including them becauſe he was a King that ſpake it, *Prov.* vi. 1, 2. *My Son, if thou be Surety for thy friend,——— thou art ſnared with the words of thy Mouth.* Now a King's power is but fiduciary; and therefore he cannot be unaccountable for the power concredited to him. And if this Generation had minded this, our *Stewarts* ſhould have been called to an account for their *Stewardſhip* ere now. Hence I argue, if a covenanted Prince, breaking all the Conditions of his compact, doth forfeit his right to the ſubjects Allegiance, then they are no more to own him as their Sovereign; but the former is proved, that a covenanted Prince, breaking all the conditions of his compact, doth forfeit his right to the Subjects Allegiance: *Therefore,———* And conſequently when *Charles* the II. expreſly bound by Covenant to defend and promote the Covenanted Reformation and Liberties of the Kingdom, to whom only we were bound in the terms of his defending and promoting the ſame, did violently and villain-

villainously violate and vilify these conditions, we were no more bound to them. Somewhat possibly may be *objected* here, 1. If this be the sense of the Covenant, then it would seem that we were not bound to own the King, but only when and while he were actually promoving and carrying on the ends of the Covenant. *Ans.* It does not follow, but that we are obliged to preserve his Person and Authority in these necessary intervals, when he is called to see to himself as a man; for we must preserve him as a mean, because of his aptitude and designation for such an end, albeit not always formally prosecuting it: we do not say, That we are never to own him, but when actually exercised in prosecuting these ends: but we say, We are never to own him, when he is Tyrannically and Treacherously abusing his Authority for destroying and overturning these ends, and violating all the conditions of his compact. It may be *Object.* 2. *Saul* was a Tyrant, and a breaker of his royal Covenant, and persecuter of the Godly, and Murderer of the Priests of the Lord, usurper upon the Priest's Office, and many other ways guilty of breaking all conditions: and yet *David* and all *Israel* owned him as the *anointed of the Lord*. *Ans.* 1. *Saul* was indeed a Tyrant, rejected of God, and to be ejected out of his Kingdom in his own time and way, which *David*, a Prophet knowing, would not anticipate. But he was far short, and a mere *Bungler* in acts of Tyranny in comparison of our Grassators: he broke his Royal Covenant in very gross particular acts, but did not cass and rescind the whole of it, did not burn it, did not make it criminal to own its obligation, nor did he so much as profess a breach of it, nor arrogate an absolute Prerogative, nor attempt arbitrary Government, nor to evert the fundamental Laws, and overturn the Religion of *Israel*, and bring in Idolatry as ours have done: he was a Persecuter of *David* upon some private quarrels, not of all the godly upon the account of their covenanted Religion: he murdered 85 Priests of the Lord, in a transport of fury, because of their kindness to *David*; but he did not make Laws adjudging all the Ministers of the Lord to death, who should be found most faithful in their

their duty to God and his Church, as ours have done against all field Preachers: he usurped upon the Priest's office, in one elicite act of sacrificing; but he did not usurp a *Supremacy* over them, and annex it as an inherent right of his Crown. 2. He was indeed such a Tyrant, as deserved to have been dethroned and brought to condign punishment, upon the same accounts that *Amaziah* and *Uzziah* were deposed for afterwards: and in this the people failed in their duty, and for it they were plagued remarkably. Shall their Omission be an argument to us? 3. As the question was never put to the people, whether they owned his authority as lawful, or not? So we do not read, either of their universal owning him, or their positive disowning him: however, That's no good Argument, which is drawn *from a not doing to a doing*; because they did it not, therefore it must not be done. 4. They owned him; but how? As the Minister of God, not to be resisted or revolted from under pain of damnation? (as all lawful Magistrates ought to be owned, *Rom.* xiii. 2, 4.) This I deny: for *David* and his six hundred men resisted him resolutely; and tho' the body of the Nation did long lazily ly and couch as asses under his burden, yet, at length, weary of his Tyranny, many revolted from under him, and adjoined themselves to *David* at *Ziklag*, *while he kept himself close, because of Saul the Son of Kish*, 1 *Chron.* xii. 1. who are commended by the Spirit of God for their valour, *vers.* 2, *&c. and many out of Manasseh fell to him, when he came with the Philistines against Saul to battle*, vers. 19. This was a practical disowning of the Tyrant, before the Lord deposed him. 5. *David* did indeed pay him and his character some deference, as having been the *anointed of the Lord*; yet perhaps his honouring him with that title, the *Lords anointed*, 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 1 *Sam.* xxvi. and calling him so often his *Lord the King*, cannot be altogether justified, no more than his using that same language to *Achish* King of *Gath*, 1 *Sam.* xxix. 8. I shewed before how Titles might be allowed; but this so circumstantiate, does not seem so consistent with his imprecatory prayer, for the Lord's avenging him on him, 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 12. and many other Imprecations against him in his *Psalms*. In some of which he calls the same

ſame man, whom here he ſtiles the Lord's anointed, a *Dog*; as *Saul* and his Complices are called, *Pſal.* lix. 6, 14. and the *evil*, violent and *wicked* man, *Pſal.* cxl. 1, 4. and the *vileſt of men*, *Pſal.* xii. *ult.* However it be, there can be no Argument from hence, to own the Authority of Tyrants and Uſurpers.

6. Though this neceſſary conditional Compact, which muſt always be in the conſtitution of lawful Rulers, be not always *expreſs* and explicite, ſo that a written authentick Copy of it cannot be always produced; yet it is always to be underſtood, *implicitely* at leaſt, tranſacted in the Ruler's Admiſſion to the Government, wherein the Law of God muſt regulate both Parties; and when he is made Ruler, it muſt natively be underſtood that it is upon Terms to be a Father, Feeder, and Protector, and not a Tyrant, Murderer, and Deſtroyer. All Princes are ſo far pactional, that they are obliged, by the high and abſolute Sovereign from whom they derive their Authority, to reign for the peace and profit of the people. This is fixed unalterably by the Laws of the Supreme Legiſlator, and ſolemnly engaged unto at the *Coronation*: and whoſoever declines or deſtroys this fundamental Condition, he degrades and depoſes himſelf. It is alſo not only the univerſal practice, but neceſſary for the conſtitution and conſervation of all Commonwealths, to have *fundamental Laws* and Proviſions about Government, both for the upholding, and tranſmiting and transferring it, as occaſion calls, and preventing and puniſhing Violations thereof, that there be no Invaſion or Intruſion upon the Government; and if there be any Entrance upon it not according to the Conſtitution, hat it be illegitimated, and the Nation's Liberties always ſecured. This doth infer and regulate a conditional Compact with all that are advanced to the Government, albeit it ſhould not be expreſſed. For it is undeniable that in the erection of all Governors, the grand Intereſts of the Community muſt be ſeen to, by *legal Securities* for Religion and Liberty, which is the end and uſe of fundamental Laws. Now, how theſe have been unhinged and infringed, by the Introduction and preſent Eſtabliſhment by Law of that Monſter of the Prerogative,

tive, enacted in Parliament *Anno* 1661, the *Apologetick Relation* doth abundantly demonstrate, *Sect.* 10. *Concerning the King's Civil Supremacy*, enhancing all the Absoluteness that ever the Great *Turk* could arrogate, and yet far short of what hath been usurped since, and impudently proclaimed to the World; especially by him who now domineers, in his Challenges of *Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal*, and *absolute Power, which all are to obey without reserve*; whereby the whole Basis of our Constitution, and Bulwark of our Religion, Laws and Liberties, is enervated, and we have Security of no Law but the King's Lust. Hence I argue, Those Princes that, contrary to their virtual Compact (at least) at their coming to the Crown, have overturned all fundamental Laws, cannot be owned; but our Princes have, contrary to their virtual Compact (at least) at their coming to the Crown, overturned all fundamental Laws: *Ergo* they cannot be owned. The *Major* is plain; for they that overturn fundamental Laws are no Magistrates; thereby all the Ends of Government being subverted, and the Subverter cannot be owned as a Father or Friend, but an open Enemy to the Commonwealth, nor looked upon as Magistrates doing their Duty, but as Tyrants, seeking themselves with the Destruction of the Commonwealth. And, in this case, the Compact, the ground of the Constitution, being violated, they fall from their Right, and the People are liberated from their Obligation; and they being no Magistrates, the People are no Subjects: for the Relation is mutual, and so is the Obligation, *Jus populi, chap.* 9. *pag.* 183. The *Minor* is manifest, both from the Matter of fact, and the Mischiefs framed into Laws, by the *Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal*, and *Absolute Power* foresaid: whereby what remains of our fundamental Constitutions, either in Religious or Civil Settlements, unsubverted as yet, may be subverted when this absolute Monarch pleases. Which *absolute Authority* we cannot in Conscience own, for these Reasons, taken both from Reason and Scripture. *First*, It is against Reason, 1. A Power contrary to Nature cannot be owned; absolute Power is such for that which takes away, and makes the People to give away, their natural Power of preser-

ving their Lives and Liberties, and sets a Man above all Rule and Law, is contrary to Nature: such is absolute Power, making People resign that which is not in their power to resign, an absolute Power to destroy and tyrannize. 2. A Power contrary to the first Rise of its Constitution cannot be owned; absolute Power is such: for the first Rise of the Constitution is a People's setting a Sovereign over them, giving him Authority to administer Justice over them: but it were against this, to set one over them with a Power to rage at random, and rule as he lists. It is proven before, a King hath no power but what the People gave him; but they never gave, never could give an absolute Power to destroy themselves. 3. That Power which is against the Ends of Government cannot be owned; Absolute Power is such: for that which will make a People's Condition worse than before the Constitution, and that Mean which they intended for a Blessing to turn a Plague and Scourge to them, and all the Subjects to be formal Slaves at the Prince's devotion, must needs be contrary to the Ends of Government; but absolute Power is such: for against the Exorbitance thereof, no Means would be left to prevent its obstructing all the Fountains of Justice, and commanding Laws and Lawyers to speak, not Justice, Righteousness, and Reason; but the Lust and Pleasure of one Man, turning all into Anarchy and Confusion: certainly it could never be the Intention either of the Work or Workers, at the Constitution of Government, to set up a Power to enslave the People, to be a Curse to them; but their Ends were to get Comfort, Safety and Liberty, under the Shadow of Government. 4. That Power which invalidates, and is inconsistent with the King's Compact with the People, cannot be owned; Absolute Power is such: for the Tenor of that is always to secure Laws and Liberties, to rule according to Law; but to be absolute invalidates, and is inconsistent with that: That which were an Engagement into Contradictories cannot consist with that Compact; but to engage to be absolute, and yet to rule by Law, is an Engagement into Contradictories, which no People could admit for a Security. It is inconsistent with this Compact, to give

the

the King absolute Power to overturn Religion and Liberty; and to assume that which was never given, were to invalidate this Compact, and to make himself no King; but to restore unto the People the power they conferred upon him, for the Defence of Religion and Liberty. 5. That power which is not from God, nor of God, cannot be owned; but absolute Power is not of God; because it is a power to tyrannize and sin, which, if it were of God, He should be the Author of Sin; for if the Moral Power be of God, so must the Acts be; but the Acts of Absolute Power being lawless, cannot be from God: *Ergo*, neither the Moral Power to commit these Acts. 6. That Ruler who cannot be *God's Minister* for the *People's Good*, cannot be owned; (for that is the formal Reason of our conscientious Subjection to Rulers, *Rom.* xiii. 4, 5.) But absolute Sovereigns are such as cannot be God's Ministers for the People's good; for if they be God's Ministers for good, they must administer Justice, preserve Peace, rule by Law, take Directions from their Master; and if so, they cannot be absolute. 7. A Tyrant *in the signal Act and Exercise* cannot be owned; but an absolute Prince is such; being a Power that may play the Tyrant if he pleases, and *by Law* as King; and so if Kings be by Action Tyrants, then People are by Action Slaves; and so Royal Power cannot be a Blessing to them: yea, a lawless Breaker of all Bonds, Promises, and Oaths, cannot be owned as lawful Power; but absolute Power is such: for, it cannot be limited by these obligations, at least people cannot have any security by them. 8. A lawless Power is not to be owned; an absolute Power is a lawless Power: *ergo*, not to be owned. The *Major* is plain. *Cicero* says, *lib.* 2. *The reason of making Laws was the same, as of the creation of Kings.* And *Buchanan*, *de Jure Regni*, very excellently, 'When the Lust of Kings was instead of Laws, and being vested with an infinite and immoderate Power, they 'did not contain themselves within bounds ——— The 'insolency of Kings made Laws to be desired; for this 'cause Laws were made by the people, and Kings con'strained to make use, not of their licentious wills in 'judgment, but of that right and privilege which the

'people had conferred upon them, being taught by ma-
'ny experiences, that it was better that their Liberty
'should be concredited to Laws, than to Kings; better
'to have the Law, which is a *dumb King*, than a King,
'who is not a *speaking Law.*' If then Laws be neces-
sary for the making of Kings, and more necessary than
Kings, and the same cause requires both, then a King
without Laws is not to be owned. A King must be a
speaking and living Law, reducing the Law to practice.
So much then as a King hath of Law, so much he hath
of a King; and he who hath nothing of the Law, hath
nothing of a King. *Magna Charta* of *England* saith, *The
King can do nothing but by Law, and no obedience is due to
him but by Law.* *Buchanan* rehearses the words of the
most famous Emperors, *Theodosius* and *Valentinianus*, to
this effect, *It is*, say they, *a word worthy of the Majesty of
a King, to confess he is a tied Prince to the Laws; and in-
deed it is more to submit a Principality to the Laws, than to
enjoy an Empire.* But now that an absolute Power must
be a lawless Power, is also evident; for that is a law-
less power that makes all Laws void, needless and use-
less; but such is absolute Power: for it cannot be con-
fined to the observance of Laws. 9. That power
which is destructive to the peoples Liberties cannot be
owned; absolute Power is such: for such a licentious
Freedom as is absolute, cannot consist with the peoples
Liberties; for these he may infringe when he pleases.
Now these, in their own nature, and in all respects, be-
ing preferable to the King's prerogative, and it being no
prerogative which is not consistent with, yea in its own
nature adapted to, the precious Interests of Religion and
Liberty: when the King's absolute Authority is stated in
contradictory Terms to these, we cannot own that Au-
thority; for now he hath another Authority than could
be given him for the preservation of these Interests; in
the preservation whereof he can only have an Authority
to be owned, seeing he claims a power to destroy them,
if he please. 10. If we should own absolute Authority,
then we should own a Royal Prerogative in the King to
*make* and *dispense* with Laws: Now that cannot be own-
ed; for, it would infer that the King had a masterly
Domi-

Dominion over his Subjects, to make Laws, and inflict Penalties, without their consent. And plain it is, they that make Kings must have a co-ordinate power to make Laws also; but the people, in their Representatives, make Kings, as is proven. Next, a Prerogative to dispense with Laws, except such Laws as are in their own nature dispensable, without prejudice to any Law of God or Liberties of Men, cannot be owned: for any power to dispense with Reason and Law, not grounded on any other Reason but mere Will and absolute Pleasure, is a brutish Power. It cannot be a Right annexed to the Crown, to do so; for a King, as a King, *can do nothing but what he may do by Law.* Nay, this is not only a brutish power, but a blasphemous power, making him a kind of God on earth, illimited, that can do what he pleases: and to dispute it further, were to dispute whether God hath made all under him Slaves by their own consent? or, whether he may encroach on the prerogative of God, or not? By this prerogative, he arrogates a power to dispense with the Laws of God also, in pardoning Murderers, *&c.* which no man hath power to do; the Law of God being so peremptorily indispensible. *Gen.* ix. 6. *Whoso sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Numb.* xxxv. 30, 31. *Whoso killeth any person, the murderer shall be put to death —— Moreover, ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he shall be surely put to death.* These pardons are acts of blood to the Community. If the Judgment be God's, as it is, *Deut.* i. 17. and not for man, but *for the Lord*, 2 *Chron.* xix. 6. then no King can arrogate a power to dispense with it, no more than an inferior Judge can dispense with the King's Laws; for the King is but a Minister, bearing the Sword, not in vain, but as a revenger, to execute wrath upon them that do evil, *Rom.* xiii. 4. They are but *bastard Kings* who give out sentences out of their own mouth, contrary to God's mind. And if he may do acts of Grace by Prerogative above Law, then may he also do acts of Justice (so pretended) by the same Prerogative; and so may murder Innocents, as well as pardon Murderers; he may condemn the Just, as well as justify the Wicked; *both which are alike abomination to the*

*the Lord*, Prov. xvii. 15. This power cannot be owned in any man. 11. To own absolute Power, were to recognoſce the King as the proper and ſole *Interpreter* of the Law. This *Buchanan* ſhews to be very abſurd, 'When you grant the interpretation of Laws to a King, 'you give him ſuch a Licence, that the Law ſhould not 'ſpeak what the Lawgiver meaneth, but what is for 'the Interpreters intereſt; ſo that he may turn it to all 'actions, as a *Lesbian* rule, for his own advantage; and 'ſo what he pleaſes the Law ſhall ſpeak, and what he 'will not it ſhall not ſpeak.' Now the King's abſolute pleaſure can no more be the ſenſe of the Law, than it can be the Law itſelf; he is King by Law, but he is not King of Law: No mortal can make a ſenſe to a Law, contrary to the Law; for it involves a Contradiction: the true Meaning is only the Law. This alſo would take away the Uſe of all Laws; for they could not declare what were juſt and unjuſt, but as the King pleaſed: their genuine ſenſe could not be the rule. 12. If we own the Law to be above the King, then we cannot own the King to be abſolute; but the former is true; for he muſt be under it ſeveral ways: (1) Under its *Directive* power; that will not be denied. (2) Under its *Conſtitutive* power; he is not a King by Nature, but by Conſtitution and Law: therefore the Law is above the King; becauſe it is only from the law that there is a King, and that ſuch a man and not another is King, and that the King muſt be ſo and ſo qualified, and they that made him a King, may alſo unmake him by the ſame law. (3) Under its *limiting* and *reſtrictive* power, as a man he cannot be abſolute, nor as a King by law. (4) Under its *Coactive* power. A *Law-maker*, ſaid King *James* the VI. *ſhould not be a Law-breaker*: but if he turn an Overturner of the fundamental laws, that Law or Covenant that made him King, doth oblige to unmake him. Whatever power he hath, it is only a borrowed *fiduciary* power, as the nation's *publick Servant*: and that which was lent him in pledge or pawn may be reclaimed, when abuſed by him. Eſpecially if he turn parricide, kill his Brother, murder his Nobles, burn Cities, then he may and ought to be puniſhed by law. Otherwiſe God

God ſhould have provided better for the ſafety of the part, than of the whole, though that part be but a mean for the ſafety of the whole: for if he turn Tyrant in his abſoluteneſs, the people muſt be deſtroyed, if they may not repreſs him: thus he is ſecured, and the whole expoſed to ruin. Yea, if he be a man as well as a King, he muſt be under rule of law: and when he tranſgreſſes, either his tranſgreſſions are puniſhable *by* men, or they are not tranſgreſſions *with* men. See many arguments to this purpoſe in *Lex Rex*, *Queſt.* 14, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27. But *ſecondly*, I prove it by *Scripture*, 1. Even as King he is regulated by law, not to multiply horſes, nor wives, nor money, but to keep the words of the law, and not lift up himſelf above his Brethren, *Deut.* xvii. 16, 17, 19, 20. he muſt obſerve to do according to the law, and not turn from it to the right hand or to the left, *Joſh.* i. 7. *therefore* he muſt not be abſolute. 2. He is certainly under that law, *Matth.* vii. 12. *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them:* which is the univerſal fundamental law. If then he would have us keeping in our line of ſubordination to him, he muſt keep his line, and ſo cannot be abſolute. 3. What is God's due and peculiar Prerogative, can be owned in no mortal; but abſolute power is God's due and peculiar Prerogative. He alone does *whatſoever pleaſes him*, *Pſal.* cxv. 3. He alone worketh all things *after the Counſel of his own Will*, *Eph.* i. 11. Acts or Commands founded upon the ſole pleaſure of the Agent, are proper to God. It is God's will and not the creatures that can make things good or juſt. It is blaſphemy therefore to aſcribe abſolute power to any creature. 4. That which the ſpirit of God condemned as a point of Tyranny in *Nebuchadnezzar*, that is no Prerogative to be owned; but the Spirit of God condemned this in him, proceeding from abſolute power, that *whom he would he ſlew, and whom he would he kept alive, whom he would he ſet up, and whom he would he put down.* And *his heart was lifted up*, *Dan.* v. 19, 20. 5. That which God condemns and threatens in Tyrants in the word in general, cannot be owned; but abſolute power God condemns and threatens in the word in general; that they *turned*

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*Judgment into Gall*, and said, *Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength? Amos* vi. 12, 13. 6. The word of God speaks nothing of the King's absolute Prerogative, to make laws as he will. It is plain, the King of *Judah* had it not; but the *Sanhedrin* had a great part of the Legislative Power, and of the Punitive Power in a special manner: the Princes and people had it by *Jeremiah*'s acknowledgment *Jer.* xxvi. 14. And *Zedekiah* confesses to them; *The King is not he that can do any thing against you, Jer.* xxxviii. 5. 7. We find the King in Scripture had not an absolute power, to expone or execute the Law as he would: *Saul* made a Law 1 *Sam.* xiv. 24. *Cursed be the man that eats any food until evening.* But exponing it, & thinking to execute it after a Tyrannical manner, he was justly resisted by the people, who would not let him kill innocent *Jonathan.* 8. Nor had he the *sole* power of interpreting it; for inferior Judges were Interpreters, who are no less essential Judges than the King, who are set to judge *for the Lord*, and not for the King, 2 *Chron.* xix. 6. and therefore they were to expone it according to their own conscience, and not the King's. They were to *speak righteousness* and *judge uprightly*, *Psal.* lviii. 1. hence called *gods* as well as Kings, *Psal.* lxxxii. 1. There was no essential difference between a King of God's approving, and a Judge; there being but one law to both, *Deut.* xvii. 9. He was *subject* to judgment as well as others: for being but a *Brother*, even while on the throne, who was not to lift up his heart above his Brethren, *Deut.* xvii. *ult.* When this cause was to be judged, his person, though never so great, was not to be respected: nor were they to be afraid of the face of man, for the *judgment was God's*, *Deut.* i. 17. therefore the Judges were to give out sentence in judgment, as if the Lord were to give it out: there was no exception of Kings there. Yea we find, according to common law, they judged and punished offending Kings, as shall be made appear. 10. If they were under *Church-censures*, then they were not absolute; but we find Kings were under Church-censures; not only rebuked sharply to their face, of which we have many instances; but also subjected to Church-discipline, as *Uzziah* shut up for his leprosy. And certainly at all times this must

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be extended to all: for the King is either a Brother, or not: if not, then he should not be King, according to the Scripture, *Deut.* xvii. 15. then also he is not a Christian, nor can he say the *Lord's Prayer*: if he be, then *if a Brother offend*, he is subject to the Church, *Matth.* xviii. there is no exceptions of Kings there. The *Objection* from *Eccles.* viii. 3, 4. ——*he doth whatsoever pleaseth him, Where the Word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, What dost thou?* is of no significancy here. For, 1. this argument will enforce absolute *Obedience*, if the power be to be taken absolutely; for it is obedience that is there commanded: and so we must not only own the absolute authority, but obey it without reserve, which never any yet had the impudence to plead for, until *James* the *Unjust* claimed it in a *Scots* Proclamation: but we answer, *It is better to obey God than man.* 2. If he may do whatsoever pleases him, then he may turn *Priest*, then he may kill whom he pleases, and take possession; and yet for *Saul's* Usurpation *Samuel* could say more than *what dost thou?* even to tell him, he had done *foolishly*, and his kingdom should not continue, 1 *Sam.* xiii. 13, 14. And for *Ahab's* Tyranny, *Elijah* could tell him, *the dogs shall lick thy blood, even thine.* 1 *King* xxi. 19. And *Ezekiel, thou profane wicked Prince of Israel, Ezek.* xxi. 25. 3. The meaning is then only this; that a righteous King, his just power may not only be controuled; he is armed with power that may not be resisted, for he beareth not the sword in vain, and therefore we must not stand in an evil matter against them. I conclude then this argument, with the words of an ingenious Author, upon this same subject, both in *Thesi* and *Hypothesi*: 'Whosoever shall offer to rule 'arbitrarily, does immediately cease to be King *by right*, 'seeing by the fundamental, common and statute laws 'of the Realm, we know none for supreme Magistrate 'and Governor but a limited Prince, and one who 'stands circumscribed and bounded in his power and 'prerogative. *Ill effects of animosities, Pag.* 17.'

7. From what is said, this is the result, that it is essentially necessary to a *Moral power* and *authority*, to have a *right* and *title*, without which we can own none,

none, but as a Tyrant *without a Title.* For what is authority, but a right to rule? if then it have not a right, it is not authority. This will be undeniable, if we consider, that as private dominion, or *Property*, consists in a right to enjoy; so publick dominion, in a right to rule. Some things indeed are exposed to the common and arbitrary use of every man, and also at the beginning, by reason of the fewness of mankind, dominion was not reduced to distinct Property; yet now, upon the Multiplication of Occupants, of necessity it must be stated by peculiar appropriation, from the law of nature, and by the grant of the supreme King, who hath given the *earth to the children of men, Psal.* cxv. 16. not to be catched up as the food of beasts, which the stronger seize, and the weaker get only what the other leave them, but divided by right as an inheritance, by him who *separated the Sons of Adam, and set the bounds of the People, Deut.* xxxii. 8. Especially publick Dominion cannot be without a Foundation, for its relation to the subjected, and must be so tied up, that it may be said, this man is to command, and these are to obey. I shew, that Authority is from God, both by Institution and Constitution; so that the Subjects are given to understand, such an one is singled out by God to sustain this Authority, by prescribing a rule for mens entry into the authoritative relation, whereby he communicates that power to them which is not in others, and which otherwise would not be in them. Hence it is, that orderly admittance that must give the *Right*, and upon mens having or not having such an entrance to it, depends the reality or nullity of the power they challenge. Where therefore there is no lawful Investiture, there is no *moral Power* to be owned; otherwise *John of Leyden* his Authority might have been owned: the unlawfulness of such a power consists in the very tenor itself; and if we take away the use or holding of it, we take away the very being of it: it is not then the abuse of a power lawfully to be used, but the very use of it is unlawful. But in the Usurpation of this Man, or Monster rather, that is now mounted the Throne, there is no lawful Investiture in the way God hath appointed, as is shewed above; therefore there is no moral power to be owned.

To

To clear this a little further, it will be neceſſary to remove the ordinary Pretences, pleaded for a Title to warrant the owning of ſuch as are in power, which are three chiefly, to wit, *Poſſeſſion*, *Conqueſt*, and *Hereditary Succeſſion*. The *firſt* muſt be touched more particularly, becauſe it hath been the originate error, and ſpring of all the ſtupid miſtakes about Government, and is the pitiful plea of many, even Malecontents, why this man's Authority is to be owned, aſſerting, that a perſon attaining and occupying the place of power (by whatſoever means) is to be owned as the Magiſtrate. But this can give no Right: for, 1. If Providence cannot ſignify God's approbative Ordination, it can give no Right; for without that there can be no Right; but Providence cannot ſignify his approbative Ordination, becauſe that, without the warrant of his Word, cannot ſignify either allowance or diſallowance, it is ſo various, being often the ſame to Courſes directly contrary, and oftentimes contrary to the ſame Courſe; ſometimes favouring it, ſometimes croſſing it, whether it be good or bad: and the ſame common Providence may proceed from far different purpoſes, to one in Mercy, to another in judgment; and moſt frequently very diſproportionable to mens ways. Providence places ſometimes *Wickedneſs in the place of Judgment, and iniquity in the place of righteouſneſs*, Eccleſ. iii. 16. that is, not by allowance. By Providence *it happens to the juſt according to the work of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the work of the righteous*, Eccleſ. viii. 14. *No man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them. All things come alike to all, there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked*, Eccleſ. ix. 1, 2. It were a great debaſing of the *Lord's anointed*, to give him no other warrant than ſin hath in the world, or the falling of a Sparrow. 2. Either every providential Poſſeſſion, in every caſe, gives a title; or, God hath declared it as a Law, that it ſhall be ſo in this particular matter of Authority only. The firſt cannot be ſaid; for that would juſtify all robbery: nor the ſecond, for where is that Law found? Nay, it were impious to alledge it; for it would ſay, there is no unjuſt Poſſeſſor or diſorderly Occupant, but if he were once in the Poſſeſ-

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sion, he were right enough, and then Usurpation would be no sin. 3. If none of the Causes of Magistracy be required to the producing of this possessory power, then it cannot give or have any right; for without the true Causes it cannot be the true Effect, and so can have no true Right to be owned: but none of the Causes of Magistracy are required to the production of this; neither the Institution of God, for this might have been, if Magistracy had never been instituted; nor the Constitution of men, for this may usurp without that. 4. That which must follow upon the Right, and be legitimated by it, cannot be owned as the Right, nor can it give the title: but the Possession of the Power, or the possessory exercise thereof, must follow upon its Right, and be legitimated by it: Therefore----.A man must first be in the relation of a Ruler, before he can rule; and men must first be in the relation of Subjects, before they obey. The Commands of publick Justice, to whom are they given but to Magistrates? They must then be Magistrates, before they can be owned as the Ministers of Justice: he must be a Magistrate, before he can have the power of the Sword; he cannot, by the power of the Sword, make himself Magistrate. 5. That which would make every one in the possession of the Magistracy a Tyrant, cannot be owned; but a possessory occupation giving Right, would make every one in possession of the Magistracy a Tyrant, cannot be owned; but a possessory occupation giving Right, would make every one in possession a Tyrant; for, that which enervates, and takes away that necessary Distinction between the King's personal Capacity and his legal Capacity, his natural and his moral Power, will make every King a Tyrant (seeing it makes every thing that he can do as a man, to be legally done as a King) but a possessory occupation giving right, would enervate and take away that Distinction: for how can these be distinguished in a meer possessory power? The man's Possession is all his legal Power; and if Possession give a Right, his power will give legality. 6. What sort or size of Possession can be owned to give a Right? Either it must be partial or plenary Possession: not partial, for then others may be

equally

equally entitled to the Government, in competition with that partial poſſeſſor, having alſo a part of it: not plenary, for then every Interruption or Uſurpation on a part, would make a diſſolution of the Government. 7. Hence would follow infinite abſurdities: this would give equal warrant, in caſe of vacancy, to all men to ſtep to, and ſtickle for the Throne, and expoſe the Commonwealth as a booty to all aſpiring ſpirits; for they needed no more to make them Sovereigns, and lay a tie of ſubjection upon the conſciences of people, but to get into poſſeſſion: and in caſe of Competition, it would leave people ſtill in ſuſpenſe and uncertainties whom to own; for they behoved to be ſubject only to the uppermoſt, which could not be known until the Controverſy be decided: it would caſſate and make void all pre-obligations, cautions, and reſtrictions from God about the Government: it would cancel and make vain all other titles of any, or conſtitutions, or proviſions, or oaths of Allegiance: yea, to what purpoſe were Laws or Pactions made about ordering the Government, if Poſſeſſion gave Right, and laid an obligation on all to own it? Yea, then it were ſinful to make any ſuch proviſions, to fence in and limit the determination of Providence, if providential poſſeſſion may authorize every intruſive acquiſition to be owned: then alſo in caſe of competition of two equal Pretenders to the Government, there would be no place left for arbitrations. If this were true, that he is the Power that is in poſſeſſion, the Difference were at an End; no man could plead for his own Right then; in this alſo it is inconſiſtent with itſelf, condemning all reſiſtance againſt the preſent occupant, yet juſtifying every reſiſtance that is but ſucceſsful to give poſſeſſion. 8. That which would oblige us to own the *Devil* and the *Pope*, cannot be a ground to own any man; but if this were true, that Poſſeſſion gave Right, it would oblige us to own the Devil and the Pope. *Satan* we find claiming to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the world's Kingdoms, *Luk.* iv. 6. which as to many of them is in ſome reſpect true, for he is called the *god of this world*, and the *prince of this world*, John xiv. 30. 2 Cor. iv. 4. Are men therefore obliged to own his authority? or ſhall

they

they deny his, and acknowledge his Lieutenant, wh
bears his name, and by whom all his orders are execute
I mean the man that tyrannizes over the people of God
For he is the *Devil that casts some into prison*, Revel. ii
10. Again, the *Pope*, his Captain-General, lays claim t
a Temporal power and Ecclesiastick both, over all th
Nations, and possesses it over many; and again, unde
the Conduct of his Vassal the *Duke* of *York*, is attempting
to recover the possession of *Britain*: Shall he therefore b
owned? This cursed Principle dispose men for Popery
and contributes to strengthen Popery and Tyranny both
on the Stage, to the vacating of all the promises of thei
Dispossession. 9. That which would justify a damnabl
Sin, and make it a Ground of a Duty, cannot be owned
but this Fancy of owning every Power in Possessio
would justify a damnable Sin, and make it the Groun
of a Duty; for, Resistance to the Powers ordained of Go
is a *damnable Sin*, *Rom.* xiii. 2. But the Resisters havin
success in providence, may come to the possession of th
power, by expelling the just Occupant; and, by this opi
nion, that possession would be ground for the duty of sub
jection for Conscience sake. 10. If a self-created dignity b
null and not to be owned, then a mere possessory is no
to be owned; but the former is true; as Christ saith, *Joh*
viii. 54. *If I honour myself my honour is nothing*. 11. Tha
which God hath disallowed cannot be owned; but Go
hath expressly disallowed possession without right, *Eze*
xxi 27. *I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, until h
come whose right it is*, Hos. viii. 4. *They have set up King
and not by me*, Matth. xxvi. 52. *All they that take th
sword shall perish with the sword*; by this the Usurper o
the sword is differenced from the true owner. 12. Ma
ny Scripture examples confute this; shewing that the po
session may be in one, and the power with right in ano
ther. *David* was the Magistrate, and yet *Absalom* pos
sessed the place, 2 *Sam.* xv. xvi. xvii. xviii. xix. *chap. She
ba* also made a revolt and usurped the possession in
great part, and yet *David* was King, 2 *Sam.* xx. 2. *Ado
nijah* got the start in respect of possession, exalting him
self, saying, *I will be King*: yet the Kingdom was *So
lomon's from the Lord*, 1 *Kings* i. The house of *Ahazia*
ha

had not power to keep ſtill the Kingdom, 2 *Chron.* xxii. 9. and *Athaliah* took the poſſeſſion of it, yet the people ſet up *Joaſh.* xxiii. 3. Next we have many examples of ſuch who have invaded the poſſeſſor, Witneſs *Jehoram* and *Jehoſhaphat* their expedition againſt *Meſha*, King of *Moab*, *Eliſha* being in the expedition, 2 *Kings* iii. 4, 5. Hence we ſee the firſt pretence removed. The *Second* is no better; which *Auguſtine* calls *Magnum Latrocinium a great Robbery*; I mean *conqueſt*, or a power of the Sword gotten by the Sword; which, that it can give no right to be owned, I prove, 1. That which can give no ſignification of God's approving will, cannot give a *Title* to be owned; but mere conqueſt can give no ſignification of God's approving will, as is juſt now proven about poſſeſſion: for then the Lord ſhould have approven all the unjuſt conqueſts that have been in the world. 2. Either conqueſt as *conqueſt* muſt be owned, as a juſt title to the Crown; and ſo the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Philiſtines*, &c. prevailing over God's people for a time, muſt have reigned by *right*, or as a *juſt* conqueſt. In this caſe, conqueſt is only a mean to the conquerors ſeiſing and holding that power, which the State of the war entitled him unto; and this ingreſs into Authority over the conquered is not grounded on *conqueſt*, but on *juſtice*, and not at all privative, but incluſive of the *conſent of the people*; and then it may be owned; but without a compact, upon conditions of ſecuring Religion and Liberty, the poſterity cannot be ſubjected without their conſent: for whatever juſt quarrel the conqueror had with the preſent Generation, he could have none with the Poſterity, the Father can have no power to reſign the Liberty of the Children. 3. A King, as King, and, by virtue of his Royal Office, muſt be owned to be a Father, Tutor, Protector, Shepherd, and Patron of the people; but a mere conqueror, without conſent cannot be owned as ſuch. Can he be a Father and Patron to us againſt our will, by the ſole power of the Sword? A Father to theſe that are unwilling to be Sons? An head over ſuch as will not be members? And a defender through violence? 4. A King, as ſuch, is a ſpecial gift of God, and bleſſing, not a judgment: but a conqueror,

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as such, is not a blessing, but a judgment, his native end being not Peace, but fire and sword. 5. That which hath nothing of a King in it, cannot be owned to make a King; but conqueſt hath nothing of a King in it: for it hath nothing but violence and force, nothing but what the bloodieſt villain that was never a King may have, nothing of God's approving and regulating Will, nothing of Inſtitution or Conſtitution; and a plain repugnancy to the Ordination of God, for God hath ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not kill*; conqueſt ſays, *I will kill*, and proſper, and reign. 6. A lawful Call to a lawful Office may not be reſiſted; but a Call to conqueſt, which is nothing but ambition or revenge, ought to be reſiſted; becauſe not of God's preceptive will, otherwiſe he ſhould be the Author of ſin. 7. That power which we muſt own to be the Ordinance of God, muſt not be reſiſted, *Rom.* xiii. 2. But conqueſt may be reſiſted in defence of our King and Country: therefore it muſt not be owned to be the Ordinance of God. 8. That which God condemns in his Word cannot be owned; but dominion by the ſword, God condemns in his Word, *Ezek.* xxxiii. 26. *Ye ſtand upon your ſword,* ——— *and ſhall poſſeſs the Land,* Amos vi. 13. *Ye rejoice in a thing of naught, which ſay, Have we not taken to us horns by our own ſtrength?* Habak. ii. 5, 6.——*Wo to him that encreaſeth that which is not his, how long?* &c. 9. We have many examples of invading Conquerors; as *Abraham*, for the reſcue of *Lot*, purſued the conquering Kings unto *Dan*, *Gen.* xiv. 14. *Jonathan ſmote a Gariſon of the conquering Philiſtines* 1 *Sam.* xiii. 3. The Lord owning and authorizing them ſo to do. The people did often ſhake off the yoke of their Conquerors in the hiſtory of the Judges: but this they might not do to their lawful Rulers. What is objected from the Lord's people conquering *Canaan*, &c. is no argument for conqueſt: for he, to whom belongs the earth and its fulneſs, diſponed to *Iſrael* the Land of *Canaan* for their inheritance, and ordained that they ſhould get the poſſeſſion thereof by conqueſt: it followeth not therefore, that Kings now, wanting any word of promiſe, or divine grant to any Lands, may aſcend to the Thrones of other Kingdoms than their own, by

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no better title than the bloody ſword. See *Lex Rex Queſt.* 12. The *third* pretence of *Hereditary Succeſſion* remains to be removed: which may be thus diſproven, 1. This claſhes with the former, though commonly aſſerted by Royaliſts. For either *Conqueſt* gives a right, or it does not: if it does, then it looſes all Allegiance to the heirs of the Crown diſpoſſeſſed thereby: if it does not give a right, then no hereditary Succeſſion founded upon conqueſt can have any right, being founded upon that which hath no right: and this will ſhake the moſt part of hereditary Succeſſions that are now in the world. 2. If hereditary Succeſſion have no right, but the peoples conſent; then of it ſelf it can give none to a man that hath not that conſent; but the former is true. For, it is demanded, how doth the Son or Brother ſucceed? By what right? It muſt either be by divine promiſe; or by the Father's will; or it muſt come by propagation from the firſt Ruler, by a right of the Primogeniture; but none of theſe can be. For the *firſt*, we have no immediate divine Conſtitution tying the Crown to ſuch a race, as in *David's* Covenant: it will be eaſily granted, they fetched not their Charter from heaven immediately, as *David* had it, a man of many peculiar prerogatives, to whoſe line the promiſe was aſtricted of the coming of *Meſſias*, and *Jacob's* Prophecy that the *Scepter ſhould not depart from Judah, until his coming*, Gen. xlix. 10. was reſtricted to his family afterwards: wherefore he could ſay, *The Lord God of Iſrael choſe me before all the houſe of my Father, to be King over Iſrael for ever: for he hath choſen Judah to be the Ruler; and of the houſe of Judah, the houſe of my Father; and among the ſons of my Father, he liked me to make me King over Iſrael: and of all my Sons, he hath choſen Solomon*, 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 4, 5. All Kings cannot ſay this; neither could *Saul* ſay it, though immediately called of God as well as *David:* yet this ſame promiſe to *David* was conditional, *if his Children ſhould keep the Lord's ways*, 2 *Chron.* vi. 16. Next, it cannot be ſaid this comes from the *will of the Father*; for according to the Scripture, no King can make a King, tho' a King may appoint and deſign his Son for his Succeſſor, as *David* did *Solomon*, but

the people make him. The Father is some way a cause why his Son succeedeth, but he is not the cause of the Royalty conferred upon him by line: for the question will recur, who made him a King, and his Father, and grand Father, till we come up to the first Father? Then, who made him a King? Not himself; therefore it must be refounded upon the peoples choice and constitution: and who appointed the lineal succession, and tied the Crown to the line, but they? It is then, at the best, the Patrimony of the people, by the fundamental Law of the Kingdom, conferred upon the Successor by consent. And generally it is granted, even where the succession is lineal, he that comes to inherit, *he does not succeed by heritage, but by the force of Law*; the Son then hath not his Kingdom from his Father, but by Law, which the people made and stand to, as long as it may consist with the reasons of publick advantage, upon which they condescended to establish such a family over them. Neither can it be said, It is by a right of *Primogeniture*, propagated from the first Ruler; for this must either be *Adam* the first of the world; or *Fergus for example*, the first of this Kingdom. It could not come from *Adam* as a Monarch and Father of all; for that behoved to be, either by order of Nature, or his voluntary assignment: It could not be transferred by order of Nature; for besides the difficulty to find out *Adam's* successor in the universal Monarchy, and the absurdity of fixing it on *Cain*, (who was a cursed vagabond, afraid of every man, and could not be an universal Monarch, yet *Adam's* first born.) It will be asked, How this passed from him unto others? Whether it went by *Fatherhood* to all the Sons, Fathers to their Posterity? Which would multiply as many Commonwealths, as there have been Fathers since: or if it went, by *Primogeniture*, only to the first-born, that he alone could claim the power which would infer the Necessity of an universal Monarchy, without multiplication of Commonwealths. If it was by his voluntary assignment, to whom, and in what proportion, he pleased; then the universal Monarchy died with himself, and so could not be conveyed at all: for, either he behoved to give each son a share, to be con-

conveyed downwards to their children in that proportion; or whole and solid to one: so also the former *dilemma* recurs, for if the first be said, It will make as many little Kingdoms as there have been Sons of *Adam*; if the second, the world should be but still one Kingdom. But however it be, this could never be the way that God appointed, either for raising a Magistratical Power where it is wanting, or deriving a right to any in being; considering the multiplication, division, confusion, and extinction of families that have been. If it be from *Fergus* the first of this line; then either it comes from him as a King, or as a Father: not the first, for the reason above hinted: nor as a Father; for a Father may defraud his Son of the heritage, a King cannot deprive his Son of the Crown; a Father may divide his heritage, a King cannot divide the Kingdom among his Sons; it must then be at length refounded on the peoples consent. 3. If even where lineal succession is constituted by Law, for eviting the inconveniencies of frequent elections, people are not tied to admit every first-born of that line; then that birth-right, where there is no more, cannot make a King; but the former is true; for they are tied only conditionally, so he be qualified, and have a head to sit at the helm, and not a fool or monster; neither are they free to admit Murderers or Idolaters by the Laws of God, and of the Land: it is not birth then, but their admission being so qualified, that makes Kings. Hence, 4. That which takes away the peoples birth-right, given them of God to provide for their liberties in the fittest Government, that is not to be owned; but to make Birth alone a title to the Crown, takes away the peoples birth-right given them of God of providing for their liberties in the fittest Government, and fetters their choice to one destructive to these. Certainly where God hath not bound the conscience, men may not bind themselves nor their Posterity; but God hath never fettered men to a choice of a Government or governing Line; which, contrary to the intention of the Oath, may prove destructive to the ends thereof. Nor can the Fathers leave in legacy, by Oath, any chains to fetter the after wits of posterity to

a choice destructive to Religion and Liberty. *Israel* was bound, by Covenant, not to destroy the *Gibeonites*; but if they had risen to cut off *Israel*, Who can doubt but they were loosed from that obligation? For to preserve Cut-throats was contrary to the intention of the Oath: so when either Monarchy, or the succeeding Monarch, proves destructive to the ends of Government, the choice, Law, or Oath of our fathers, cannot bind us. 5. If we are tied to the hereditary succession, not for the right the successor hath by birth, but for our covenanted Allegiance to them whose successor he is; then cannot his birth-right be the ground of our Allegiance, and consequently hereditary succession cannot make a King; but the former is true; for in hereditary Crowns, the first family being chosen by the suffrages of the people, for that Cause the hereditary Prince comes to the Throne, because his first Father, and in him the whole line, was chosen; the hereditary successor hath no Privilege or Prerogative, but from him who was chosen King: Therefore the obligation to the Son, being no greater than the obligation to the Father, which is the ground of that, if the Father then was owned only because he was *chosen*, and qualified for Government, the Son cannot be owned for any other Cause, but as chosen *in him*, and also qualified and admitted with Consent. We cannot choose the Father as qualified, and tye our selves to the Successors, be what they will. 6. If a King be not born heir of a Kingdom, then is he not King by birth; but he is not born heir of a Kingdom: for, a mean cannot be born to inherit the end, the King is but a mean for the Kingdom's preservation. If the Kingdom be his, by birth, as an inheritance, Why may he not upon necessary occasions sell his inheritance? But if he sell it, then all confess he is no more King. 7. If that which makes a King cannot be transmitted from Father to Son; then succession, by birth, cannot make a King; but the former is true. The Royal Faculty of governing cannot be transmitted: *Solomon* asked it from God, he had it not from his Father: nor can he be born to the *honour* of a King, because not born with either the gift or honour to be a *Judge*. God *maketh high and low*,

*low*, not birth. Nor can the *Call* and *Constitution* of a King, according to the will of God, be transferred from Father to Son, for that cannot be in God's way without the intervening Consent of the people, that cannot make him a *born King*. 8. If no Dominion can come by Nature, as is proven before, then can no man be a born King: Nature and Birth cannot give them a Scepter in their hand, nor kingly Majesty, they must have that alone from God and the people, and may only expect honour from their own good Government: Kings (as *Plutarch* says) must be like dogs that are best hunters, not these who are born of best dogs. 9. The peculiar Prerogative of *Jesus Christ* must not be ascribed to any other; but this is his peculiar Prerogative, to be a *born King*, of whom it might be truely said, *Where is he that is born King of the Jews?* And for this end was he born, who came out of the Womb with a Crown on his head, which no Creature can bear. 10. In Scripture we find that a King was to be so and so qualified, not a *stranger*, but a reader of God's Word, *&c. Deut.* xvii. 15, *&c.* he was not qualified by naked birth. Hence, if all the qualifications requisite in an heir cannot make a King qualified according to the Institution of God, then his being heir cannot make him King; but the first is true, an heir may be an heir without these qualifications. 11. We find in the Scripture, the people were to make the Kings by that Law, *Deut.* xvii. 15. *Thou shalt choose him whom the Lord chooseth:* yea, neither *Saul* nor *David* were Kings, till the people met to make them: therefore birth never made them Kings, even though the Kingdom was tied to *David*'s line. That was only a typical Designment by special Promise, because Christ was to come of that line; it was therefore established in *David*'s Family for Typical Reasons, that cannot be now alledged. 12. We find in the disposal of Government among brethren, this Birth-order was not seldom inverted; as when *Jacob* was preferred before *Esau*, *Judah* before all the elder sons of *Jacob*, *Ephraim* before *Manasseh*, *Solomon* before *Adonijah*. Hence if this Gentleman, now regnant, have no better pretences than these now confuted, we cannot recognosce his right to reign:

yea,

yea, though this laſt were valid, yet he cannot plead it, it being expreſly provided in our Laws againſt the ſucceſſion of a Papiſt. But there is one grand *Objection* againſt all this. The *Jews* and other Nations are commanded to bring their necks under the yoke of the King of *Babylon*, and to ſerve him, and yet he had no other right to theſe Kingdoms; than the Lord's providential diſpoſal, becauſe the Lord had *given all theſe Lands into his hand*, Jer. xxvii. 6, 7, 12. *Anſ.* 1. He was indeed an unjuſt Uſurper, and had no right but the Lord's providential gift; which ſometimes makes *the Tabernacles of Robbers proſper, into whoſe hand God bringeth abundantly*, Job xii. 6. *And gives Jacob ſometimes for a ſpoil, and Iſrael to the Robbers*, Iſa. xlii. 24. *And giveth power to the Beaſt to continue forty and two Months, and to have power over all Kindreds, and Tongues, and Nations*, Rev. xiii. 5, 7. His Tyranny alſo was very great *extenſively*, in reſpect of his oppreſſions and uſurpations by Conqueſt; but it was not ſo great *intenſively*, as our Robbers and Spoilers may be charged with; he was never ſuch a Perverter of all the ends of Government, nor a treacherous overturner of all Conditions, he was never a Perſecuter of the *Jewiſh* Religion, he never oppreſſed them upon that account, nor endeavoured its extirpation, he never enacted ſuch miſchiefs by Law. The Lord only made uſe of him to bring about the holy ends of the Glory of his Juſtice and Wiſdom, in which reſpect alone he is called his *Servant*, as elſewhere his *rod* and *hammer*, having given him a *Charge* againſt an hypocritical Nation, to trample them down in his holy Providence; and accordingly there was no Reſiſtance could prevail, they muſt be trampled upon, no help for it; but no ſubjection was required, acknowledging his magiſtratical Right by Divine *Ordinance*, but only a ſubmiſſive ſtooping to the holy diſpoſal of Divine *Providence*; no owning was exacted either of the equity of that Power, or of fealty to the adminiſtrator. 2. This behoved to be a particular Command, by poſitive Revelation given at that time, not binding to others in the like condition; which I refer to the judgment of the Objectors: put the caſe, and make it run parallel, If the King of *England* were in

league

league with the King of *France*, and breaking that league, should provoke that aspiring Prince, growing potent by many Conquests, to discover his designs, make preparations, and give out threatnings for the Conquest of *England* and all *Britain*; were the People of *England* bound to surrender themselves as Servants and Tributaries to him for 70 years, or for ever, under pain of destruction, if they should not? This were one of the most ridiculous inferences that ever was pleaded; nay, it would make all refusal of subjection to invaders unlawful. 3. I will draw an argument from this to confirm my Plea: for these Commands of subjection to *Babylon*, were not delivered, until after the King of *Judah* had surrendered to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and entred into Covenant with him to be subject to him, 2 *Kings*, xxiv chap. in keeping which Covenant the Kingdom might have stood, and after he had rebelled against him, and broken that Covenant, *when lo, he had given his hand*, after which he could *not prosper, or escape, or be delivered*, Ezek. xvii. 14, 15, 18. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Then the Commandment came, that they should disown their *own King Zedekiah*, now forfeiting his right by breach of Covenant, and be subject to *Nebuchadnezzar*: whence I argue, if People are commanded to disown their Covenant-breaking Rulers, and subject themselves to Conquerors, then I have all I plead for; but the former is true, by the truth of this objection: therefore also the latter. There is a 2d *Objection* from *Rom.* xiii. 1. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, the powers that be are ordained of God:* yet the *Roman* Emperor, to which they were to be subject, was an Usurper. *Answ.* 1. It cannot be proven, that the Apostle intendeth here the *Roman* Emperor as the higher power: there were at this time several Competitions for the Empire, about which Christians might have their own scruples whom to own; the Apostle does not determine their litigations, nor interest himself in parties, but gives the general Standart of God's Ordinance they had to go by. And the best Expositors of the place do alledge, the question and doubt of Christians then was not so much in whom the Supremacy was, as whether Christians were at all bound to obey Civil Power, espe-

especially Pagan? Which the Apostle resolves, in giving general directions to Christians, to obey the ordinance of Magistracy, conform to its original, and as it respects the end for which he had and would set it up; but no respect is there had to Tyrants. 2. It cannot be proven, that the supreme Power then in being was usurpative, there being then a supreme *Senate*, which was a lawful Power; nor that *Nero* was then an Usurper, who came in by choice and consent, and with the good liking of the People. 3. The Text means of lawful *Powers*, not unlawful *Force*, that are ordained of God by his *preceptive* Will, not merely by his *providential* Disposal, and of conscientious subjection to Magistracy, not to Tyranny, describing and characterizing the powers there, by such qualifications as Tyrants and Usurpers are not capable of. But I mind to improve this Text more fully hereafter, to prove the quite contrary to what is here objected.

8. From the *Right* of Magistracy, flows the magistratical *Relation*, which is necessary to have a bottom, before we can build the relative Duties thereon. This brings it under the *fifth Commandment*, which is the Rule of all relative Duties between Inferiors and Superiors, requiring honour to be given to Fathers, Masters, Husbands, &c. and to rightful Magistrates, who are under such political relations, as do infer the same duties; and prohibiting not only the omission of these duties, but also the committing of contrary sins; which may be done, not only by *contrary Acts*, as dishonouring and rebelling against Fathers, Magistrates, &c. but also by performing them to *contrary Objects*, as by giving the Fathers Due to the Fathers opposite, and the Magistrates Due to Tyrants who are their opposites. Certainly this Command, prescribing honour, does regulate to whom it should be given; and must be understood in a consistency with that Duty and Character of one that hath a mind to be an inhabitant of the Lord's *holy Hill*, Psal. xv. 4. *In whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them that fear the Lord.* So that we sin against the *fifth* Command, when we honour them that we are obliged to contemn by *another* Command. Hence I argue, if owning or honouring of Tyrants be a breach of the fifth Command, then

then we cannot own their Authority; but the former is true: therefore the latter. I prove the Assumption: A honouring the vile, to whom no honour is due, and who stand under no relation of Fathers as Fathers, is a breach of the fifth Command; but the owning of Tyrants Authority is a honouring the vile, to whom no honour is due, and who stand under no relation of Fathers, and is yet a honouring them as Fathers: therefore the owning of Tyrants Authority is a breach of the fifth Command. The *Major* is clear: for if the honouring of these to whom no honour is due, were not a breach of the fifth Command, that precept could neither be kept at all, nor broken at all. It could not be kept at all; for, either it must oblige us to honour all indefinitely, as Fathers, and other relations, which cannot be; or else it must leave us still in suspense and ignorance, who shall be the object of our honour; and then it can never be kept: or finally, it must astrict our honouring to such definite relations, to whom it is due; and then our transgression of that restriction shall be a breach of it. Next, if it were not so, it could not be broken at all: for if prostituting and abusing honour be not a sin, we cannot sin in the matter of honour at all; for if the abuse of honour be not a sin, then dishonour also is not a sin: for that is but an abuse of the duty, which is a sin as well as the omission of it. And what should make the taking away of honour from the proper object to be sin, and the giving it to a wrong object to be no sin? Moreover, if this Command do not restrict honour to the proper object, we shall never know who is the object. How shall we know who is our Father, or what we owe to him, if we may give another his due? The *Minor* also is manifest: for if Tyrants be *vile*, then no honour is due to them, according to that *Psal.* xv. 4. and yet it is a honouring them as *Fathers*, if they be owned as Magistrates; for Magistrates are in a politick sense *Fathers*; but certain it is, that Tyrants are vile, as the Epithets and Characters they get in Scripture prove. But because, in contradiction to this, it may be said, though Fathers be never so wicked, yet they are to be honoured, because they are still Fathers; and though Masters be never so vile and froward, yet they

they are to be subjected unto, 1 *Pet.* ii. 18---20. and so of other relations, to whom honour is due by this Command; therefore though Tyrants be never so vile, they are to be owned under these relations, because they are the higher Powers in place of Eminency, to whom the Apostle *Paul* commands to yield subjection, *Rom.* xiii. and *Peter* to give *Submission* and *Honour*, 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17. Therefore it must be considered, that as the *relative* Duty of honouring the relations to whom it is due, must not interfere with the *moral* Duty of contemning the vile, who are not under these relations; so this general Moral of contemning the vile, must not cassate the obligation of relative Duties, but must be understood with a consistency therewith, without any prejudice to the Duty itself. We must contemn all the *vile*, that are not under a relation to be *honoured*, and these also that are in that relation, *in so far as* they are *vile*. But now Tyrants do not come under these relations at all, that are to be honoured by this Command. As for the higher Powers that *Paul* speaks of, *Rom.* xiii. they are not those which are higher in *Force*, but higher in *Power*, not *in Authority*, but *in Power*, not in a celsitude of prevalency, but in a pre-excellency of dignity; not in the pomp and pride of their prosperity, and possession of the place, but by the virtue and value of their Office, being ordained of God not to be resisted, the Ministers of God for good, terrors to evil doers, to whom honour is due; those are not Tyrants, but Magistrates. Hence it is a word of the same root which is rendered *Authority*, or an *Authorized Power*, 1 *Tim.* ii. 2. and from the same word also comes that *supreme*, to whom *Peter* commands subjection and honour, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. Now these he speaks of have the legal Constitution of the People, being the *Ordinance of Man*, to be subjected to *for the Lord's sake*, and who sends other inferior Magistrates for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well, who are to be honoured as Kings or lawful Magistrates; this cannot be said of Tyrants. But more particularly, to evince that Tyrants and Usurpers are not to be honoured according to this Command, and that it is a breach of it so to do; let us go through all these Relations of Superiority,

ty, that come under the obligation of this Command, and we ſhall find Tyrants and Uſurpers excluded out of all. *Firſt*, They cannot come under the *Parental* Relation: We are indeed to eſteem Kings as Fathers, though not properly, but by way of ſome analogy, becauſe it is their Office to care for the People, and to be their Counſellors, and to defend them, *as* Fathers do for Children; but *roaring Lions* and *ranging Bears*, as wicked Rulers are, *Prov.* xxviii. 15. cannot be Fathers. But Kings cannot *properly* be owned under this Relation, far leſs Tyrants (with whom the analogy of Fathers cannot conſiſt) there being ſo many notable diſparities betwixt Kings and Fathers. 1. A Father may be a Father to one Child; but a King cannot be a King or Politick Father to one only, but his Correlate muſt be a Community; a Tyrant can be a Father to none at all in a Politick Senſe. 2. A Father is a Father by Generation to all coming out of his loins; a King not ſo, he doth not beget them, nor doth their relation flow from that; a Tyrant is a Deſtroyer, not a Procreator of People. 3. A Father is the cauſe of the natural being of his Children, a King only of the politick Well-being of his Subjects; but Tyrants are the cauſe of the ill-being of both. 4. A Father, once a Father, as long as his Children live, retains ſtill the relation, tho' he turn mad and never ſo wicked; a King turning mad may be ſerved as *Nebuchadnezzar* was, at leaſt all will grant in ſome caſes the ſubjects may ſhake off the King; and if in any caſe, it is when he turns Tyrant. 5. A Father's relation never ceaſes, whitherſoever his Children go; but ſubjects may change their relation to a King, by coming under another King in another kingdom; a Tyrant will force all lovers of freedom to leave the kingdom where he domineers. 6. A father's relation never changes, he can neither change his children, nor they change their father; but a King may naturalize new ſubjects, and ſubjects may alſo change their Sovereign. Royaliſts will grant a State or Commonwealth may make a King, and there is great reaſon ſometimes that a Monarchy be turned into a Commonwealth; but a Tyrant changes thoſe that are under him, expels the natives, brings in Foreigners, and all good Patriots do

pant

pant for a change of him every day. 7. A father hath no power of life and death over his children; a King hath it over his subjects according to law; a Tyrant usurps it over the innocent against law. 8. A father is not a father by consent of his children; as a King is by consent of his subjects; a Tyrant is neither a father with it nor without it. 9. A father is not made by the children; as a King is by his subjects, as was shewed; a Tyrant is neither a natural, nor by compact, but a self-created power. 10. A father is not chosen conditionally upon compact, as a King is by the free suffrages of the Community; a Tyrant in this differs from a King that he is not chosen, and in tyranny from a father. 11. Children wanting a father cannot choose whom they will to be their father; as subjects wanting a King may choose whom they will, and what form they please; but though they can, yet if they be rational, they will never choose a Tyrant, nor a tyrannical form of government. 12. Children cannot restrict their father's power to what degrees they please; as subjects may limit their Kings, at their first erection; but a Tyrant, though he ought, yet he will not be limited, and if he might, he should be restrained. 13. Children cannot set bounds how long they will have their fathers to continue; subjects may condescend upon the time, in making laws how long such an one shall be their Sovereign, *during life*, or *while faultless*, according as the fundamental law is made at first; Tyrants ought every day to be repressed, that they should not continue at all. Yet giving and not granting, that a King were to be owned under the relation of a father; though every man be bound to own and maintain his father's parental authority, yet let the case be put, that the father turns a Robber, Murderer, an avowed Enemy to God and the country, is his person and authority in that case to be owned, to the dishonour of God, and hurt and hazard of the country? or ought he not rather to be delivered up even by the Son to Justice? Much more then will it follow, that a King who turns the more dangerous, because the more powerful Robber, and legal Murderer, and enemy to God and the country, cannot be owned; seeing the relation between

father

father and son is stronger and stricter, as having another original, than can be betwixt King and subjects, and stands unremoved as long as he is father, though turning such, they ought to contribute, (in moral duty, to which their relative duty must cede), that he should no more be a father, nor no more a living man, when dead by law. Secondly, They cannot come under the *herile* or *masterly* relation, though analogically also sometimes they are stiled so, and subjects are called *Servants*, by reason of their subjection, and because it is the office of Kings to command, and subjects to obey, in this there is some Analogy. But Kings cannot properly be owned under this relation, as masters over either persons or goods of subjects, far less Tyrants, yea Kings assuming a masterly power turn Tyrants. Now that the Magistratical relation is not that of a *Master*, is clear from many disparities and absurdities, whether we consider the state of hired servants or slaves. For *hired Servants*, the difference is vast betwixt them and subjects. 1. The hired servant gets reward for his service, by compact; the subjects none, but rather gives the Royal reward of tribute to the King for his service; the Tyrant exacts it to maintain his Tyranny. 2. The hired servant is maintained by his master; the subjects maintain the King; the Tyrant robs it from them by force. 3. The hired servant bargains only for a time, and then may leave him; the subject cannot give up his covenanted allegiance, at that rate and for these reasons as the servant may his service; a Tyrant will make nor keep no such bargain. 4. The hired servant must have his masters profit mainly before his eyes, and his own only secondarily; but the Magistrates power is primarily ordinated to the publick good of the Community, and only consequentially to the good of himself. 5. The master hath a greater power over the hired servant, to make and give out laws to him, which if they be lawful he must obey; than the King hath over the nation, to which he is not the sole Lawgiver, as is shewed. 6. The hired servant his subjection is mercenary and servile; but the subjects subjection is civil, free, voluntary, liberal, and loving to a lawful King. Again for slaves, the difference

ference between them and subjects is great. 1. Slaver being against nature, rational people would never choos that life, if they could help it; but they gladly choos Government and Governors. 2. Slavery would mak their condition worse than when they had no Goverr ment, for liberty is always preferable; neither coul people have acted rationally in setting up Governmen if to be free of oppression of others they had given them selves up to slavery, under a master who may do wh he pleases with them. 3. All slaves are either taken i war, or bought with money, or born in the house whe their parents were slaves, as *Abraham* and *Solomon* ha of that sort; but subjects are neither captives, nor bough nor born slaves. 4. Slavery is not natural, but a pen fruit of sin, and would never have been if sin had n been; but Government is not so, but natural and nece sary. 5. Slaves are not their masters brethren, subjects a the King's brethren, *over whom he must not lift up himsel Deut.* xvii. 20. 6. Masters might purchase and sell their slave *Abimelech* took sheep and men-servants and gave them un *Abraham*, *Gen.* xx. 14. *Jacob* had maid-servants and me servants, and asses, *Gen.* xxx. 43. no otherwise than oth goods, *Solomon* got to himself servants and maidens, a servants born in his house, *Eccles.* ii. 7. a King cannot d so with his subjects. 7. Princes have not this power make the people slaves, neither from God, nor from th people; from God they have none, but to feed and to lea them, 2 *Sam.* v. 2. to rule them so as to *feed them*, *Chron.* xi. 2. *Psal.* lxxviii. 71, 72. From the people the have no power to make Slaves, they can give none such 8. Slavery is a Curse: it was *Canaan's* Curse to be Servant of Servants, *Gen.* ix. 25. but to have Magistrat is a promised blessing, *Jer.* xvii. 25. 9. To be free Slavery is a blessing, as the Redemption from *Egypt* bondage is every where called, and the year of Redem tion was a *Jubile* of Joy, so the Freedom of release ev ry seven years a great Privilege, *Jer.* xxxiv. 9. but t be free of Government is a Judgment, *Isa.* iii. 4, 5. 't threatned, *Israel shall abide without a King, and with out a Prince*; *Hos.* iii. 4. In the next place, they cann be owned as Masters or Proprietors over the *goods* of th

sub

subjects; though in the Case of Necessity, the King may make use of all goods in common, for the good of the Kingdom: for, 1. The introduction of Kings cannot overturn Nature's foundation; by the Law of Nature property was given to man, Kings cannot rescind that. 2. A man had goods e're ever there was a King; a King was made only to preserve Property, therefore he cannot take it away. 3. It cannot be supposed that rational people would choose a King at all, if he had power to turn a greater Robber to preserve them from lesser Robberies and Oppressions: would rational men give up themselves for a prey to one, that they might be safe from becoming a prey to others? 4. Then their case should be worse, by erecting of Government, if the Prince were Proprietor of their goods, for they had the Property themselves before. 5. Then Government should not be a blessing, but a curse, and the Magistrate could not be a Minister for good. 6. Kingdoms then should be among *the goods of fortune*, which the King might sell and dispone as he pleased. 7. His place then should not be a function, but a possession. 8. People could not then, by their removes, or otherwise, change their Sovereigns. 9. Then no man might dispose of his own goods without the King's consent, by buying or selling, or giving alms; nay, nor pay tribute, for they cannot do these things except they have of their own. 10. This is the very Character of a Tyrant, as described, 1 *Sam.* viii. 11. *He will take your Sons*, &c. *Zeph.* iii. 3. *Her Princes are roaring Lions, her Judges are evening Wolves.* 11. All the threatnings and rebukes of oppression condemn this, *Isa.* iii. 14, 15. *Ezek.* xlv. 9. *Mic.* iii. 2, 3. *Ahab* condemned for taking *Naboth's* vineyard. 12. *Pharaoh* had not all the Land of *Egypt*, till he bought it, *Gen.* xlii. 20. *So the Land became Pharaoh's*, not otherwise. Yet giving, and not granting that he were really a Master in all these respects; notwithstanding if he turn to pursue me for my Life, because of my fidelity to my Master and his both, and will withdraw me from the service of the supreme universal Master, I may lawfully withdraw my self from his, and disown him for one, when I cannot serve two Masters. Sure he

he cannot be Master of the *Conscience*. *Thirdly*, They cannot come under the *conjugal* Relation, though there may be some proportion between that and subjection to a lawful Ruler, because of the mutual Covenant transacted betwixt them; but the Tyrant and Usurper cannot pretend to this, who refuse all Covenants. Yet hence it cannot be inferred, that because the wife may not put away her husband, or renounce him, as he may do her in the case of Adultery; therefore the people cannot disown the King in the case of the violation of the Royal Covenant. For the King's power is not at all properly a *Husband's* power, 1. The Wife, by Nature, is the weaker Vessel; but the Kingdom is not weaker than the King. 2. The Wife is given as an help to the man; but here the man is given as an help to the Commonwealth. 3. The wife cannot limit the husband's power; as subjects may limit their Sovereigns. 4. The Wife cannot prescribe the time of her continuing under him; as subjects may do with their Sovereigns. 5. The wife cannot change her husband; as a Kingdom can do their Government. 6. The husband hath not power of Life and Death; but the Sovereign hath it over Malefactors. Yet giving, and not granting, his power were properly Marital; if the case be put, that the man do habitually break the Marriage Covenant, or take another Wife, and turn also cruel and intolerable in compelling his own Wife to wickedness; and put the case also, that she should not get a legal Divorce procured, Who can doubt but she might disown him, and leave him? For this case is excepted out of that Command, 1 *Cor.* vii. 10. *Let not the Wife depart from her Husband*, meaning for mere Difference in Religion, or other lesser causes; but Adultery doth annul the Marriage relation. See *Pool's Synopsis Critic. in Locum.* So when a Prince breaks the royal Covenant and turns Tyrant, or without any Covenant commits a Rape upon the Commonwealth, that pretended Relation may and must be disowned. Hence we see, there is no relation can bring a King or Ruler under the object of the duty of the fifth Command, except it be that of a *fiduciary Patron*, or *Trustee*, and *Publick Servant*: for we cannot

own

wn him properly either to be a Father, or a Master, or a Husband. Therefore what can remain, but that he must be a fiduciary Servant? Wherefore if he shall either treacherously break his trust, or presumptuously refuse to be entrusted, upon terms and conditions to secure and be accountable for, (before God and Man) Religion and Liberty, we cannot own his usurped Authority. That Metaphor which the learned *Buchanan* uses, *de Jure Regni*, of a Publick and Politick *Physician*, is not a relation different from this of a fiduciary Servant; when he elegantly represents him as entrusted with the preservation and restauration of the health of the politick Body, and endowed with Skill and Experience of the Laws of his Craft. If then he be orderly called unto this charge, and qualified for it, and discharges his duty faithfully, he deserves, and we are obliged to give him the deference of an honoured Physician; but if he abuse his calling, and not observe the rules thereof, and instead of curing, go about wilfully to kill the Body he is entrusted with, he is no more to be owned for a Physician, but for a Murderer.

9. If we enquire further into the nature of this Relation between a King, (whose Authority is to be owned) and his subjects; we can own it only as it is *Reciprocal* in respect of Superiority and Inferiority; that is, whereby in some respects the King is Superior to the people, and in some respects the people is Superior to him. The King is Superior and *Supreme* as he is called, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. in respect of formal Sovereignty, and executive Authority, and Majestick Royal Dignity, resulting from the peoples devolving upon him that Power, and constituting him in that relation over themselves, whereby he is higher in Place and Power than they, and in respect of his Charge and Conduct is *worth ten thousands of the People*, 2 *Sam.* xviii. 3. and there is no formally regal Tribunal higher than his; and though he be *lesser than the whole Community*, yet he is *greater than any one*, or all the people distributively taken; and though he be a Royal Vassal of the Kingdom, and princely Servant of the people; yet he is not their *Deputy*, because he is really their Sovereign, to whom they have made over

their Power of governing and protecting themselves irrevocably, except in the case of Tyranny; and in Acts of Justice, he is not countable to any, and does not depend on the people as a Deputy. But, on the other hand, the people is Superior to the King, in respect of their Fountain power of Sovereignty, that remains radically and virtually in them, in that they make him their Royal Servant, and him rather than another, and limit him to the Laws for their own good and advantage, and though they give to him a Politick Power for their own safety; yet they keep a natural Power which they cannot give away, but must resume it in case of Tyranny; and though they cannot retract the power of Justice to govern righteously, yet it is not so irrevocably given away to him, but that when he abuseth his power to the destruction of his subjects, they may wrest a Sword out of a mad Man's hand, though it be his own Sword, and he hath a just Power to use it for good, but all fiduciary Power abused may be repealed. They have not indeed Sovereignty, or Power of life and death *formally*; yet, in respect, they may constitute a Magistrate with Laws, which if they violate they must be in hazard of their lives, they have this Power *eminently* and *virtually*. Hence, in respect, that the King's Power is, and can be only *fiducial*, by way of trust reposed upon him, he is not so superior to the People, but he may, and ought to be *accountable* to them in case of Tyranny; which is evident from what is said, and now I intend to make it further appear. But, *first*, I form the Argument thus; We can own no King that is not accountable to the people: *Ergo*, we cannot own this King. To clear the Connexion of the antecedent and consequent, I add; either he is accountable to the people, or he is not: if he be accountable to all, then he is renouncible by a part, when the collective Body either will not, or cannot exact an account from him, when the Community is defective as to their part, it is the interest of a part, that would, but cannot, do their duty, to give no account to such as they can get no account from for his Maleversations. This is all we crave: if he be not accountable, then we cannot own him, because all Kings are accountable;

able, for these Reasons, 1. The Inferior is accountable to the Superior; the King is Inferior, the people Superior: *Ergo*, the King is accountable to the people. The Proposition is plain; if the King's Superiority make the People accountable to him, in case of transgressing the Laws; then, Why should not the Peoples Superiority make the King accountable to them, in case of transgressing the Laws? Especially, seeing the King is inferior to the Laws: because the Law restrains him, and from the Law he hath that whereby he is King; the Law is inferior to the people, because they are as it were 'tis Parent, and may make or unmake it upon occasion: and seeing the Law is more powerful than the King, and the People more powerful than the Law, we may see before which we may call the King to answer in Judgment, *Buchan. Jure Regni apud Scot.* That the King is inferior to the people is clear on many accounts: for these things which are institute for others sake, are inferior to those for whose sake they are required or sought; a horse is inferior to them that use him for victory; a King is only a mean for the peoples good; a Captain is less than the Army, a King is but a Captain over the Lord's Inheritance, 1 *Sam.* x. 1. He is but the Minister of God for their good, *Rom.* xiii. 4. Those who are before the King, and may be a people without him, must be Superior to him who is a Posterior, and cannot be a King without them: let the King be considered either materially as a mortal Man, he is then but a part inferior to the whole; or formally under the Reduplication as a King, he is no more but a Royal Servant, obliged to spend his life for the people, to save *them out of the hand of their Enemies*, 2 *Sam.* xix. 9. A part is inferior to the whole, the King is but a part of the Kingdom: a Gift is inferior to them to whom it is given, a King is but a gift given of God for the peoples good: That which is mortal, and but accidental, is inferior to that which is eternal, and cannot perish Politically; a King is but mortal, and it is but accidental to Government that there be a succession of Kings; but the people is eternal, *one Generation passeth away, and another Generation cometh*, Eccles. i. 4. especially the people

of God, the portion of the Lord's inheritance, is superior to any King, and their ruin of greater moment than all the Kings of the World; for, if the Lord for their sake *smite great Kings*, and slay famous Kings, as *Sihon* and *Og*, *Psal.* cxxxvi. 17,——20. if he *give* Kings and famous Kingdoms for their *Ransom*, *Isa.* xliii. 3, 4. then his people must be so much superior than Kings, by how much his Justice is active to destroy the one, and his Mercy to save the other. All this proves the people to be superior in dignity; and therefore, even in that respect, 'tis frivolous to say, The King cannot be accountable to them, because so much superior in Glory and Pomp; for they are superior every way in excellency; and though it were not so, yet Judges may be inferior in rank considered as men, but they are superior in Law over the greatest as they are Judges, to whom far greater than they are accountable. The low and mean condition of them to whom belongs the power of Judgment does not diminish its dignity: when the King then is judged by the people, the Judgment is of as great dignity as if it were done by a superior King; for the Judgment is the sentence of the Law. 2. They are superior in *power:* because every constituent cause is superior to the effect, the people is the constituent cause, the King is the effect, and hath all his Royalty from them, by the Conveyance God hath appointed; so that they need not fetch it from Heaven, God gives it by the people, by whom also his power is limited, and, if need be, diminished from what they gave his ancestors: hence, if the people constitute and limit the power they give the King, then they may call him to an account, and judge him for the abuse of it; but the first is true, as is proven above: *ergo*——. The *Major* is undeniable, for sure, they may judge their own Creature, and call him to an account for the power they gave him, when he abuses it, tho' there be no Tribunal formally regal above him, yet, in the case of Tyranny, and violating his Trust, there is a Tribunal virtual eminently above him, in them that made him, and reposed that Trust upon him, as is said. 3. The fountain power is superior to the power derived: the people, tho' they constitute a King above them, yet retain

retain the fountain power, he only hath the derived power: certainly the people must retain more power eminently, than they could give to the King, for they gave it, and he receives it, with limitations; if he turn mad or uncapable, they may put Curators and Tutors over him; if he be taken Captive, they may appoint another to exercise the power; if he die, then they may constitute another, with more or less power; so then if they give away all their power, as a slave selleth his liberty, and retain no Fountain-power or radical Right, they could not make use of it to produce any of these acts: they set a King above them only with an executive power for their good, but the radical power remains in the people, as in an immortal spring, which they communicate by succession to this or that mortal man, in the manner and measure they think expedient; for otherwise, if they gave all their power away, what shall they reserve to make a new King, if this man die? What if the Royal Line surcease, there be no Prophets now sent to make Kings: and if they have power in these cases, why not in the case of Tyranny? 4. If the King be accountable by Law, for any act of Tyranny done against one man, then much more is he accountable for many against the whole state: but the former is true; a private man may go to Law before the ordinary Judges, for wronging his inheritance, and the King is made accountable for the wrong done by him. Now, shall the Laws be like *Spiders Webs*, which hold flies, but let bigger beasts pass through? Shall Sentence be past for petty wrongs against a man, and none for tyrannizing over Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom? Shall none be past against parricide or fratricide, for killing his Brother, murdering the Nobles, and burning Cities? Shall petty Thieves be hanged for stealing a Sheep; and does the Laws of God or Man give impunity, for robbing a whole Country of the neareſt and deareſt Intereſts they have, to crowned Heads, for the fancied Character of Royalty, which thereby is forfeited? 5. If there be Judges appointed of God independently, to give out and execute the Judgment of the Lord on all offenders, without exception of the higheſt; then the King also must be sub-

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ject to that Judgment; but there are Judges appointed of God independently, to give out and execute the Judgment of the Lord on all offenders, without exception of the higheſt. Two things muſt be here proved; firſt, that in giving Judgment they do not depend on the King, but are the immediate vicars of God. Secondly, That the King is not excepted from, but ſubject to their Judgment, in caſe he be criminal. Firſt, they cannot depend upon the King, becauſe they are more neceſſary than the King; and it is not left to the King's pleaſure whether there be Judges or not. There may be Judges without a King, but there can be no King without Judges, nor no Juſtice, but confuſion; no man *can bear the peoples burden alone*, Numb. xi. 14, 17. If they depended on the King, their Power would die with the King; the ſtreams muſt dry up with the fountain; but that cannot be, for *they are not the Miniſters of the King, but of the Kingdom*, whoſe honour and promotion, tho' by the King's external call, yet comes from God, as all honour and promotion does, *Pſal.* lxxv. 7. The King cannot make Judges whom he will, by his abſolute power, he muſt be tied to that Law, *Deut.* i. 13. To *take wiſe men and underſtanding, and known:* neither can he make them *during Pleaſure:* for if theſe qualifications remain, there is no allowance given for their removal. They *are gods, and the children of the moſt High*, appointed to *defend the poor and fatherleſs*, as well as he, *Pſal.* lxxxii. 3, 6. They are ordained of God for the puniſhment of evil doers, in which they muſt not be reſiſted, as well as he, *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2. *By me* (ſaith the Lord) *rule---all the judges of the earth*, Prov. viii. 16. To them we muſt be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, as being the Miniſters of God for good; they muſt be obeyed for the Lord's ſake, as well as the King; though they are ſent of him, yet they *judge not for man, but for the Lord*, 2 Chron. xix. 6. hence they ſit in his room, and are to act as if he were on the bench: the King cannot ſay, the Judgment is mine, becauſe it is the Lord's; neither can he limit their ſentence (as he might, if they were nothing but his deputies) becauſe the judgment is not his: nor are their conſciences ſubordinate to him, but to the

Lord

Lord immediately; otherwise if they were his Deputies, depending on him, then they could neither be admonished, nor condemned for unjust Judgment, because their sentence should neither be righteous nor unrighteous, but as the King makes it; and all directions to them were capable of this exception, do not so or so, *except the King command you*; crush not the poor, oppress not the fatherless, *except the King command you:* yea, then they could not execute any Judgment, but with the King's licence, and so could not be rebuked for their not executing Judgment. Now all this is contrary to Scripture, which makes the sentence of the Judges undeclinable, when just, *Deut.* xvii. 11. The Lord's indignation is kindled, when he *looks for judgment, and behold oppression, for righteousness, and behold a cry*, Isa. v. 7. Neither will it excuse the Judges to say, the King would have it so; for even they that are subservient to *write grievousness, to turn aside the needy from judgment*, &c, are under the *wo*, as well as they that prescribe it, *Isa.* x. 1, 2. The Lord is displeased, when *judgment is turned away backward, and justice stands afar off*,---and when there is *no judgment*, whatever be the cause of it, *Isa.* lix. 14, 15. The Lord threatens he will be *avenged on the nation*, when a man is *not found to execute judgment*, Jer. v. 1, 9. And promises, if they *will execute judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor*, he will give them righteous Magistrates, *Jer.* xxii. 3, 4. but if they do not, he will send *desolation*, ibid. He rebukes those that *turn judgment to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth*, Amos v. 7. He resents it, when *the law is slacked, and judgment doth not go forth* freely, without overawing or over-ruling restraint, *Hab.* i. 4. Can these Scriptures consist with the Judges dependence on the King's pleasure, in the exercise and execution of their power? Therefore, if they would avoid the Lord's displeasure, they are to give judgment, though the King should countermand it. Secondly, That the King is not excepted from their judgment, is also evident from the general Commands, *Gen.* ix. 6. *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed:* there is no exception of *Kings* or *Dukes* here; and we must not distinguish where

where the Law distinguisheth not. *Numb.* xxxv. 30, 31. *Whoso killeth any person, the murderer shall be put to death, by the mouth of witnesses, ---ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer which is guilty of death, but he shall be surely put to death.* What should hinder then Justice to be awarded upon a murdering King? Shall it be for want of witnesses? It will be easy to adduce thousands. Or, shall this be satisfaction for his life, that he is a crowned King? The Law saith, there shall no satisfaction be taken. The Lord speaketh to Under-judges, *Levit.* xix. 15. *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty.* If Kings be not among the mighty, how shall they be classed? *Deut.* i. 17. *Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but you shall hear the small as well as the great; you shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's.* If then no man's face can outdare the Law and Judgment of God, then the King's majestick face must not do it; but as to the demerit of blood, he must be subject as well as another. 'Tis no argument to say, the *Sanhedrin* did not punish *David* for his murder and adultery; *therefore* it is not lawful to punish a King for the same: a reason *from not doing* is not relevant. *David* did not punish *Joab* for his murder, but authorized it, as also he did *Bathsheba*'s adultery; will that prove, that murders connived at, or commanded by the King, shall not be punished? Or that Whores of State are not to be called to an account? Neither will it prove, that a murdering King should not be punished; that *David* was not punished, because he got both the sin pardoned, and his life granted from the Lord, saying to him by the mouth of the Prophet *Nathan*, *Thou shalt not die.* But as for the demerit of that fact, he himself pronounced the sentence out of his own mouth, 2 *Sam.* xii. 15. *As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die.* 'So every King condemned by the Law, 'is condemned by his own mouth; for the Law is the 'voice of the King. Why then do we so much weary 'ourselves concerning a Judge, seeing we have the 'King's own confession, that is, the Law? *Buchanan de jure regni.* And there needs be no other difficulty to find a Tri-

a Tribunal for a murdering King, than to find one for a murderer; for a Judgment muſt acknowledge but one name, to wit, of the crime. If a King then be guilty of murder, he hath no more the name of a King, but of a murderer, when brought to Judgment; for he is not judged for his Kingſhip, but for his murder; as when a Gentleman is judged for Robbery, he is not hanged, neither is he ſpared, becauſe he is a Gentleman, but becauſe he is a Robber. See *Buchanan* above. 6. If the Peoples Repreſentatives be ſuperior to the King in Judgment, and may execute judgment without him, and againſt his will, then they may alſo ſeek account of him; for if he hath no power but from them, and no power without them to act as King, (no more than the eye or hand hath power to act without the body) then his power muſt be inferior, fiduciary, and accountable to them; But the former is true, the peoples repreſentatives are ſuperior to the King in judgment, and may execute judgment without him, and againſt his will. In Scripture we find the power of the *Elders* and Heads of the people was very great, and in many caſes ſuperior to the King: which the learned Dr. *Owen* demonſtrates in his *Preliminary Exercitations on the Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, and proves out of the *Rabbins*, that the Kings of the *Jews* might have been called to an account, and puniſhed for tranſgreſſing of the Law. But in the Scripture we find, (1) They had a power of Judgment with the ſupreme Magiſtrate, in matters of Religion, Juſtice and Government. *Hamor* and *Shechem* would not make a Covenant with *Jacob's* Sons, without the conſent of the men of the city, *Gen.* xxxiv. 20. *David* behoved to conſult with the Captains of thouſands, and every Leader, if it ſeemed good to them to bring again the Ark of God, 1 *Chron.* xiii. 1, 2, 3. So alſo *Solomon* could not do it without them, 1 *Kings* viii. 1. *Ahab* could not make peace with *Benhadad* againſt the conſent of the people, 1 *Kings* xx. 8, The men of *Ephraim* complain that *Jephthah*, the ſupreme Magiſtrate, had gone to war againſt the Children of *Ammon* without them, and threatned to burn his houſe with fire, which he only excuſes by the Law of neceſſity, *Judges* xii. 1, 2, 3. The *Seventy Elders* are appointed

appointed of God, not to be the advisers only and helpers of *Moses*, but to bear a part of the burden of ruling and governing the people, that *Moses* might be eased, *Numb.* xi, 14, 17. *Moses*, upon his sole pleasure, had not power to restrain them in the exercise of judgment given of God. They were not the Magistrates depending deputies, but, in the act of judging, they were independent, and their Consciences as immediately subjected to God as the superior Magistrate, who was to add his approbative suffrage to their actings, but not his directive nor imperative suffrage of absolute pleasure, but only according to the Law; he might command them to do their duty, but he could do nothing without them. (2) They had power, not derived from the Prince at all, even a power of *Life and Death.* The rebellious Son was to be brought to the Elders of the city, who had power to stone him, *Deut.* xxi. 18, 24. They had power to punish Adultery with death, *Deut.* xxii. 21. They had power to cognosce whom to admit into, and whom to seclude from the cities of Refuge: so that if the King had commanded to take the life of an innocent man, they were not to deliver him, *Josh.* xx. throughout. But besides the Elders of cities, there were the Elders and Heads of the people, who had judicial power to cognosce on all criminal Matters, even when *Joshua* was Judge in *Israel* we find they assumed this power, to judge of that matter of the two Tribes and the half, *Josh.* xxii. 30. And they had power to make Kings, as *Saul* and *David*, as was shewed: and it must needs follow, they had power to unmake them in case of Tyranny. (3) They had power to conveen, even without the indiction of the Ruler, as in that, *Josh.* xxii. They conveen without him; and without advice or knowledge of *Samuel*, the Ruler, they conveen to *ask a King*, 1 *Sam.* viii. And without any Head or Superior, they conveen and make *David* King, notwithstanding of *Ishboseth's* hereditary Right. Without and against tyrannous *Athaliah* her consent, they conveen and make *Joash* King, and cared not for her *Treason, Treason*, 2 *Kings* xi. But now the King alone challenges the Prerogative-power of calling and dissolving Parliaments as he pleases, and condemns all Meetings of

Estates

Estates without his warrant, which is purely tyrannical: for, in cases of necessity, by the very Law of Nature, they may and must conveen. The power is given to the King only by a positive Law, for order's sake; but otherwise, they have an intrinsical power to assemble themselves. All the forecited Commands, Admonitions, and Certifications, *to execute Judgment*, must necessarily involve and imply a power to conveen, without which they could not be in a capacity for it: not only unjust judgment, but *no Judgment*, in a time when Truth is fallen in the streets, and Equity cannot enter, is charged as the sin of the State; therefore they must conveen to prevent this sin, and the Wrath of God for it: God hath committed the keeping of the Commonwealth, not to the King only, but also to the peoples Representatives and Heads. And if the King have power to break up all Conventions of this nature, then he hath power to hinder Judgment to proceed, which the Lord commands: and this would be an excuse, when God threatens Vengeance for it, *We would not execute Judgment, because the King forbad us.* Yet many of these forementioned reproofs, threatnings, and certifications were given, in the time of tyrannous and idolatrous Kings, who, no doubt, would inhibite and discharge the doing of their duty; yet we see that was no excuse, but the Lord denounces Wrath for the omission. (4) They had power to execute Judgment against the Will of the Prince. *Samuel* killed *Agag* against *Saul's* Will, but according to the Command of God, 1 *Sam.* xv. 32. Against *Ahab's* Will and Mind *Elijah* caused kill the Priests of *Baal*, according to God's express Law, 1 *Kings* xviii. 40. It is true it was extraordinary, but no otherwise than it is this Day; when there is no Magistrate that will execute the Judgment of the Lord, then they who have power to make the Magistrate, may and ought to execute it, when wicked men make the Law of God of none effect. So the Princes of *Judah* had power, against the King's Will, to put *Jeremiah* to death, which the King supposes, when he directs him what to say to them, *Jer.* xxxviii. 25. They had really such a power, though in *Jeremiah's* case it would have been wickedly perverted. See *Lex Rex*,

*Rex*, 2. 19, 20. (5) They had a power to execute Judgment upon the King himself, as in the case of *Amaziah* and *Uzziah*, as shall he cleared afterwards. I conclude with repeating the Argument: If the King be accountable, whensoever this Account shall be taken, we are confident our disowning him for the present will be justified, and all will be obliged to imitate it: if he be not, then we cannot own his Authority, that so presumptuously exalts himself above the People.

10. If we will further consider the nature of Magistracy, it will appear what Authority can conscientiously be owned, to wit, that which is *Power*, not *Authorised Power*, not Might or Force; *Moral* Power, not merely *Natural*. There is a great difference betwixt these two: Natural power is common to Brutes, Moral power is peculiar to Men; Natural power is more in the Subjects, because they have more strength and force; Moral power is in the Magistrate, they can never meet adequately in the same Subject; Natural power *can*, Moral only *may* warrantably exercise Rule; Natural power is opposed to Impotency and Weakness, Moral to Illicitness or Unlawfulness; Natural power consists in Strength, Moral in Righteousness; Natural power may be in a Route of Rogues making an Uprore, Moral only in the Rulers; they cannot be distinguished by their acts, but by the Principle from which the acts proceed; in the one from mere Force, in the other from Authority. The principle of Natural power is its own might and will, and the end only self; Moral hath its Rise from positive Constitution, and its end is publick safety. The strength of Natural power lies in the *Sword*, whereby its might gives Law; the strength of Moral power is in its *Word*, whereby Reason gives Law, unto which the Sword is added for punishment of Contraveeners: Natural power *takes the Sword*, *Matth.* xxvi. 52. Moral *bears the Sword*, *Rom.* xiii. 4. In Natural power the Sword is the Cause; in Moral it is only the Consequent of Authority: in Natural power the Sword legitimates the Sceptre; in Moral the Sceptre legitimates the Sword: The Sword of the Natural is only backed with Metal, the Sword of the Moral power is backed with God's Warrant: Natural

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power involves men in passive subjection, as a Traveller is made to yield to a Robber; Moral power reduces to conscientious Subordination. Hence the power that is only Natural, not Moral, *Authority*, not *Power*, cannot be owned; but the power of Tyrants and Usurpers is only Natural, not Moral, *Authority*, not *Power*: *Ergo* it cannot be owned. The *Major* cannot be denied; for it is only the Moral power that is ordained of God, unto which we must be subject for Conscience sake. The *Minor* also; for the power of Tyrants is not Moral, because not authorised, nor warranted, nor ordained of God by His preceptive Ordinance, and therefore no lawful Magistratical *power*. For the clearer understanding of this, let it be observed, there are four Things required to the making of a Moral or Lawful *power*; the *Matter* of *it* must be *lawful*, the *Person lawful*, the *Title lawful*, and the *Use lawful*. 1. The *Matter* of it, about which it is exerted, or the Work to be done by it, must be *lawful* and *warranted* by God: and if it be *unlawful*, it destroys its Moral being. As the *Pope's power*, in dispensing with *Divine Laws*, is null and no *Moral power*; and so also the King's *power*, in dispensing with both Divine and Human *Laws* is null. Hence that *power*, which is, in regard of Matter *unlawful*, and never *warranted* by God, cannot be *owned*; but *absolute power*, which is the *power* of Tyrants and Usurpers, (and particularly of this of ours) is in regard of *Matter*, *unlawful*, and never *warranted* by God: *Ergo* —2. The *person* holding the *power* must be such as not only is capable of, but competent to the Tenure of it, and to whom the holding of it is allowed; and if it be prohibited, it evacuates the morality of the power. *Korah* and his company arrogated to themselves the office of the *Priesthood*, this power was prohibited to them, their power then was a nullity. As therefore a person that should not be a Minister, when he usurps that office is no Minister; so a person that should not be a Magistrate, when he usurps that office, is no Magistrate. Hence, a person that is incapable and incompetent for Government cannot be owned for a Governor; but the Duke of *York* is such a person, not only not qualified as the word of God requires a Magistrate to be, but by the laws of the

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land declared incapable of rule, becauſe he is *a Papiſt*, a Murderer, an Adulterer, *&c.* 5. There muſt be a moral power, a lawful *Title* and *Inveſtiture*, as is ſhewed above; which, if it be wanting, the power is null, and the perſon but a ſcenical King, like *John of Leyden*. This is eſſentially neceſſary to the being of a Magiſtrate; which only properly diſtinguiſhes him from a private man; for when a perſon becomes a Magiſtrate, what is the change that is wrought in him? what new habit or endowment is produced in him? he hath no more natural power than he had before; only now he hath the moral power, right and authority to rule, legally impowering him to govern. Let it be conſidered, what makes a ſubordinate Magiſtrate, whom we own as ſuch: it muſt be only his commiſſion from a ſuperior power, otherwiſe we reject him; if one come to us of his own head, taking upon him the ſtile and office of a Bailiff, Sheriff or Judge, and command our perſons, demand our purſes, or exact our oaths; we think we may deny him, not taking ourſelves to owe him any ſubjection, not owning any bond of conſcience to him; why? becauſe he hath no lawful commiſſion. Now, if we require this qualification in the ſubordinate, why not in the ſupreme? Hence, that Magiſtrate, that cannot produce his legal inveſtiture, cannot be owned; but the Duke of *York* cannot produce his legal inveſtiture, his admiſſion to the crown upon oath and compact, and with the conſent of the ſubjects, according to the laws of the land, as is ſhewed above: *Therefore*——. 4. There muſt alſo be the lawful *Uſe* of the power; which muſt be not only legal for its compoſure, but right for its practice; its courſe and proceſs in Government muſt be juſt, governing according to law, otherwiſe it is mere Tyranny: for what is Government, but the ſubjecting of the Community to the rule of Governors, for peace and order's ſake, and the ſecurity of all their precious intereſts? and for what end was it ordained, and continued among men, but that the ſtronger may not domineer over the weaker? and what is *Anarchy*, but the playing the *Rex* of the natural power over the moral? Hence, that power which is contrary to law, evil and tyrannical,

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can tye none to subjection; but the power of the King, abused to the destruction of laws, religion and liberties, giving his power and strength unto the *Beast*, and making war with the *Lamb*, *Rev.* xvii. 13, 14. is a power contrary to law, evil and tyrannical: *therefore* it can tye none to subjection: wickedness by no imaginable reason can oblige any man. It is *objected* by some, from *Rom.* xiii. 1. *There is no Power but of God*; the usurping power is a power: therefore it is of God, and consequently we owe subjection to it. *Answ.* 1. The original reading is not universal, but thus: *For there is no power if not from God:* which confirms what I plead for, that we are not to own any authority, if it be not authorized by God. The words are only relative to *higher Powers*, in a restricted sense, and at most are but indefinite, to be determined according to the matter; not *all Power* simply, but all *lawful Power*. 2. It is *a Fallacy from what is said according to a certain Thing:* there is no power but of God, that is no moral power, as universal negatives use to be understood, *Heb.* v. 4. *No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God*; which is clear, must not be understood for the negation of the fact, as if no man at all doth or ever did take unto himself that honour, for *Korah* did it, *&c.* but, no man taketh it *warrantably*, with a moral right and God's allowance, without God's call: so also the universal imperative, in that same text, must not be taken absolutely without restriction; for if every soul without exception were to be subject, there could be none left to be the higher powers; but it is understood with restriction to the relation of a subject. So here, *no Power but of God*, to be understood with restriction to the relation of a lawful Magistrate. It is also to be understood indiscriminately, in reference to the divers *species*, *sorts* and *degrees* of lawful power, supreme and subordinate, *whether to the King as supreme, or to Governors*, &c. as *Peter* expresses it: or whether they be *Christian* or *Pagan*; it cannot be meant of all universally, that may pretend to power, and may attain to prevailing potency; for then by this text, we must subject ourselves to the *Papacy* now intended to be introduced; and indeed if we subject ourselves

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to this *Papist*, the next thing he will require will be that. 3. To the *Minor* proposition, I *answer*, The usurping power is a power: it is *Power*, I grant, that it is *Power*, or *Authority*, I deny. Therefore it is *of God*, by his Providence, I concede; by his *Ordinance*, I deny. Consequently we owe subjection to it, I deny. We may be subject passively, I grant. Actively, out of conscience, I deny. But some will *object*, 2. Though the power be usurped, and so not morally lawful in all these respects; yet it may do *good*, its laws and administrations may be good. *Answ.* I grant all is good that ends well, and hath a good beginning. That cannot be good which hath a bad principle, *good from the entire Cause*. Some Government for constitution good, may, in some acts, be bad; but a Government for constitution bad cannot, for the acts it puts forth, be good. These good acts may be good for *matter*, but *formally* they are not good, as done by the Usurper: they may be comparatively good, that is better so than worse; but they cannot be absolutely, and in a moral sense good: for to make a politick action good, not only the matter must be warrantable, but the call also. It may indeed induce subjects to bear and improve to the best, what cannot be remedied; but cannot oblige to own a Magistratical relation.

II. The nature of the power thus discovered, let us see the nature of that relative duty, which we owe and must own as due to Magistrates, and what sort of *owning* we must give them; which, to inquire a little into, will give light to the question. All the duty and deference the Lord requires of us, towards them whom we must own as Magistrates, is comprehended in these two expressions, *honour* required in the *Fifth Command*, and *Subjection* required in *Rom.* xiii. 1. *&c.* 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. *&c.* Whomsoever then we own as Magistrates, we must own honour and subjection as due to them: and if so be, we cannot, upon a conscientious ground, give them honour and subjection, we cannot own them as Magistrates. The least deference we can pay to Magistrates is *Subjection*, as it is required in these words; *Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers*, and, *Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.* But this cannot

not be given to Tyrants and Usurpers; *therefore* no deference can be paid to them at all: and consequently they cannot be owned. That this subjection, which is required to the higher Powers, cannot be owned to Tyrants, will be apparent, if we consider, 1. The subjection required is *orderly subjection* to an *orderly power*, that we be regularly under him that is regularly above; but Usurpation and Tyranny is not an orderly power, orderly placed above us: therefore we cannot be orderly under it. This is gathered from the original language, where the powers, to be subjected to, are *ordained of God*, and *the Ordinance of God*, and he that resisteth the power is *counter-ordered*, or contrary to his orderly duty: so the duty is *to be subject*. They are all words coming from one root, which signifies to *Order*: so that subjection is to be placed in order under another relative to an orderly Superiority: but, to occupy the seat of dignity unauthorized, is an *Ataxy*, a breaking of order, and bringing the Commonwealth quite out of order. Whereby it may appear, that, in relation to an arbitrary Government, there can be properly no *orderly* subjection. 2. The thing itself must import that relative duty which the Fifth Command requires; not only a *passive* stooping endurance, or a feigned counterfeit submission, but a real *active* duty including obedience to lawful Commands; and not only so, but support and maintenance; and that both to the acts of his administration, and to his standing and keeping his station, assisting him with all our abilities, both human and Christian; and not only as to the external acts of duties, but the inward motions of the heart, as consent, love, reverence, and honour, and all sincere fealty and allegiance. But can a subjection of this extent be paid to a Tyrant or Usurper? Can we support those we are bound to suppress? Shall we love the ungodly, and help those that hate the Lord? Can we consent, that we and our posterity should be slaves? Can we honour them who are vile, and the vilest of men, how high soever they be exalted? 3. The ground of this subjection is *for conscience sake*, not for *wrath*, that is, so far and so long as one is constrained by fear, and, to avoid a greater evil, to stoop to him, but out of con-

science of duty, both that of piety to God who ordained Magistracy, and that of equity to him who is his Minister for good, and under pain of *Damnation* if we break this orderly subjection, *Rom.* xiii. 2, 5. But can it be imagined, that all this is due to a Tyrant and Usurper? Can it be out of conscience, because he is the Lord's Minister for good? The contrary is clear, that he is the Devil's drudge serving his interest; is resistance to Tyrants a damnable sin? I hope to prove it to be a duty. 4. If subjection to Tyrants and Usurpers will inveigle us in their snares, and involve us in their sin and judgment, then it is not to be owned to them; but the former is true: therefore the latter. In the foregoing head I drew an argument, for withdrawing from and disowning the Prelatick Ministers, from the hazard of partaking in their sin, and of being obnoxious to their judgment, because people are often punished for their Pastor's sins; *Aaron* and his sons polluting themselves, would have *brought wrath upon all the people*, *Lev.* x. 6. because the teachers had *transgressed against the Lord*, therefore was *Jacob given to the curse, and Israel to reproaches*, *Isa.* xliii. 27, 28. and all these miseries lamented by the Church were inflicted *for the sins of her Prophets, and the iniquities of her Priests*, *Lam.* iv. 13. the reason was, because they owned them, followed them, countenanced them, complied with them, or connived at them, or did not hinder, or else disown them. The same argument will evince the necessity of withdrawing our subjection from and disowning usurping and tyrannical Rulers, when we cannot hinder their wickedness, nor give any other Testimony against them, to avert the wrath of the Lord. If the defections of Ministers will bring on the whole nation desolating judgments; then much more have we reason to fear it, when both Magistrates and Ministers are involved in, and jointly carrying on, and carressing and encouraging each other in promoting a woful Apostasy from God: when the *heads of the house of Jacob, and Princes of the house of Israel, abhore judgment, and pervert all equity. The heads judge for reward, and the Priests teach for hire, and the Prophets divine for mony, and yet lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not*

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*the Lord among us: none evil can come upon as.* Then we can expect nothing, but that *Zion for their sake shall be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem become heaps, and the Mountain of the house as the high places of the forest*, Mic. iii. 9, 11, 12. Certain it is, that subjects have smarted sore for the sins of their Rulers: for *Saul*'s sin, in breaking Covenant with the *Gibeonites*, the land suffered three years famine, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. and the wrath of the Lord could not be appeased, till seven of his sons were hanged up unto the Lord. What then shall appease the wrath of God, for the unparallelled breach of Covenant with God in our days? For *David*'s sin of numbering the people, 70,000 men died by the pestilence, 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 5. For *Jeroboam*'s sin of Idolatry, who made *Israel* to sin, the Lord threatens to give *Israel* up, because of the sins of *Jeroboam*, 1 *King.* xiv. 16. only they escaped this judgment, who withdrew themselves and fell into *Judah*. For *Ahab*'s sin of letting go a man whom the Lord had appointed to utter destruction, the Lord threatens him, *Thy life shall go for his life*, and *thy people for his people*, 1 *King.* xx. 42. Because *Manasseh*, King of *Judah*, did many abominations, therefore the Lord threatened to bring such evil upon *Jerusalem* and *Judah*, that whosoever heard it, his ears should *tingle*, &c. 2 *King.* xxi. 11, 12. and notwithstanding of his repentance, and the Reformation in the days of *Josiah*, notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against *Judah*, *because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal*, 2 *King.* xxiii. 26. which was accomplished by the hands of the *Chaldeans*, in *Jehojakim*'s time. *Surely, at the Commandment of the Lord, came this upon Judah*, to remove them out of his sight, *for the sins of Manasseh according to all that he did, and also for the innocent blood which he shed,* ——— *which the Lord would not pardon*, 2 *King.* xxiv. 3, 4. And *Jeremiah* further threatens, that they *should be removed into all kingdoms of the earth, because of Manasseh for that which he did in Jerusalem*, *Jer.* xv. 4. Certainly these passages were recorded for our learning, *Rom.* xv. 4. and for our examples, to the intent we should not do as they did, 1 *Cor.* x. 6. and for our admonition, *ver.* 11. Whence we may be admonish-

ed, that it is not enough to keep ourselves free of publick sins of Rulers; many of those then punished, were free of all actual accession to them; but they became accessory to, and involved in the guilt of them, when they did not endeavour to hinder them, and bring them to condign punishment for them, according to the law of God which respecteth not persons; or, at least, because they did not revolt from them, as *Libnah* did; there might be other provocations on the peoples part, no doubt, which the Lord did also punish by these judgments; but when the Lord specifies the sin of Rulers as the particular procuring Cause of the judgment; it were presumption to make it the *Occasion* only of the Lord's punishing them: for plain it is, if these sins of Rulers had not been committed, which was the ground of the threatning and execution, the judgment would have been prevented; and if the people had bestirred themselves as became them, in repressing and restraining such wickedness, they had not so smarted; and when that sin, so threatned and punished, was removed, then the judgment itself was removed or deferred. It is just and necessary, that the subjects, being jointly included with their Rulers in the same bond of fidelity to God, be liable to be punished for their Rebellion and Apostasy, when they continue under the bond of subjection to them. But how deplorable were our condition, if we should stand obnoxious to divine judgments, for the Atheism, Idolatry, Murders, and Adulteries of our Rulers, and yet be neither authorized nor capacitated to hinder it, nor permitted to withdraw ourselves from subjection to them? But it is not so; for, the Lord's making us responsable for their debt, is an impowering us either to repress their wickedness when he gives us capacity, or at least to save ourselves harmless from their crimes, by disowning them; that being the only way of standing no longer accountable for their faults.

12. It remains to consider the *Ends* for which Government was institute by God, and constitute by men: from whence I argue, That Government, that destroys the ends of Government, is not to be owned; but Tyranny, and especially this under which we howl, destroys all the ends of Government; *therefore* it is not to be owned.

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The *Minor* I prove thus, That Government, that deſtroys religion and ſafety, deſtroys all the ends of Government; but this *Popiſh* and arbitrary *Abſolute* power, deſtroys religion and ſafety: *therefore*—— it is evident, both from the laws of nature and Revelation, that the ends of Government are the Glory of God, and the good of mankind. The firſt is the *Glory of God*, the ultimate end of all Ordinances; to which whatever is oppoſite, is not to be owned by them that fear him; whatever power then is deſtructive to religion, and is applied and imployed againſt the Glory of the univerſal King, and for withdrawing us from our fealty and obedience to him, is nothing but rebellion againſt the ſupreme Lord and Lawgiver, and a traiterous conſpiracy againſt the Almighty, and therefore not to be owned: and they are enemies to religion, or Strangers to it, who are not ſenſible this hath been the deſign of the preſent Government, at leaſt theſe 27 years, to overturn the reformed covenanted Religion, and to introduce *Popery*. Hence, ſeeing a King at his beſt and higheſt elevation is only a mean for preſerving religion, and for this end only choſen of the people to be *Keeper of both Tables of the Law*, he is not to be regarded, but wholly laid aſide, when he not only moves without his ſphere, but his motion infers the ruin of the ends of his erection, and when he imploys all his power for the deſtruction of the Cauſe of Chriſt, and advancement of Antichriſt's, giving his power to the *Beaſt*; he is ſo far from deſerving the deference of the power ordained of God, that he is to be looked upon, and treated as a Traitor to God, and ſtated enemy to Religion and all Righteouſneſs. The ſecond end of Government is the *Good of the People*, which is the Supreme and Cardinal Law; *the Safety of the People is the ſupreme Law*. Which cannot be denied, if it be conſidered, 1. For this only the Magiſtrate is appointed of God to be his Miniſter, for the peoples *Good*, *Rom.* xiii. 4. and they have no goodneſs but as they conduce to this end: for all the power they have of God is with this *Proviſo*, to promote his peoples proſperity. (It were blaſphemy to ſay, they are his authorized Miniſters for their deſtruction) to which if their Conduct degenerate,

generate, they degrade themselves, and so must be disowned. He is therefore, in his institution, no more than a mean for this end; and himself cannot be either the whole or half of the end; for then he should be both the end and the mean of Government; and it is contrary to God's Mould to have this for his end, *to multiply to himself silver and gold*, or *lift up himself above his brethren*, Deut. xvii. 17, 20. If therefore he hath any other end than the good of the people, he cannot be owned as one of God's moulding. 2. This only is the highest pitch of good Princes ambition, to postpone their own safety to the peoples safety. *Moses* desired, rather than the People should be destroyed, that *his name should be razed out of the book of life.* And *David* would rather the *Lord's hand be on him and his father's house, than on the people, that they should be plagued*, 1 Chron. xxi. 17, But he that would seek his own ambitious ends, with the destruction of the People, hath the spirit of the *Devil*, and is to be carried towards as one possessed with that malignant spirit. 3. Originally their power is from the People, from whom all their dignity is derived, with reserve of their safety, which is not the donative of Kings, nor held by concession from them, nor can it be resigned or surrendered to the disposal of Kings; since God hath provided, in his universal Laws, that no authority make any dispossal, but for the good of the People. This cannot be forfeited by the usurpation of Monarchs, but being always fixed in the essential Laws of Government, they may reclaim and recover it when they please. Since then we cannot alienate our safety, we cannot own that Authority which is inconsistent with it. 4. The attaining this end was the main ground and motive of Peoples deliberating to constitute a Government, and to choose such a form, because they thought it most conducible for their good; and to admit such persons as fittest Instruments for compassing this end; and to establish such a Conveyance, as they thought most contributive for this end. When therefore Princes cease to be what they could be constitute for, they cease to have an Authority to be owned; but ceasing to answer these ends of Government, they cease to be what they could be constitute for. 5. no other end were Magistrates limited with Conditions,

tions, but to bound them, that they might do nothing againſt the Peoples good and ſafety. Whoſoever then breaking through all legal limitations, ſhall become injurious to the Community, liſts himſelf in the number of enemies, and is only to be looked upon as ſuch. 6. For this end all Laws are ratified or reſcinded, as they conduce to this end, which is the ſoul and reaſon of the Law: then it is but reaſon, that the Law eſtabliſhing ſuch a King, which proves an enemy to this, ſhould be reſcinded alſo. 7. Contrary to this end no Law can be of force; if then, either Law or King be prejudicial to the Realm, they are to be aboliſhed. 8. For this end, in caſes of neceſſity, Kings are allowed ſometimes to neglect the Letter of the Laws, or private Intereſts, for the ſafety of the Community; but if they neglect the publick ſafety, and make Laws for their own Intereſts, they are no more Truſtees, but Traitors. 9. If it were not for this end, it were more eligible to live in deſarts, than to enter into Societies. When therefore a Ruler, in direct oppoſition to the ends of Government, ſeeks the ruin, not only of Religion, but alſo of the Peoples ſafety, he muſt certainly forfeit his Right to reign. And what a vaſt, as well as innocent number, have, for Religion, and their adherence to their fundamental Rights, been ruined, rooted out of their Families and Poſſeſſions, oppreſſed, perſecuted, murdered, and deſtroyed by this and the deceaſed Tyrant, all *Scotland* can tell, and all *Europe* hath heard. If ever the ends of Government were perverted and ſubverted in any place, *Britain* is the ſtage where this Tragedy has been acted.

13. I may argue from the *Covenant*, that to own this Authority is contrary to all the Articles thereof. 1. That Authority which overturns the Reformation of Religion in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, which we are ſworn to preſerve againſt the common Enemies thereof, in the *firſt* Article, cannot be owned; but the preſent pretended Authority overturned (and continues more to overturn) the Reformation of Religion, *&c. therefore* it cannot be owned. For againſt what common Enemy muſt we preſerve it, if not againſt him that is the chief Enemy thereof? And how can we own that Authority,

thority, that is wholly employed and applied for the destruction of Religion? 2. If we are obliged to exstirpate *Popery*, without respect of persons, lest we partake in other mens sins; then we are obliged to exstirpate *Papists* without respect of persons; and consequently the head of them. (For how otherwise can Popery be exstirpated? Or how otherwise can we cleanse the Land of their sins?( But in the 2d *Article* we are obliged to exstirpate *Popery* without respect of persons, lest we partake in other mens sins: *therefore* we are obliged to exstirpate Papists without respect of persons, and consequently the *crowned Jesuit*, and therefore cannot own him: For how can we own him, whom we are bound to exstirpate? 3. If we be engaged to preserve the Rights and Liberties of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and the King's Authority only in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, then we cannot own his Authority, when it is inconsistent with, opposite to, and destructive of all these precious Interests, as now it is with a witness. But in the 3d *Article* we are engaged to preserve the Rights and Privileges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and the King's Authority only in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms: *therefore* all Allegiance that we can own to any man, must stand perpetually thus qualified, *In Defence of Religion and Liberty*; that is, so far as it is not contrary to Religion and Liberty, and no further; for if it be destructive of these, it is null. If we should then own this man, with this restricted Allegiance, and apply it to his own Authority (as we must apply it to all Authority that we can own) it were to mock God and the world, and own contradictions: for can we maintain the Destroyer of Religion, in defence of Religion, and the Destroyer of all our Rights and Liberties, and all our legal securities for them, in the preservation of these Rights and Liberties? That were pure *Nonsense*. 4. If we be obliged to endeavour, that all Incendiaries and Malignants, *&c.* be brought to condign punishment, then we cannot own the Authority of the head of these Incendiaries and malignant Enemies; but in the 4th *Article*, we

are

are obliged to endeavour, that all Incendiaries and Malignants, &c. be brought to condign punishment: *therefore*———. The connexion of the *Major* cannot well be doubted: for is it imaginable, that the head of that unhallowed Party, the great malignant Enemy, who is the spring, and gives life unto all these Abominations, shall be exempted from punishment, or owned for a sacred Majesty? Shall we be obliged to discover, and bring to Justice the little petty Malignants, and this implacably stated Enemy to Christ escape with a Crown on his Head? Nay, we are by this obliged, if ever we be in case, to bring these stated Enemies to God and the Country to condign punishment, from the highest to the lowest: and this we are to do, as we would have the anger of the Lord turned away from us, which cannot be, without *hanging up their heads before the Lord against the sun*, as was done in the matter of *Peor*, Numb. xxv. 4. For hath not he and his Complices made the Kingdom a Curse? and we, with our own consent, have made ourselves obnoxious to it, if we do not procure, each in our capacities, and pursue these Traitors and Rebels, that the Judgment of the Lord be executed upon the accursed. 5. No wilful opposer of peace and union between the Kingdoms is to be owned; but, according to the 5th *Article*, we are obliged to endeavour, that Justice be done upon him: but this man and his brother have been wilful opposers of peace and union between the Kingdoms, all true peace and union, except an union in Confederacy against the Lord; for they have taken peace from both the Kingdoms, and destroyed and annulled that which was the bond of their union, *to wit, The Solemn League and Covenant.* 6. If we are obliged to assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and never to suffer ourselves to be divided, to make defection to the contrary part, &c. According to the 6th *Article* then, we must not own the Butcher of our covenanted Brethren, who hath imbrued his hands in their blood, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and would have us withdrawn into so detestable a defection; for we cannot both own him as he requires to be owned, and as God requires

quires every Magistrate to be owned (so as not to resist him under pain of damnation, *Rom.* xiii. 2.) and assist our Brethren too in resisting his murders; and our owning of him were a dividing of ourselves from our Brethren that oppose him, into a defection to the contrary part, whereof he is Head and Patron. Lastly, In the *Conclusion*, we are obliged to be humbled for the sins of these Kingdoms, and to amend in a real Reformation; whereof this is one to be mourned for, that after the Lord had delivered us from the yoke of this tyrannical Family, we again joined in affinity with the people of these Abominations, and took these Serpents into our bosom again, which hath bit us so sore, and wherewith the Lord hath scourged us severely. And if it was our sin to engage with them at first, then it is our sin to continue under their subjection; and is not consistent with that Repentance, that the Lord's Contendings call for, to continue owning that power which was our sin to own at first.

III. In the *third* Place, I promised to confirm my *Thesis* from more express Scripture Arguments. Therefore I shall endeavour to gather them as briefly as may be, 1. from Scripture *Inferences*, nearly and natively consequential. 2. From Scripture *Assertions*. 3. From Scripture *Precepts*. 4. From Scripture *Practices*. 5. From Scripture *Promises*. 6. From Scripture *Threatnings*. 7. From Scripture *Prayers*.

*First*, I shall offer some Arguments deduced by way of immediate *Inference*, from the grounds laid before us in Scripture about Government: wherein I shall confine my self to these Particulars,

1. Let us consider the *Characters* of a Magistrate, laid down in Scripture; and we may infer, if Tyrants and Usurpers are not capable of these Characters, then they cannot be owned for Magistrates. For if they be not Magistrates, they cannot be owned as Magistrates; but if they be not capable of the Characters of Magistrates, they are not Magistrates: *Ergo*, if they be not capable of the Characters of Magistrates, they cannot be owned as Magistrates. To find out the Characters of Magistrates, I need seek no further than that full place, *Rom.* xiii.

xiii. Which usually is made a Magazine of Objections against this Truth; but I trust to find store of Arguments for it from thence, not repeating many that have been already deduced therefrom. We find, in this place, many Characters of a Magistrate, that are all incompatible with a Tyrant or Usurper 1. He is the higher Power, *vers.* 1. *Authorities Supereminent*, signifying such a Pre-excellency as draweth towards it a recognition of honour; but this is not competent to Tyrants and Usurpers; for they are the *vilest of men*, let them be never so high exalted, *Psal.* xii. *last vers.* and if they be vile then they are to be *contemned*, *Psal.* xv. 4. and no more to be regarded than *Herod* was by Christ, when he called him *a Fox*, *Luke* xiii. 32. But more particularly, let us consider what is the *Highness*, or dignity of Magistrates, set forth in Scripture. They are stiled *god's*, not to be reviled, *Exod.* xxii. 28. among whom God judgeth, *Psal.* lxxxii. 1. so called, because the *Word of God came unto them*, John x. 35. But Tyrants are rather *Devils*, as one of them is called *Lucifer*, Isa. xiv. 12. and they that persecute and imprison the people of God, because acted by the Devil, and acting for him, do bear his name, *Rev.* ii. 10. They are *Devils* that cast the Lord's Witnesses into Prison. The Magistrate's Judgment is *God's Judgment*, Deut. i. 17. because it is not *for man, but for the Lord*, 2 Chron. xix. 6. and therefore *Solomon* is said to have sat on the *Throne of the Lord*, 1 Chron. xxix. 23. But it were Blasphemy to say, That Tyrants Judgment, usurping the place without his warrant, and giving forth Judgment against his Laws, and Cause, and People, is the Lord's Judgment, or for him, or that they sit on the throne of the Lord. A throne of iniquity is not the throne of the Lord, for he hath no *Fellowship* with it; the Tyrants throne is a *Throne of iniquity*, Psal. xciv. 20. Magistrates are truly to be subjected to and obeyed, as *Principalities and Powers*, Tit. iii. 1. it is a sin to speak evil of them, *Vers.* 2. for it is presumption to despise *Dominion*, and speak evil of *Dignities*, 2 Pet. ii. 10. *Jude* 8. But Tyrants are very catechrestically and abusively Principalities and Powers, no otherwise then the Devils are so termed, *Eph.* vi. 12. and there

there is no Argument to own or obey the one more than the other: for if all Principalities and Powers are to be subjected to and owned, then also the Devil must, who gets the same Title. To speak truth of Tyrants indignities, cannot be a speaking evil of dignities; for Truth is no evil, nor is Tyranny a dignity. Hence they that are not capable of the dignity of Rulers, are not to be owned as such; but Tyrants are not capable of the dignity of Rulers, as these places prove: *Ergo*———. Against this it is *objected*, That *Paul* did apply this Character to the Tyrannical *High-Priest Ananias*, whom, after he had objurgated for manifest injustice, he honours with that Apology, that he *wist not that he was the high Priest*, for it is written, *thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people*, Act. xxiii. 5. *Ans.* Tho' all should be granted that is in this Objection, yet our Argument would not be enervated: for grant we should not speak evil of Tyrants, that does not evince that we should hold them as Rulers; for we should bless our Persecuters, *Rom.* x. 14. and speak evil of no man, *Tit.* iii. 2. that does not say, We should hold every man, or our Persecuters, to be Rulers. The meaning must be, he knew not that he was the high Priest; that is, he did not *acknowledge* him to be either high Priest or Ruler, he could acknowledge or observe nothing like one of that Character in him: for as the high Priest's Office was now null and ceased, so this *Ananias* was only an usurper of the Office, in place of *Ismael* or *Joseph*, who had purchased it by money: and *Paul* had learned from his Master *Gamaliel*, *Tit. Talmud. of the Sanhedrim. That a Judge who hath given Money for purchasing this honour, is neither a Judge, nor to be honoured as such, but to be held in place of an Ass.* And it was common among the *Jews* to say, If such be gods, *they are silver gods, not to be honoured*, as is quoted by *Pool's Synopsis Criticorum &c. on the same place.* And that this must be the sense of it is plain; for he could not be ignorant that he was there in place of a Judge, being called before him, and smitten by him authoritatively, whom therefore he did threaten with the judgment of God; it were wicked to think, that he would retract that threatning

ning which he pronounced by the Spirit of God. And therefore this place confirms may *Theſis:* if a Tyrannical Judge, acting contrary to Law, is not to be known or acknowledged to be a Ruler, but upbraided as a *whited wall*; then a Tyrant is not to be known or acknowledged as ſuch; but the former is true, from this place: therefore alſo the latter. *Paul* knew well enough he was a Judge, and knew well enough what was his duty to a Judge, that he ſhould not be reviled; but he would not acknowledge this Prieſt to be a Judge, or retract his threatning againſt him.

2. He is *of God*, and *ordained of God:* I proved before, Tyrants are not capable of this; yea, it were Blaſphemy to ſay, They are authorized, or ordained of God, by his preceptive Will. Hence, take only this Argument. All Rulers that we muſt own are ordained of God, do reign, and are ſet up by God, *Prov.* viii. 15, (for that and this place are parallel) But Tyrants do not reign, *nor are ſet up by God*, Hoſ. viii. 4. They are ſet up (ſaith the Lord) *but not by me:* Ergo, we cannot own them to be ordained of God. 3. *Whoſoever reſiſteth this power ordained of God, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.* Verſ. 2. This cannot be owned of a Tyrant, that it is a damnable ſin to reſiſt him, for it is duty to reſiſt, and alſo repreſs him, as is proven already, and ſhall be afterwards. Hence, whatſoever Authority we own ſubjection to, we muſt not reſiſt it; but we cannot own that we muſt not reſiſt this Authority: therefore we cannot own it at all. Again, That cannot be the power not to be reſiſted, which is acquired and improved by reſiſting the Ordinance of God; but the power of Uſurpers and Tyrants is acquired and improved by reſiſting the Ordinance of God: *Ergo*, their power cannot be the power not to be reſiſted. The *Major* is manifeſt; for when the Apoſtle ſays, The reſiſting of the Power brings damnation to the Reſiſter, certainly that Reſiſtance cannot purchaſe Dominion inſtead of damnation: and if he that reſiſts in a leſſer degree, be under the doom of Damnation; then certainly he that does it in a greater degree, ſo as to complete it, in putting himſelf in place of that power

power which he resisted, cannot be free. The *Minor* is also undeniable; for, if Usurpers acquire their power without resistance forcible and sensible, it is because they that defend the power invaded, are wanting in their duty; but however morally the Tyrant or Usurper is always, or in *contrary order* to a lawful Power. 4. *Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil*, and they that *do that which is good, shall have praise of the same*, vers. 3. This is the Character and Duty of righteous Magistrates, though it be not always their Administration; but an Usurper and Tyrant is not capable or susceptible of this Character; but, on the contrary, is, and must be a terror to good works, and a praise to the evil: for he must be a terror to them that would secure their rights and liberties in opposition to his encroachments, which is a good work, and he must be a fautor, patron, and protector of such, as encourage and maintain him in his usurpation and Tyranny, which is an evil work: and if he were a terror to the evil, then he would be a terror to himself and all his Complices, which he cannot be. Therefore, that power which is not capable of the duties of Magistrates, cannot be owned; but the *power* of Tyrants and Usurpers is such: *Ergo* —— We find in Scripture the best Commentary on this Character, where the duties of a Magistrate are described; they must justify the Righteous, and condemn the Wicked, *Deut.* xxvii. 1. They must, as *Job* did, *deliver* the poor that cry, and put on righteousness as a clothing ——— and be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, and a father to the poor——— and break the jaws of the Wicked, *Job* xxix. 12---17. Their Throne must be established by Righteousness, *Prov.* xvi. 12. A King sitting on the Throne of Judgment must scatter away all evil with his eyes ——— then Mercy and Truth will preserve him, and his Throne is upholden by Mercy, *Prov.* xx. 8, 28. But Tyrants have a quite contrary Character: The *Throne of Iniquity* frames Mischief by a *Law*, and condemns the innocent blood, *Psal.* xciv. 20, 21. They judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them, *Isa.* i. 23. They build their house by unrighteousness, and their chambers by wrong, and use their neighbours service with-

without wages, *Jer.* xxii. 13. They oppress the poor, and crush the needy, *Amos* iv. 1. They turn judgment to gall, and the fruit of righteousness to hemlock, and say, Have we not taken horns to us by our own strength, *Amos* vi. 12, 13. These contrary Characters cannot consist together. 5. *He is the Minister of God for good*, Verse 4. not by *providential* Commission, as *Nebuchadnezzar* was, and Tyrants may be eventually, by the Lord making all things turn about for the good of the Church; but he hath a *Moral* Commission from God, and is entrusted by the people, to procure their publick and politick good at least. Now this, and Tyranny and Usurpation, are together inconsistible; for if Tyrants and Usurpers were Ministers for good, then they would restore the publick and personal Rights, and rectify all Wrongs done by them; but then they must surrender their Authority, and resign it, or else all Rights cannot be restored, nor Wrongs rectified. Hence, these that cannot be owned as Ministers of God for good, cannot be owned as Magistrates; but Tyrants and Usurpers, (and in particular this Man) are such as cannot be owned as Ministers of God for good: *Ergo* —— Again, if Magistracy be always a *Blessing*, and Tyranny and Usurpation always a *Curse*, then they cannot be owned to be the same thing, and the one cannot be owned to be the other; but Magistracy, or the rightful Magistrate, is always a blessing; Tyranny and Usurpation, or the Tyrant and Usurper, always a curse: *Ergo* —— That the former is true, these Scriptures prove it. God provides him for the benefit of His people, 1 *Sam.* xvi. 1. A just Ruler is compared to the *Light of the Morning*, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 4. So the Lord exalted *David*'s Kingdom, for his people *Israel*'s sake, 2 *Sam.* v. 12. Because the Lord *loved Israel* for ever, therefore made he *Solomon* King, to do Judgment and Justice, 1 *Kings* x. 9. When the Righteous are in Authority the people *rejoice* —— The King by Judgment stablisheth the Land——— *Prov.* xxix. 2, 4. The Lord promises Magistrates as a special blessing, *Isa.* i. 26. *Jer.* xvii. 25. And therefore their continuance is to be prayed for, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable

able life, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty, 1 *Tim.* ii. 2. And they muſt needs be a bleſſing, becauſe to have no Ruler is a miſery: for when *Iſrael* had no King, every man did that which was right in his own eyes, *Judges* xvii. 6. And the Lord threatens it as a Curſe to take away the *ſtay and the ſtaff* ——— the mighty man, and the man of war, the Judge and the Prophet, *&c.* *Iſa.* iii. 1, 2, *&c.* And that the Children of *Iſrael* ſhall abide many days without a *King*, and without a *Prince*, *Hoſ.* ii. 4. But on the other hand, Tyrants and Uſurpers are always a Curſe, and given as ſuch: it is threatned among the Curſes of the Covenant, that the *ſtranger* ſhall get up above *Iſrael* very high ——— and that they ſhall *ſerve their enemies*, which the Lord ſhall ſend againſt them —— and he ſhall put a *Toke of Iron* upon their neck, until he hath deſtroyed them, *Deut.* xxviii. 43, 48. *As a roring lion and a ranging bear, ſo is a wicked Ruler over the poor people*, Prov. xxviii. 15. and therefore, *when the Wicked beareth rule the people mourn*, Prov. xxix. 2. The Lord threatens it as a Curſe, that he will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes ſhall rule over them, *Iſa.* iii. 4. And if unqualified Rulers be a Curſe, much more Tyrants. They are the rod of his anger, and the ſtaff in their hand is his indignation, his axe, and ſawe, and rod, *Iſa.* x. 5, 15. It is one thing to call a man God's inſtrument, his rod, axe, ſword, or hammer; another thing to call him God's Miniſter; there is a wide difference betwixt the inſtruments of God's Providence, and the Miniſters of his Ordinance; thoſe fulfil his purpoſes only, theſe do his precepts. Such Kings are given in the Lord's anger, *Hoſ.* xiii 11. therefore they cannot be owned to be Miniſters of God for good. 6. *He beareth not the ſword in vain, for he is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil*, Verſe 4. The Apoſtle doth not ſay, He that beareth the ſword is the Ruler, but he is the Ruler that beareth the ſword. This is not every ſword; for there is the ſword of an enemy, the ſword of a robber, the ſword of a common traveller; but this as a faculty of political Rule, and authoritative Judgment. It is not ſaid, He *takes the ſword* (as the Lord expreſſes the Uſurpation of that power, *Matth.* xxvi. 52.) but

but he *beareth the sword*, hath it delivered him into his hand by God, by God's Warrant and Allowance, not *in vain*; to no end or without reason, or without a Commission, as *Paræus* upon the place expones it. He is a *revenger* to execute wrath, not by private revenge, for that is condemned by *Paul before*, *Rom.* xii. 19. not by providential recompence, for when a private person so revengeth, it is the providential repayment of God; but as God's Minister, by him authorised, commissionated, and warranted to this Work. Now this cannot agree with a Tyrant or Usurper, whose sword only legitimates his sceptre, and not his sceptre his sword, who takes the sword rather than bears it, and uses it without reason or warrant from God, in the execution of his lustful rage upon him that doth well, and hath no right to it from God. Hence, he that beareth the sword no other way but as it may be said of a Murderer, cannot be a Magistrate bearing the sword; but a Tyrant and Usurper beareth the sword no other way but as it may be said of a Murderer: *Ergo* ----. So much for the Characters of a Magistrate, which are every way inapplicable to Tyrants and Usurpers, and as inapplicable to this of ours as to any in the World.

2. If we consider the Scripture *Resemblances*, importing the duty of Magistrates, and the contrary Comparisons, holding forth the sin, vileness, and villany of Tyrants and Usurpers; we may infer, that we cannot own the last to be the first. *First*, From the benefit they bring to the Commonwealth, Magistrates are stiled, 1. *Saviours*, as *Othniel* the son of *Kenaz* is called, *Judg.* iii. 9. and *Jehoahaz* in his younger years, 2 *Kings* xiii. 5. and all good Judges and Magistrates, *Neh.* ix. 27. But Tyrants and Usurpers cannot be such, for they are *destroyers*, whom the Lord promises to make go forth from his people, *Isa.* xlix. 17. The *Chaldean* Tyrant is called the *destroyer of the Gentiles*, *Jer.* iv. 7. and the *destroyer of the Lord's heritage*, *Jer.* l. 11. wherefore they can no more be owned to be Magistrates, than *Abaddon* or *Apollyon* can be owned to be a *Saviour*. 2. From their paternal love to the people, they are stiled *Fathers*, and therefore to be honoured according to the fifth Command. So

*Deborah* was raised up a *Mother in Israel*, *Judg.* v. 7. Kings are *nursing fathers* by office, *Isa.* xlix. 23. But that Tyrants cannot be such, I have proved already; for they can no more be accounted fathers, than he that abuseth or forceth our mother. 3. From the protection and shelter that people find under their Conduct, they are called *Shields*, *Psal.* xlvii. *ult.* The *Princes of the people*, the *Shields of the earth*, belong unto God. But Tyrants cannot be such; because they are the subverters of the earth. 4. From the Comfort that attends them, they are resembled to the *morning light*, *and fruitful showers of rain*, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 4. *They waited for me as for the rain*, saith *Job* xxix. 23. But Tyrants cannot be resembled to these, but rather to darkness, and to the *blast of the terrible ones*, *Isa.* xxv. 4. *as a storm against the wall.* If darkness cannot be owned to be light, then cannot Tyrants be owned to be Magistrates. 5. From their pastoral care and conduct and duty, they are *Feeders.* The Judges of *Israel* are commanded to *feed* the Lord's people, 1 *Chron.* xvii. 6. *David* was brought to *feed Jacob* his people, and *Israel* his inheritance, *Psal.* lxxviii. 71. But Tyrants are wolves, not shepherds. 6. By office they are Physicians, or *Healers*, *Isa.* iii. 7. That Tyrants cannot be such, is proven above. *Secondly*, On the other hand, the vileness, villany, and violence of Tyrants and Usurpers, are held forth by fit resemblances, being compared to these unclean Creatures, 1. Tyrants are wicked *Dogs*, as they who compass about Christ, *Psal.* xxii. 16, 20 *Saul* is called *Dog* there, and in that *golden Psalm*, *Psal* lix. 6. *Saul* and his Complices, watching the house to kill *David*, make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city. 2. They are pushing *Bulls*, *Psal.* xxii. 12. and crushing *Kine of Bashan*, that oppress the poor, *Amos* iv. 1. They have need then to have their horns cut short. 3. They are roaring *Lions*, that are wicked Rulers over the poor people, *Prov.* xxviii. 15. *Zeph.* iii. 3. So *Paul* calls *Nero* the *Lion*, out of whose mouth he was delivered, 2 *Tim.* iv. 17. 4 They are *ranging Bears*, *Prov.* xxviii. 15. So the *Persian* Monarch is emblemized *Dan.* vii. 5. 5. They are *Leviathan*, the piercing *Serpent* and *Dragon*, *Isa.* xxvii. 1. and have great affinity

affinity in name and nature with the Apocalyptick *Dragon.* So also, *Isa.* li. 9. the *Egyptian* Tyrant is called *Dragon.* And *Nebuchadnezzar* swallowed up the Church like a *Dragon*, *Jer.* li. 34. See also *Ezek.* xxix. 3. 6. They are *Wolves*, ravening the prey, *Ezek.* xxii. 27. *Evening Wolves*, that gnaw not the bones till the morrow, *Zeph.* iii. 3. 7. They are *Leopards*; so the *Grecian* Tyrants are called, *Dan.* vii. 6. and Antichrist, *Rev.* xiii. 2. 8. They are *Foxes*; so Christ calls *Herod*, *Luke* xiii. 32. 9. They are *Devils*, who cast the Lord's people into prison, *Rev.* ii. 10, 13. Now, can we own all these abominable Creatures to be Magistrates? Can these be the fathers we are bound to honour in the fifth Commandment? They must be esteemed sons of Dogs and Devils that believe so, and own themselves sons of such fathers.

If we further take notice, how the Spirit of God *describes* Tyranny, as altogether contradistinct and opposite unto the Magistracy he will have owned; we may infer hence, Tyrants and Usurpers are not to be owned. What the Government instituted by God among his people was, the Scripture doth both relate in matter of fact, and describes what it ought to be *by Right*, *viz.* That according to the institution of God, Magistrates should be established by the Constitution of the people, who were to *make them Judges and Officers in all their gates*, that they might *judge the people with just judgment*, *Deut.* xvi. 18. But foreseeing that people would affect a change of that first form of Government, and, in imitation of their neighbouring Nations, would desire a King, and say, *I will set a King over me, like all the Nations that are about me*, *Deut.* xvii. 14. The Lord, intending high and holy Ends by it, chiefly the procreation of the *Messias* from a Kingly Race, did permit the change, and gave directions how he should be moulded and bounded, that was to be owned as the Magistrate under a Monarchical form; to wit, that he should be *chosen of God*, and *set up* by their suffrages, that he should be a *brother*, and not a *stranger*; that he should not multiply horses, nor wives, or money, (which are Cautions all calculated for the peoples good, and the security of their Religion and Li-

berty, and for precluding and preventing his degeneration into Tyranny) and that he should write a Copy of the Law in a book, according to which he should govern, *ver.* 15. to the end of the *chap.* yet the Lord did not approve the change of the form, which that luxuriant people was long affecting, and at length obtained: for, long before *Saul* was made King, they profered an hereditary Monarchy to *Gideon*, without the boundaries God's Law required; which that brave Captain, knowing how derogatory it was to the Authority of God's Institution, not to be altered in form or frame without his order, generously refused, saying, *I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you, Judg.* viii. 23. But his Bastard, the first Monarch and Tyrant of *Israel*, *Abimelech*, by sinistrous means being advanced to be King by the traiterous *Shechemites*, *Jotham*, and other of the Godly, disowned him; which, by the Spirit of God, *Jotham* describes parabolically, significantly holding out the nature of that tyrannical Usurpation, under the Apologue of the *trees* itching after a King, and the offer being repudiate by the more generous sort, embraced by the *bramble*: signifying, that men of worth and virtue would never have taken upon them such an arrogant Domination, and that such a tyrannical Government, in its nature and tendency, was nothing but an useless, worthless, sapless, aspiring, scratching, and vexing shadow of a Government, under subjection to which there could be no peace nor safety. But this was rather a tumultuary Interruption than a Change of the Government, not being universally either desired or owned; therefore, after that the Lord restored the pristine form, which continued until, being much perverted by *Samuel*'s sons, the people unanimously and peremptorily desired the change thereof, and, whether it were reason or not, would have a King; as we were fondly set upon one, after we had been deliver'd from his father's yoke: And the Lord gave them a King with a Curse, and took him away with a Vengeance, *Hos.* xiii. 11. as he did our *Charles* II. Yet he permitted it, but with a Protestation against and Conviction of the sin, that thereby they had *rejected the Lord*, 1 *Sam.* viii. 7. and with a Demonstration

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from Heaven, which extorted their own confeſſion, that they *had added unto all their ſins this evil to ask a King*, 1 *Sam.* xii. 17, 18, 19. And to deter and diſſuade from ſuch a Concluſion, he appoints the Prophet to ſhew them the *manner of the King* that ſhould reign over them, 1 *Sam.* viii. 9. to declare before hand, what ſort of a Ruler he would prove, when they got him; to wit, a mere Tyrant, who would take their ſons and appoint them for himſelf, for his chariots, and for horſemen, and to run before his chariots, and make them his ſoldiers, and labourers of the ground, and inſtrument-makers, and houſhold ſervants, and he would take their fields and vineyards---the beſt of them, and give unto his ſervants. In a word, to make all ſlaves; and that in the end, when this ſhould come to paſs, they ſhould cry out becauſe of their King, but the Lord would not hear them, *ver.* 11----18. All which, as it is palpable in itſelf, ſo we have ſenſibly felt in our experience to be the natural deſcription of Tyranny, but more tolerable than any account of ours would amount to. It is both fooliſhly and falſly alledged, by Royaliſts or Tyranniſts, that here is a grant of uncontroulable Abſoluteneſs to Kings to tyrannize over the people without Reſiſtance, and that this *manner of the King* is in the Original *Miſphat*, which ſignifies Right or Law; ſo that here was a permiſſive Law given to Kings to tyrannize, and to oblige people to paſſive obedience, without any remedy but tears; and therefore it was regiſtred, and laid up before the Lord in a book, 1 *Sam.* x. 25. But I *anſwer*, 1. If any thing be here granted to Kings, it is either by God's approbation, directing and inſtructing how they ſhould govern; or it is only by permiſſion and providential Commiſſion to them, to be a plague to the people for their ſin of chooſing them, to make them drink as they have brewed, as ſometimes he gave a charge to the *Aſſyrian* rod to trample them down as the mire of the ſtreets: If the firſt be ſaid, then a King that does not govern after that manner, and ſo does not make people cry out for their oppreſſion, would come ſhort of his duty, and alſo behoved to tyrannize and make the people cry out; then a King may take what he will from his ſubjects, and be approved

ved of God: this were blaſphemouſly abſurd, for God cannot approve of the ſin of oppreſſion. If the Second be ſaid, then it cannot be an univerſal Grant, or otherwiſe all Kings muſt be ordained for plagues; and if ſo, it were better we wanted ſuch nurſing-fathers. 2. Tho' *Miſhphat* ſignifies Right or Law, yet it ſignifies alſo, and perhaps no leſs frequently, *Manner*, *Courſe*, or *Cuſtom*: and here it cannot ſignify the *Law of God*, for all theſe Acts of Tyranny are contrary to the Law of God; for to make ſervants of ſubjects is contrary to the Law of God, *Deut.* xvii. 20. Forbidding to lift up himſelf ſo far above his brethren; but this was to deal with them as a proud *Pharaoh*; to take ſo many for chariots and horſemen, is alſo contrary to the Law, *Deut.* xvii. 15. He *ſhall not multiply horſes*; to take their fields and vineyards, is mere robbery, contrary to the Moral and Judicial Law, whereof he was to have always a copy, *ver.* 18. And contrary to *Ezek.* xlvi. 18. *The Prince ſhall not take of the peoples inheritance*, *&c.* This would juſtify *Ahab*'s taking *Naboth*'s vineyard, which yet the Lord accounted robbery, and for which Tyrants are called *Companions of Thieves*, *Iſa.* i. 23. and *Robbers*, *Iſa.* xlii. 24. into whoſe hands the Lord ſometimes may give his people for a ſpoil in judicial providence, but never with his approbation and grant of right: to make them *cry out*, is oppreſſion, which the Lord abhors, *Iſa.* v. 7, 8. And if this be all the remedy, it is none; for it is ſuch a cry, as the Lord threatens he will not hear. 3. It is falſe, that this *manner of the King* was regiſtred in that *Book* mentioned 1 *Sam.* x. 25. for that was the *Law of the Kingdom*, accordingly the Copy of which the King was to have for his inſtruction, containing the fundamental Laws, point blank contrary to this which was the manner of the King; there is a great difference between the *Manner of the Kingdom*, what ought to be obſerved as Law, and the *Manner of the King*, what he would have as luſt. Would *Samuel* write in a Book the Rules of Tyranny, to teach to oppreſs, contrary to the Law of God? He ſays himſelf, he would only *teach* both King and People *the good and the right way*, 1 *Sam.* xii. 23, 25. 4. Nothing can be more plain, than that this was a mere diſ-

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ſuaſive againſt ſeeking a King; for he proteſts againſt this Courſe, and then lays before them what ſort of King he ſhould be, in a deſcription of many acts of Tyranny; and yet in the end 'tis ſaid, 1 *Sam.* viii 19. *Neverthelefs the people refuſed to obey the voice of Samuel, and ſaid, Nay, but we will have a King.* Now, what elſe was the voice of *Samuel*, than a diſſuaſion? I am not here levelling this Argument againſt Monarchy in the abſtract, that does not ly in my road; but I infer from hence, 1. If God was diſpleaſed with this People for asking and owning a King, who was only *to become a Tyrant* and diſſuades from the choice, by a deſcription of his future Tyranny; then certainly he was diſpleaſed with them, when they continued owning him, when he was a Tyrant *indeed*, according to that deſcription; but the former is true, therefore alſo the latter. The Conſequence is clear: for continuing in ſin is ſin; but continuing in owning that Tyrant, which was their ſin at firſt, was a continuing in ſin: *therefore*———.The *Minor* is confirmed thus: Continuing is counteracting the Motives of God's diſſuaſion, eſpecially when they are ſenſibly viſible, is a continuing in ſin; but their continuing in owning *Saul* after he became a Tyrant, was a continuing in counteracting the Motives of God's diſſuaſion, when they were ſenſibly viſible. I do not ſay, becauſe it was their ſin to ask *Saul*, therefore it was not lawful to own him, while he ruled as a Magiſtrate: and ſo if *Charles* II. had ruled righteouſly, it would not have been ſin to own him; but after the Lord uſes diſſuaſives from a choice of ſuch an one, and theſe are ſignally verified, if it was ſin to make the choice, then it muſt be ſin to keep it. 2. If it was their ſin to ſeek and ſet up ſuch an one before he was Tyrant, who yet was admitted upon Covenant-terms, and the manner of it regiſtred; then much more is it a ſin to ſeek and ſet up one, after he declared himſelf a Tyrant, and to admit him without any terms at all, or for any to conſent or give their ſuffrage to ſuch a Deed; but the former is true, therefore the latter: and conſequently, to give our conſent to the erection of the Duke of *York*, by owning his Authority, was our ſin. 3. If it be a ſin to own the *manner of the King* there deſcribed, then

then it is a sin to own the present pretended Authority, which is the exact transumpt of it; but it is a sin to own the manner of the King there described, or else it would never have been used as a dissuasive from seeking such a King. 4. To bring ourselves under such a burden, which the Lord will not remove, and involve ourselves under such a misery, wherein the Lord will not hear us, is certainly a sin, *ver.* 18. But to own or choose such a King, whose manner is there described, would bring ourselves under such a burden and misery, wherein the Lord would not hear us: *therefore* it were our sin.

4. We may add the necessary *Qualifications* of Magistrates, which the Lord requires to be in all, both superior and inferior: and thence it may be inferred, that such pretended Rulers, who neither have nor can have these Qualifications, are not to be owned as Magistrates, no more than such are to be owned as Ministers, who have no qualifications for such a function. We find their essentially necessary qualifications particularly described. *Jethro's* Counsel was God's Counsel and Command; that Rulers must be *able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness*, Exod. xviii. 21. Tyrants and Usurpers have none, nor can have any of these qualifications, except that they may have ability of force, which is not here meant; but that they be morally *able* for the discharge of their duty: surely they cannot fear God, nor be men of Truth; for then they would not be Tyrants. It is God's direction, that the man to be advanced and assumed to rule, must be a man *in whom is the spirit*, Numb. xxvii. 18. as is said of *Joshua*: what spirit this was, *Deut.* xxxiv. 9. explains, *He was full of the spirit of wisdom*, that is, the Spirit of Government; not the Spirit of infernal or *Jesuitical* Policy, which Tyrants may have, but they cannot have the true regal Spirit, but such a Spirit as *Saul* had when he turned Tyrant, an *evil spirit from the Lord*. *Moses* saith, They must be *wise men, and understanding, and known among the tribes*, Deut. i. 13. for if they be children or fools, they are plagues and punishments, *Isa.* iii. 2, 3, 4. &c. not Magistrates, who are always blessings. And they must be *known men* of integrity, not known to be knaves

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or fools, as all Tyrants are always. The Law of the King is, *Deut.* xvii. 15. he must be one of the *Lord's chusing*. Can Tyrants and Usurpers be such? No, they are *set up, but not by him*, Hos. viii. 4. He must be a *Brother*, and not a Stranger, that is, of the same Nation, and of the same Religion: for though infidelity does not make void a Magistrate's Authority; yet both by the Law of God and Man, he ought not to be chosen, who is an Enemy to Religion and Liberty. Now it were almost treason, to call the Tyrant a brother; and I am sure it is no reason, for he disdains it, being absolute above all. That good King's Testament confirms this, *The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake, he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. But Tyrants and Usurpers cannot be just: for if they should render every one their right, they would keep none to themselves, but behoved to resign their Robberies in the first place, and then also they must give the Law its course, and that against themselves. These Scriptures indeed do not prove, that all Magistrates are in all their Administrations so qualified, nor that none ought to be owned, but such as are so qualified in all respects. But as they demonstrate what they ought to be, so they prove, that they cannot be Magistrates of God's ordaining, who have none of these qualifications: but Tyrants and Usurpers have none of these qualifications. Much more do they prove, that they cannot be owned to be Magistrates who are not capable of any of these qualifications: but Usurpers are not capable of any of these qualifications. At least they conclude, in so far as they are not so qualified, they ought not to be owned, but disowned; but Tyrants and Usurpers are not so qualified in any thing: therefore in any thing they are not to be owned, but disowned. For in nothing are they so qualified as the Lord prescribes.

*Secondly*, I shall offer some reasons from Scripture-*Assertions*.

1. It is strongly asserted in *Elihu's* speech to *Job*, that he that hateth right should not govern, where he is charging *Job* with blasphemy, in accusing God of injustice; of which he vindicates the Almighty, in asserting his

his Sovereignty and absolute Dominion, which is inconsistent with injustice, and shews both that if he be Sovereign, he cannot be unjust; and if he be unjust, he could not be Sovereign: which were horrid blasphemy to deny. And in the demonstration of this, he gives one maxim in a question, which is equivalent to an universal negative, *Job* xxxiv. 17, 18. *Shall even he that hateth right govern? And wilt thou condemn him that is most just? Is it fit to say to a king, Thou art wicked; and to princes, Ye are ungodly?* In which words, the scope makes it clear, that if *Job* made God a hater of right, he should then deny his Government; and if he took upon him to condemn him of injustice, he should blasphemously deny him to be King of the World. For it is not fit to say to any King, That he is wicked, or so ungodly, as to be a *Hater of Right*; for that were treason, lese-Majesty, and in effect a denying him to be King; much less is it fit to say to him that is King of Kings. Here then it is affirmed, and supposed to hold good of all Governors, that *he that hateth right should not govern*, or *bind*, as it is in the Margin; for *Habash* signifies both to bind and to govern, but all to one sense; for Governors only can *bind* Subjects authoritatively, with the bonds of Laws and Punishments. I know the following words are alledged to favour the uncontroulableness and absoluteness of Princes, that it is not fit to say to them, They are wicked. But plain it is, the words do import treason against lawful Kings, whom to call *haters of right* were to call their Kingship in question; as the Scope shews, in that these words are adduced to justify the Sovereignty of God by his Justice, and to confute any indirect charging him whith Injustice, because that would derogate from his kingly Glory, it being impossible he could be King, and unjust too. So in some Analogy, though every act of Injustice do not unking a Prince; yet to call him *wicked*, that is habitually unjust, and a hater of Justice, were as much as to say, He is no King, which were intolerable treason against lawful Kings. But this is no treason against Tyrants; for Truth and Law can be no treason: now this is the Language of Truth and Law, that wicked

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Kings are wicked; and they that are wicked and ungodly ought to be called so, as *Samuel* called *Saul*, and *Elijah*, *Ahab*, &c. However it will hold to be a true Maxim, whether we express it by way of Negation or Interrogation. Shall even he that hateth right govern? But are not Tyrants and Usurpers haters of right? Shall therefore they govern? I think it must be answered, They should not govern. If then they should not govern, I infer, they should not be owned as Governors. For if it be their sin to govern (right or wrong, 'tis all one case, for they should not govern at all) then it is our sin to own them in their Government: for it is always a sin to own a man in his sinning.

2. The Royal Prophet, or whoever was the Penman of that Appeal for Justice against Tyranny, *Psal.* xciv. 20. does tacitely assert the same truth, in that Expostulation, *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have Fellowship with thee, that frameth Mischief by a Law?* Which is as much as if he had said, The throne of iniquity shall not, no, cannot have Fellowship with God; that is, it cannot be the Throne of God that he hath any Interest in, or concern with, by way of Approbation: he hath nothing to do with it, except it be to suffer it a while, till he take vengeance on it in the end. And shall we have Fellowship with that Throne, that God hath no Fellowship with, and that is not his Throne, but the Devils, as it must be, if God doth not own it? Much may be argued from hence; but in a Word, a Throne which is not of God, nor ordained of God, but rather of the Devil, cannot be owned (for that is the reason of our subjection to any power, because it is of God, *and ordained of God*, Rom. xiii. 1. And that is the great dignity of Magistracy, that its Throne, is the *Throne of God*, 1 Chron. xxix. 23.) But a Throne of Tyranny and Usurpation, is a Throne which is not of God, nor ordained of God, but rather of the Devil: *Ergo* ———. The *Minor* is proved: A Throne of iniquity, *&c.* is a Throne which is not of God, nor ordained of God, but rather of the Devil; but a Throne of Tyranny and Usurpation is a Throne of iniquity: *Ergo*, it is not of God, and so not to be owned.

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3. The Lord charges it upon *Israel* as a transgression of his Covenant, and trespass against his Law, that they had *set up Kings, and not by him, and had made Princes, and he knew it not*, Hos. viii. 4. and then taxes them with Idolatry, which ordinarily is the consequent of it, as we have reason to fear will be in our case. He shews there the Apostasy of that people, in changing both the Ordinances of the Magistracy and of the Ministry, both of the Kingdom and of the Priesthood, in which two the safety of that people was founded: so they overturned all the order of God, and openly declared they would not be governed by the hand of God, as *Calvin* upon the place expounds it. Whereas, the Lord had commanded, if they would set up Kings, they should set none up but whom he chooseth, *Deut.* xvii. 15. yet they had no regard to this, nor consulted him in their admission of Kings, but set them up, and never let him to wit of it, without his knowledge; that is, without consulting him, and without his Approbation, for it can have no other sense. I know, it is alledged by several Interpreters, that here is meant the Tribes Secession from the house of *David*, and their setting up *Jeroboam*. I shall confess that the ten Tribes did sin in that erection of *Jeroboam*, without respect to the Counsel or Command of God, without waiting on the vocation of God, as to the time and manner, and without covenanting with him for security for their Religion and Liberty; but that their secession from *David's* line, which by no precept or promise of God they were astricted to, but only conditionally, if his Children should walk in the ways of God, or that their erecting of *Jeroboam* was materially their sin, I must deny; and assert, that if *Jeroboam* had not turned Tyrant and Apostate from God (for which they should have rejected him afterwards, and returned to the good Kings of *David's* line) he would have been as lawful a King as any in *Judah*, for he got the Kingdom from the Lord the same way, and upon the same terms that *David did*, as may be seen expressly in 1 *King.* xi. 38. It must be therefore meant, either generally of all Tyrants whom they would set up without the Lord's mind, as at first they would have Kings on any terms, tho'

tho' they ſhould prove Tyrants, as we have ſeen in *Saul's* caſe. Or particularly *Omri* whom they ſet up, but not by the Lord, 1 *King.* xvi. 16. And *Ahab* his Son, and *Shallum*, *Menahem*, *Pekah*, &c. who were all ſet up by blood and treachery, the ſame way that our *Popiſh* Duke is now ſet up, but not by the Lord, that is by his approbation. Hence I argue, thoſe Kings that are not owned of God, nor ſet up by him, muſt not be owned by us (for we can own none for Kings, but thoſe that reign by him, *Prov.* viii. 15. *and are ordained of him*, Rom. xiii. 1.) But Tyrants and Uſurpers are not owned of God as Kings, nor are ſet up by him: *Ergo*———. Again, if it be a ſin to ſet up Kings, and not by God, then it is a ſin to own them when ſet up: for, that is a partaking of, and continuing in the ſin of that erection, and hath as much affinity with it, as reſetting hath with theft; for if they be the thieves, they are the reſetters who receive them and own them.

4. The Prophet *Habakkuk*, in his complaint to God of the *Chaldean* Tyranny, aſſerts that God hath made the righteous, as the *Fiſhes of the Sea, as the creeping things, that have no Ruler over them*, Habak. i. 14. Now how were they ſaid to be without a Ruler, when the *Chaldean* actually commanded, and abſolutely ruled over them? yea, how can the Fiſhes and Reptiles have no Ruler over them? If domineering be ruling, they want not that; when the weaker are over-maſtered by the ſtronger, and by them made either to be ſubject, or to become their prey. But the meanings is, theſe Creatures have no Ruler over them by order of nature: and the *Jews* had then no Ruler over them by order of Law, or ordination from God, or any that was properly their Magiſtrate by divine Inſtitution, or human orderly conſtitution. We ſee then it is one thing for a people to have an arbitrary or enthralling Tyranny; another to have true Magiſtracy or Authority to be owned over them; without which Kingdoms are but as Mountains of prey, and Seas of confuſion. Hence I argue, If the *Jews* having the *Chaldean* Monarch tyranniſing over them, had really no Ruler over them, then is a Tyrant

and

and Usurper not to be owned for a Ruler; but the former is true: therefore also the latter.

5. Our Saviour *Christ* delivers this as a commonly received, and a true Maxim, *John* viii. 54. *He that honoureth himself, his honour is nothing.* The *Jews* had objected that he had only made himself *Messias*, vers. 53. To whom he answers, by way of concession, if it were so indeed, then his Claims were void, *If I honour myself, my honour is nothing:* and then claims an indubitable title to his dignity, *It is my Father that honoureth me.* Here is a two-fold honour distinguished, the one real, the other supposititious and null, the one renounced, the other owned by Christ, Self-honour, and honour which is from God. Hence I argue, a self-created dignity is not to be owned; the authority of Tyrants and Usurpers is a self-created dignity: *Ergo*———. This was confirmed above.

*Thirdly*, I shall offer some other considerations confirming this truth, from those Scriptures which I class among *Precepts*. And these I find of diverse sorts touching this subject,

1. I shew before that the greatest of men, even Kings, are not exempted from Punishment and capital Punishment, if guilty of capital crimes: for where the Law distinguisheth not, we ought not to distinguish. There is one special and very peremptory law, given before the law for regulating Kings, which, by that posterior law, was neither abrogated nor limited even as to kings, *Deut.* xiii. 6--9. *If thy brother* (and a King must be a brother, *Deut.* xvii. 15.)——— *entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other Gods,* ——*Thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him, neither shall thine eye pity him.* How famous Mr. *Knox* improved this argument, is shewed in the *third Period.* That which I take notice of here is only, that Kings are not excepted from this law; but if they be open Inticers to Idolatry, by force or fraud, persecution or toleration, as this Idolater now reigning is palpably doing, they are obnoxious to a legal animadversion. As it cannot be supposed, that secret Inticers should be liable to punishment, and not open Avouchers of a desire and design to pervert all the nation to Idolatry: that a private

vate Perverter of one man, though never so nearly and dearly related, should be pursued and brought to condign punishment, and a publick Subverter of whole nations, and Introducer of a false and blasphemous idolatrous religion, should escape *Scot-free*. Let the punishment inflicted be in a judicial way, and of what measures it pleases the Judge to determine, I shall not controvert here; only I plead, that idolatrous Tyrants are not excepted from this law: and infer, that if they ought to be punished, they ought to be deposed; and if they ought to be deposed, they cannot be owned, when undeniably guilty of this capital crime, as was urged above. To this I may add that part of that prophetical King's Testament; who, being about to leave the world, under some challenges of male-administration in his own Government, (for which he took himself to the well-ordered everlasting Covenant, for pardon and encouragement), after he had shewn what Rulers should be, he threatens, by *Antitheſis*, tyrannical Pretenders, in these severe words, which do also imply a precept, and a direction how to deal with them, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 6, 7. *But they of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands, but the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron, and the staff of a spear, and they shall be utterly burnt with fire in the same place.* Let these words be understood as a threatening against all the wicked in general, who are to be quenched as the fire of thorns; or particularly of the Promoters of Antichrist's kingdom, in opposition to Christ's, as some Interpreters judge; it will not weaken, but confirm my argument, if Kings who are Ringleaders of that Gang be not excepted. I know some do understand this of *Rebels* against righteous Rulers: which though indeed it be a truth, that they that are such should be so served, and roughly handled *with iron, and the staff of a spear*; yet it is not so consonant to the scope and connexion of this place, shewing the characters of righteous Rulers, and of usurping Tyrants, making an opposition between Rulers that are just, ruling in the fear of God, and those that are Rulers of *Belial*, promising blessings upon the Government of the one, and Contempt and rejection to the

the other, and shewing how both should be carried towards: neither does it agree with the words themselves, where the supplement in our translation is redundant; for it is not in the *Hebrew*; *The sons of Belial*, only *They of Belial*, clearly relative to the *Rulers* of whom he was speaking before. And indeed the word *Belial*, in its Etymology is not more applicable to any than to Tyrants; for it comes from *beli not*, and *Hhall above*, because they will have none above them, or from *beli not*, and *Hhol a yoke*, because they cannot suffer a yoke, but cast away the yoke of laws and the yoke of Christ, saying, *Let us burst his bands*, &c. Nor is it always agreeable to truth, to understand it only of Rebels against righteous Rulers, that they can never be taken with hands: For as very rarely righteous Rulers have any Rebels to be the objects of their rigour and rage; so when there are any, discrete and wise Rulers will find many ways to take and touch them, and quash or quiet them. But it is always true of Tyrants, for they can never be taken with hands, neither in a friendly manner, taken by the hand and transacted with in any bargain as other men, for they that would do so, will find them like pricking and jagging briers, which a man cannot handle without hurt to himself; nor can they be any other way repressed or restrained, or touched, but by hands fenced with iron, that is, with the sword of necessity, or ax of Justice. And this is insinuated as duty, so to endeavour to extirpate and eradicate such *thorns*, as pester the Commonwealth: but if it cannot be done, it must be duty and wisdom both not to meddle with them, nor own them, no more than *Jotham*, who would not subject himself, nor come under the shadow of the bastard *bramble*. I confess it is commonly taken as a threatning of the Lord's judgment against these sons of *Belial*: And so it is. But it teacheth also what men are called to, when they have to do with such, to wit, to take the same course with them as they would to clear the ground of thorns and briers. And that it is restricted to the Lord's immediate way of taking them off, is not credible: for, it can have no tolerable sense to say, they shall be thrust away, because they cannot be taken with the *Lord's hands*: neither is

there

there need, that he ſhould be *fenced with iron*, &c. And let *iron*, &c. be taken tropically for the Lord's ſword of vengeance; yet how can it be underſtood, that he muſt be fenced therewith? or that he will thruſt them away, as a man muſt be fenced againſt thorns? What defence needs the Lord againſt Tyrants? It is only then intelligible, that the Lord, in his righteous judgment, will make uſe of men and legal means, and of thoſe who cannot take them with hands, in his judicial procedure againſt them. Hence I argue, if Tyrants are to be dealt with as thorns, that cannot be taken with hands, but to be thruſt away by violence, then, when we are not in caſe to thruſt them away, we muſt let them alone, and not meddle nor make with them, and ſo muſt not own them, for we cannot own them without meddling, and without being pricked to our hurt; but the former is true: *therefore*, ——. Of this ſame nature, another threatning confuting the pretence of the Prince's impunity, may be ſubjoined out of *Pſal.* lxxxii. 6, 7. *I have ſaid, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Moſt High, but ye ſhall die like men, and fall as one of the princes.* From which words the learned Author of the *Hiſtory of the Douglaſſes*, Mr. *David Hume* of *Godſcraft*, in his diſcourſe upon Mr. *Craig*'s Sermon, upon the words, doth ſtrongly prove, that the ſcope is to beat off all Kings, Princes and Rulers, from the conceit of impunity for their tyrannical dominations; that they muſt not think to domineer and do what they liſt, and overturn the *foundations* or fundamental laws of kingdoms, becauſe they are gods; as if they were thereby uncontroulable, and above all law and puniſhment: no, they muſt know, that if they be guilty of the ſame tranſgreſſions of the law, as other capital Offenders, they *ſhall die like other men, and fall as Princes*, who have been formerly puniſhed. It is not to be reſtricted to a threatning of mortality; for that is unavoidable, whether they judge juſtly or unjuſtly, and the fear thereof uſually hath little efficacy to deter men from crimes puniſhable by law: neither can it be underſtood only of the Lord's immediate hand taking them away, excluſive of mens legal puniſhment; for expreſly they are threat-

ned to die like common men, and to be liable to the like punishment with them: now, common men are not only liable to the Lord's immediate judgment, but also to mens punishment. Hence, if Tyrants and Overturners of the foundations of the earth, must be punished as other men, then when they are such, they cannot be looked upon as righteous Rulers, for righteous Rulers must not be punished; but the former is true: *therefore*,——. According to these Scriptures, which either express or imply a precept to have no respect to Princes in judgment, when turning criminals, we find examples of the peoples punishing *Amaziah*, &c. which is recorded without a challenge, and likewise *Athaliah*.

2. There is a precept given to a humbled people, that have groaned long under the yoke of Tyranny and oppression, enjoining them, as a proof of their sincerity in humiliation, to bestir themselves in shaking off those evils they had procured by their sin, *Isa.* lviii. 6. *Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?* which are all good works of Justice and Mercy, and more acceptable to God, than high flown pretences of humiliation, under a stupid submission, and hanging down the head as a bulrush. We see it then a duty to relieve the oppressed, and to repress Tyranny, and break its yoke. If it be *objected*, (1) That these are spiritual bonds and yokes, that are here commanded to be loosed and broken; or if any external be meant, they are only the yokes of their exactions and usuries. For *Answ.* I grant, that it is the great duty of a people humbling themselves before the Lord, to *break off their sins by righteousness*, and *their iniquity, by shewing mercy to the poor*, *Dan.* iv. 27. but that this is the only duty I deny; or that this is the genuine and only sense of this place, cannot be proved, or approved by the scope; which is, to press them to those duties they omitted, whereby the poor oppressed people of God might be freed from the yokes of them that made them to howl, and to bring them to the conviction of those sins for which the Lord was contending with them, whereof this was one, that they *exacted all their Labours*, or things where-

wherewith others were grieved (as the margin reads) or suffered the poor to be oppressed. (2) If it be alledged, that this is the duty proper to Rulers to relieve the oppressed, *&c.* I *answer*, it is so; but not peculiar to them: yet most commonly they are the Oppressors themselves, and cast out the poor, which others must take into their houses. But the duty here is pressed upon all the people, whose sins are here cried out against (*ver.* 1.) upon all who professed the service of God, and asked the Ordinances of Justice (*ver.* 2.) upon all who were fasting and humbling themselves, and complained they had no success (*ver.* 3.); the reasons whereof the Lord discovers (*ver.* 4, 5.), whereof this was one, that they did not loose those bands, nor break these yokes, nor relieved the oppressed; and those works of Justice (*ver.* 6.) are pressed upon the same grounds, that the works of Mercy are pressed upon (*ver.* 7.); sure these are not all, nor only Rulers. Hence I argue, If it be a duty to break every yoke of oppression and tyranny, then it is a duty to come out from under their subjection; but the former is true: therefore also the latter.

3. In answer to that grand objection of the *Jews* subjection to *Nebuchadnezzar*, I shewed what little weight or force there is in it. And here I shall take an argument from that same passage. The Lord commands his people there, to desert and disown *Zedekiah*, who was the Possessor of the Government at present, and says, It was the *way of life to fall to the Chaldeans*, *Jer.* xxi. 8, 9. which was a falling away from the present King. Either this commanded subjection to the *Chaldeans* is an universal precept; or it is only particular at that time If it be universal, obliging people to subject themselves to every Conqueror, then it is also universal, obliging people to renounce and disown every Covenant-breaking Tyrant, as here they were to fall away from *Zedekiah*: if it be only particular, then the owners of tyranny have no advantage from this passage. And I have advantage, in far as the ground of the precept is as moral, as the reason of that punishment of *Zedekiah*, which was his perfidy and perjury. Hence, if the Lord hath commanded to disown a King breaking Covenant, then at least it is

not insolent or unprecedented to do so; but here the Lord hath commanded to disown a King: *therefore*,——.

*Fourthly*, We may have many confirmations of this truth from Scripture *practices* approven.

1. I was but hinting before, how that after the death of that brave Captain and Judge *Gideon*, when *Abimelech*, the son of his Whore, did first aspire into a Monarchy, which he perswaded the silly *Shechemites* to consent to, by the same argument, which Royalists make so much of, for asserting the necessity of an hereditary Monarchy, [*Whether is it better for you, either that all the sons of Jerubbaal ——— reign over you, or that one reign over you?*] and by bloody cruelty did usurp a monarchical or rather tyrannical Throne of Domination, founded upon the blood of his seventy Brethren, (as we know, whose Throne is founded upon the blood of all the Brethren he had,) *Jotham*, who escaped, scorned to put his trust under the shadow of such a *bramble*, and they that did submit, found his parable verified, a mutual fire reciprocally consuming both the usurping King and his traiterous subjects: neither did all the godly in *Israel* submit to him. See *Pool's Synopf. Critic.* on the place, *Jud.* ix. Here is one expres example of disowning a Tyrant and Usurper.

2. I shewed before, how, after the period of that *Theocracy*, which the Lord had maintained and managed for some time in great Mercy and Majesty in and over his people, they itching after novelties, and affecting to be neighbour-like, rejected the Lord in desiring a King; and the Lord permitting it, gave them a King in wrath, (the true Original and only Sanction of tyrannical Monarchy), when the Characters of his Tyranny, presaged by *Samuel*, were verified in his aspiring into a great deal of absoluteness, especially in his cruel persecuting of *David*, not only the 600 Men that were *David's* Followers stood out in Opposition to him, but, in the end, being weary of his Government, many brave and valiant Men, whom the Spirit of God commends and describes very honourably, fell off from *Saul*, even while he was actually tyrannizing, before he was dead, 1 *Chron.* xii. 1, &c. They came to *David* to *Ziklag*, while

while he yet kept himself close, *because of Saul the Son of Kish*, (N. B. now he is not honoured with the Name of King), they were armed with bows, and could use both the right hand and the left. And of the *Gadites*, there separated themselves unto *David* Men of might, fit for the battel, that could handle shield and buckler, whose faces were as the faces of lyons, *ver.* 8. And the Spirit came upon *Amasai* Chief of the Captains, saying, *Thine are we David, and on thy side, thou Son of Jesse.* Here was a formed revolt from *Saul* unto *David* before he was King; for after this he was made King in *Hebron*, and there could not be two Kings at once. Hence I argue, if people may separate themselves from, and take part with the Resister, against a Tyrant; then they may disown him, (for if they own him still to be the Minister of God, they must not resist him, *Rom.* xiii. 2.). But here is an example that many people did separate themselves from *Saul*, and took part with the Resister *David: therefore*——Here two of the first Monarchs of *Israel* were disowned, *Abimelech* and *Saul.*

3. The first hereditary Successor was likewise disowned, as was hinted above likewise. The ten tribes offer to Covenant with *Rehoboam*, in terms securing their rights and liberties. They desired nothing on the matter, but that he would engage to rule over them according to the Law of God; to which, when he answered most Tyrannically, and avowed he would Tyrannise over them, and oppress them more than any of his Predecessors, they fell away from him, and erected themselves into a new Commonwealth, 1 *King.* xii. 16. *So when Israel saw that the King hearkned not unto them, they answered, What portion have we in David? Neither have we Inheritance in the Son of Jesse; to your tents, O Israel; now see to thine own house David,* 2 Chron. x. 16. Now, however the event of this declared Revolt proved sorrowful, when they and their new King made defection unto Idolatry, yet if they had stated and managed it right, the cause was good, justifiable, and commendable. For; (1) We find nothing in all the text condemning this. (2) On the contrary, 'tis expresly said, *The Cause was from the Lord, that he might perform his saying, which he spake*

*ſpake by Abijah*, 1 King. xii. 15. 2 *Chron.* x. 15. And (3) When *Rehoboam* was preparing to purſue his pretended right, he was reproved and diſcharged by *Shemaiah*, *Ye ſhall not go up, nor fight againſt your Brethren, for this thing is from me*, 1 King. xii. 24. 2 *Chron.* xi. 4. (4) Whereas it is alledged by ſome, that this was of God only by his Providence, and not by his Ordinance; the contrary will appear, if we conſider how formally and Covenant-wiſe the Lord gave ten Tribes to *Jeroboam*, 1 King. xi. 35, 37, 38. *I will take the Kingdom out of his Son's hand, and I will give it unto thee, even ten Tribes; and I will take thee, and thou ſhalt reign according to all that thy Soul deſireth, and ſhalt be King over Iſrael; and it ſhall be, if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my ways, and do that which is right in my ſight, to keep my ſtatutes and my commandments, as David my ſervant did, that I will be with thee, and build thee a ſure houſe, as I built for David, and will give Iſrael unto thee.* Where we ſee the Kingdom was given unto him on the ſame Terms and Conditions, that it was given to *David*. He may indeed give Kingdoms to whom he will, by providential grant, as unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, and others; but he never gave them a Kingdom upon theſe Conditions, and, by way of Covenant, that does always imply and import his Word, Warrant, and Ordinance. (5) If we conſider the Cauſe of the Revolt, we will find it very juſt: for after the deceaſe of the former King, they enter upon terms of a Compact with the Succeſſor, upon a *ſuſpenſive Condition*, to engage into Fealty and Allegiance to him as ſubjects, if he would give them ſecurity for their Liberties and Privileges. A very lawful, laudable and neceſſary Tranſaction, founded upon moral Equity, and upon the fundamental Conſtitutions of that Government, and ſuitable to the conſtant practice of their Predeceſſors, in their covenanting with *Saul* and *David*. As for that Word, 1 *King.* xii. 19. So *Iſrael rebelled* againſt the houſe of *David:* it is no more than in the margent, they *fell away* or *revolted*; and no more to be condemned than *Hezekiah's Rebellion*, 2 *King.* xviii. 7. *The Lord was with him, and he rebelled againſt the King of Aſſyria.* That was a good Rebellion. Hence, if it be law-

lawful for a part of the people to shake off the King, refuse subjection to him, and set up a new King of their own, when he resolveth to play the Tyrant, and rule them after his own absolute power; then it is a duty, when he actually plays the Tyrant, and by his absolute Power overturns Laws and Religion, and claims by Law such a prerogative; but the former is true: *ergo*——. See *Jus Populi vindic. Chap.* 3. *Pag.* 52.

4. This same *Jeroboam*, when he turned Tyrant and Idolater, was revolted from and deserted by the *Priests* and the *Levites*, and after them out of all the Tribes of *Israel*, by all such as set their heart to seek the Lord God of *Israel*; because that King, degenerating into Tyranny and Idolatry, had put them from the exercise of their Office and Religion (as our *Charles* did, and ordained him Priests for the Devils, and for the Calves: so they returned to *Rehoboam*, being induced by his Administration of the Government, which for a time was better then he promised, for three years he walked in the ways of *David* and *Solomon*, 2 Chron. xi. 13,——17. Hence I argue, if Idolatrous Tyrants may be deserted, then they may be disowned; for when they desert them, they disown them abroad, in coming under another Government; and if they may be disowned abroad, it is the same duty at home, tho' may be not the same Policy or Prudence.

5. Another example of the like nature we have in the reign of *Baasha*, who succeeded to *Nadab*, *Jeroboam*'s Son, whom he slew, and reigned in his stead, (the same way that the *Duke* came to the Throne) for he could not keep his Subjects within his Kingdom, but behoved to build *Ramah*, that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to *Asa*, King of *Judah*, a good Prince, 1 *King.* xv. 17. yet that could not hinder them, but many strangers out of *Ephraim*, and *Manasseh*, and *Simeon*, fell to him in abundance, *when they saw that the Lord his God was with him*, 2 Chron. xv. 9. Hence, if people may choose another King, when they see the Lord is with him, then they may disown their Country King, when they see the Devil is with him.

6. When *Jehoram*, the Son of *Ahab* reigned over *Israel*,

*rael*, we have an expreſs example of *Eliſha*'s diſowning him, 2 *King.* iii. 14, 15. And *Eliſha* ſaid unto the King of *Iſrael*, *What have I to do with thee?* ——. *As the Lord of hoſts liveth, before whom I ſtand, ſurely were it not that I regard the preſence of* Jehoſhaphat *the King of* Judah, *I would not look toward thee, nor ſee thee.* Here he declares ſo much contempt of him, and ſo little regard, that he diſdains him a look. And if he would not regard him, nor give him honour, then he did not own him as king; for all Kings are to be honoured, that are owned to be Kings really. It may be alledged by ſome, that *Eliſha* was an extraordinary man, and this was an extraordinary action, and therefore not imitable. I ſhall grant it ſo far extraordinary, that it is not uſual to carry ſo to perſons of that figure, and that indeed there are few *Eliſha*'s now, not only for his Prophetick Spirit which now is ceaſed, but even in reſpect of his gracious Spirit of zeal, which in a great meaſure is now extinguiſhed: he was indeed an extraordinary man, and this action did demonſtrate much of the Spirit of *Elias* to have been abiding with him. But that this was inimitable, theſe reaſons induce me to deny, (1) Prophets were ſubject to Kings as well as others, as *Nathan* was to *David* (1 *King.* i. 32, 33.) every ſoul muſt be ſubject to the higher powers that are of God. (2) All the Actions of Prophets were not extraordinary, nor did they every thing by extraordinary inſpiration; that was peculiar to Chriſt, that he could Propheſy, and do extraordinary acts when he pleaſed, becauſe he received *the Spirit not by meaſure*, and it *reſted* upon him. (3) This particular action and carriage was before he called for the *Minſtrel*, and before the hand of the Lord came upon him, *ver.* 15. *Ergo*, this was not by inſpiration. (4) The ground of this was moral and ordinary, for hereby he only ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon fit to abide in the Lord's Tabernacle, and an upright walker, *in whoſe Eyes a vile Perſon is contemned*, Pſal. xv. 4. *And a juſt Man, to whom the unjuſt is an Abomination*, Prov. xxix. 27. What further can be alledged againſt this inſtance, I ſee not. And I need draw no argument by conſequence, it is ſo plain.

7. This ſame *Jehoram*, after many ſignal demonſtrations

:ions of the power of God exerted in the Miniſtry of his Servant *Eliſha*, which ſometimes did extort his acknowledgement, and made him call the Prophet his Father, 2 *King.* vi. 21. yet, when in the ſtrait ſiege of *Samaria*, he was plagued with famine for his Idolatry, inſomuch that the pitiful Mothers were made to eat their own tender Children; became ſo inſolent a Tyrant, that being incenſed into a madneſs of outragious Malice againſt the Prophet *Eliſha*, that he ſware, *God do ſo to him, and more alſo, if the head of* Eliſha, *the Son of* Shaphat, *ſhould ſtand on him that day*, accordingly he ſent a Meſſenger to execute it. But the Prophet, from a principle of Nature, and Reaſon, and Law, as well as grace, and by the Spirit of a man as well as of a Prophet, ſtood upon his defence, and encouraged thoſe that were with him to keep out the houſe againſt him, ſaying, *See ye how this Son of a Murderer* (a proper ſtile for ſuch a Monſter of a King) *hath ſent to take away mine head*——. 2 King. vi. 32. This is a ſtrong Argument for ſelf-defence; but I improve it thus: if Tyrants may be oppoſed as Sons of Murderers, and Murderers themſelves, and no otherwiſe to be accounted than under ſuch a vile Character, than can they not be owned as Kings; but here is an example for the firſt: *Ergo*———.

8. This man's brother in Law, of the ſame name, *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, who had the daughter of *Ahab* to wife, and therefore walked in the way of the houſe of *Ahab*, gives us another inſtance. He turned Apoſtate and Tyrant, and *Abimelech*-like (or if you will, *York*-like) ſlew his brethren, and divers alſo of the Princes of *Iſrael*; moreover he made high places in the mountains of *Judah*, and cauſed the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* to commit fornication, and compelled *Judah* thereto: for which cauſe of his intolerable inſolency in wickedneſs, *Libnah* one of the cities of Prieſts in *Judah*, *revolted from him*, 2 Kings, viii. 22. *becauſe he had forſaken the Lord God of his fathers*, 2 Chron. xxi. 10 which was the motive and impulſive cauſe of their diſowning him, and is not to be detorted to that reſtricted cavil of Royaliſts, underſtanding it only as the meritorious or procuring cauſe of his puniſhment, and loſs ſuſtained thereby;

thereby; for it is not so said of the *Edomites*, who revolted at the same time, as it is mentioned in another paragraph; neither of the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, and *Ethiopians*, whose spirit the Lord stirred up against him; these were also a punishment to him: nor would it sound very suitably to be said, that they opposed him, *because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers:* for that would insinuate some influence that his Apostasy had on them, as certainly it could not but have on the Lord's Priests that dwelt in *Libnah*, who understood by the Law of God, what was their Duty to do with Inticers, or Drawers or Drivers to Idolatry: and when they were not in capacity to execute the Judgment of the Lord, this was the least they could do, to *revolt*. Here then is an example of a Peoples revolt from a Prince, and disowning Allegiance to him, because of Apostasy and Tyranny.

9. In this Kingdom of *Judah*, after long experience of a succession of hereditary Tyranny in many wicked Kings, the People, after they had long smarted for their lazy Loyalty, in their stupid abandoning, forgetting, and foregoing this privilege of disowning Tyrants, and keeping them in order, began at length to bestir themselves in their endeavours to recover their lost Liberties, and repress Tyrants Insolencies on several occasions; wherein, though sometimes there were extravagancies, when circumstances did mar the Justice of the Action, and some did go beyond their sphere in tumultuary precipitations; yet, upon the matter, it was Justice, and in conformity to a moral Command. One impregnable witness of this we have, in the pious plot of *Jehoiada* the Priest, who being but a Subject, as all Priests were (as the deposition of *Abiathar* by King *Solomon*, 1 *Kings*, ii. 27. proveth) entred into an Association with the inferior Rulers, to choose and make a new King; and notwithstanding that the Idolatress and She-tyrant *Athaliah*, who had the possession of the Government, cried *Treason*, *Treason* at the fact, they had her forth without the ranges, and *slew her*, 2 Kings, xi. 14, 16. This was according to the Law, *Deut.* xiii. and approven by all Interpreters, even Mr. *Pool* in his *Synopsis Critic.* though otherwise

*therwiſe* ſuperlatively loyal, yet approves of this, and ſays, ſhe was an incurable Idolatreſs, and therefore deſerved to be depoſed by the Nobles of the Kingdom, and quotes *Grotius in loc.* ſaying [ſhe reigned by mere force, and no right, and therefore juſtly repreſſed by force; for the *Hebrews* were to have *Brethren* for their Kings, but not *Siſters*, Deut. xvii. 15.] Hence if Tyrants may be forcibly repreſſed, then may they peaceably be diſowned; but this example confirms that: *therefore* ———.

10. The ſacred Hiſtory proceeds in the Relation, how this ſame *Joaſh*, the ſon of *Ahaziah*, after he degenerated into murdering Tyranny, was ſlain by *Jozachar* and *Jehozabad*, 2 Kings, xii. 20, 21. but that was by his own Servants in private Aſſaſſination; therefore they are called *Murderers* by *Amaziah* his Son, 2 *Kings*, xiv 5, 6. but upon the matter it was the Juſtice of God, which he deſerved (if it had been duly execute) for the blood of the Son of *Jehoiada* the Prieſt, 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 25. So *Amon* the Son of *Manaſſeh*, for his walking in the way of his Father in Idolatry and Tyranny, and forſaking the Lord God of his Fathers, was ſlain in his own houſe by his Servants, who conſpired againſt him; but though this was Juſtice alſo upon the matter, and conſonant to the Command for puniſhing Idolaters and Murderers, yet becauſe defective in the manner, and done by them that took too much upon them, in a perfidious way of private Aſſaſſination and Conſpiracy, therefore the people of the land puniſhed them for it, 2 *Kings*, xxi. 23, 24. But the repreſſing and puniſhing of *Amaziah* is a more unexceptionable Inſtance. The People *made a Conſpiracy againſt him in Jeruſalem, and he fled to Lachiſh; but they ſent after him to Lachiſh, and ſlew him there*, 2 Kings, xiv. 19. after the time that he turned away from following the Lord, 2 *Chron.* xxv. 27. which was according to the Command, *Deut.* xiii. which hath no exception of Kings in it. This Action was not queſtioned either by the People or his Succeſſor, as the forementioned Conſpiracies were. His ſon *Uzziah* ſucceeding, who did right, and conſulted the Lord (2 *Chron.* xxvi. 4, 5.) did not reſent nor revenge his Father's death; which certainly he would have done, by advice of *Zechariah*, who had

had understanding in the visions of God, if it had been a transgression. The famous and faithful Mr. *Knox* doth clear this passage beyond contradiction, in his conference with *Lethingtoun*. Hence I take an Argument *a fortiori*, If People may conspire and concur in executing Judgment upon their King turning Idolater and Tyrant, then much more may they revolt from him; but this example clears the Antecedent: *therefore.*

11. The same power and privilege of peoples punishing their Princes, was exemplified in the Successor of him last mentioned, to wit, in *Uzziah* the son of *Amaziah*, called *Azariah*, 2 *Kings*, xv. when he degenerated into the ambition of arrogating a Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastick and Sacred, as well as Civil, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, for he transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn Incense. In which Usurpation he was resisted by *Azariah* the Priest, and with him fourscore Priests of the Lord, that were valiant men, who withstood him, and told him, it did not appertain to him to take upon him so much, and bade him go out of the Sanctuary, or else it should not be for his honour. Which indeed he stomached at as an affront, to be controuled and resisted; but in thinking to resent it, he was plagued of the Lord with leprosy; which the Priests looking upon, they thrust him out from thence: and thereafter sequestred him from all Supremacy, both that which he had before in things Civil, and that which he was affecting in matters sacred; for he was made to dwell in a several house, being a leper, (the Law including, and here execute upon, the King as well as the Beggar) and to resign the Government into his Son *Jotham*'s hands, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16---21. where it appears, he was not only *excommunicated* by a ceremonial punishment, but also *deposed* judicially. Whether he voluntarily demitted or not, it is to no purpose to contend; 'tis evident, that by the Law of God, the actual exercise of his power was removed, whether with his will or against it, it is all one; and that he was punished both by God and by men is undeniable. Yea, in this his punishment was very gentle, and far short of the severity of the Law: for by the Law he

he should have been put to death, for intermeddling with these holy things, interdicted to all but to the Priests, under pain of death, *Numb.* iii 10. *Numb.* xviii. 7. *The stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.* All were strangers that were not Priests. Whence I argue, if a Prince, for his Usurpation beyond his line in things sacred, may by the Priests be excommunicated, and by the People deposed; then may a Prince, not only usurping a Supremacy (as *Charles* did) but an absolute power of overturning all things, Sacred and Civil (as *James* doth) and oppressing his Subjects in all their Liberties, be disowned, *a fortiori*, for that is less than deposing or dethroning; but this Example clears the Antecedeat; *therefore*------. *See* Knox's *Discourse to* Lethington. *Lex Rex, Quest.* 44. *Sect.* 15. *p.* 461. *Jus popul. chap.* 3. *p.* 56.

12. What if I should adduce the example of a King's *rebellion* against, and revolt from a superior King, to whom he and his fathers both acknowledged themselves subject? Surely our Royalists and Loyalists would not condemn this; and yet in justifying it, they should condemn their beloved principle of uncontrouled subjection to uncontroulable Sovereign's possessing the Government. *Ahaz* became servant to the *Assyrian* Monarch, 2 *Kings* xvi. 7. yet *Hezekiah* his son, when the Lord was with him, and he prospered ---- *rebelled against the King of Assyria, and he served him not*, 2 *Kings* xviii. 7. *Hezekiah* was indeed a King; but he was not *Sennacherib's* King; he acknowledges himself his vassal, and that he offended in disowning him, *ver.* 14. which certainly was his sin against the Lord, to make such an acknowledgment: for if his father's transaction with the *Assyrian* was sin, then it was duty to break the yoke; if the Lord was with him in that rebellion, then it was his sin to acknowledge it to be his offence: and to make good this acknowledgment, it was certainly his sin to commit sacrilege, in robbing the House of God, to satisfy that Tyrant. By way of Supplement, I shall add that instance of repressing a mad and furious Tyrant, which all will acknowledge to be lawful. *Nebuchadnezzar* was both stricken of God with madness, and for that was depelled from the Kingdom, according to the heavenly Oracle,

racle, *The Kingdom is departed from thee, and they shall drive thee from men, Dan.* iv. 31---33. *Calvin* says upon the place, he was ejected, as usually is done to Tyrants, by the Combination of the nobles and people, *Pool's Synopsis Critic. in locum.* Thus he was unkinged for a time, both by the just Judgment of God, and by the intermediation of the just Judgment of men; and could not be owned to be King at that time, when his nails were as birds claws, and he could not tell his own fingers: they could not own him to be the Governor then of so many Kingdoms, when he could not govern himself. Hence, tho' this is an instance of Heathens, yet, because they acted upon a rational ground, it may be argued, If Kings, because of natural madness, when they cannot govern themselves, may not be owned; then also, because of moral madness, when they will not govern but to the destruction of Kingdoms, may not be owned; but the former is true: therefore also the latter. The same reason against the Government of Asses, will also militate against the Government of Tygers, the first is more eligible than the last.

*Fifthly*, This may be confirmed from several *promises* in Scripture.

1. There are many gracious and precious promises of *Reformation of the Magistracy*, and Restitution of good Rulers, as a great Blessing from God to Mankind, and to the Church, *Isa.* i. 26. *I will restore thy Judges as at the first, and thy Counsellors as at the beginning, afterward thou shalt be called the City of Righteousness.* If Judges must first be restored before the City can be a City of Righteousness, then they must be restored before we can own the Government thereof: for that Government, under which it cannot be a City of Righteousness, cannot be owned since it is no Government, but a Rebellion and Combination of Thieves, see *ver.* 23. I do not here restrict the promise, as it is a Prophecy, to its exact fulfilment, as if no Government were to be owned but what answer this promise, of the restitution of the primitive order of Magistrates; but I plead, That when the Princes are rebellious, and companions of Thieves, the Government is not to be owned, till Judges be so far restored, as to re-

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duce righteousness in some measure, which cannot be under Tyranny. And in the general I may plead, That none is to be owned as a Magistrate, but who some way is found in a promise; for there is no ordinance of God, no duty, no blessing, no good thing, either to be done or enjoyed, but what is in a Promise; but Tyranny, or owning of Tyrants, or subjection to Usurpers, is not, nor cannot be in a promise. We have many other promises about Magistrates, as, that the Lord will be for *a Spirit of Judgment to him that sitteth in Judgment*, *Isa.* xxviii. 6. A Tyrant cannot be capable of this happiness, nor we under Tyranny, nor any while they own them. Kings shall be the Churches *nursing-fathers*, and their Queens her nursing-mothers, *Isa.* xlix. 23. Kings are not always so, but all Kings to be owned are such as can be so, at least they are never to be owned when they turn destroyers of what they should nourish; but Tyrants can never be Nourishers. It is promised to the Lord's people, if they will hearken diligently unto the Lord, and keep the Sabbath, then shall there enter into their gates Kings and Princes, *Jer.* xvii. 24, 25. And if they will execute Judgment and Righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, *&c.* they shall obtain the same blessing, *Jer.* xxiii. 3, 4. But it is never promised, neither doth it ever come to pass in Providence, that these duties procured Tyrants. There are many other promises to the same purpose: from whence may be concluded, the Lord will not always leave his people to howl under ineluctable Tyranny, but will accomplish their deliverance in his own time and way, though we are not to look to miracles. Whence I argue, 1. Since all the Ordinances of God, and Rulers in a special manner, are appointed and promised as blessings, these cannot be owned for his ordinance, which are not blessings, but curses. 2. That which would vacate and evacuate all the promises of Magistracy, cannot be a Doctrine of God; but this that obliges to own Tyrants and Usurpers, as long as they are up, would vacate and evacuate all these promises of Magistracy: for, except the Lord work miracles, (which are not in the promise) and do all without means, they cannot be accomplished. For

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if any means be uſed, they muſt be ſuch as will infer diſowning of Tyrants; for Magiſtrates cannot be reſtored, except Tyrants be removed; and whatever way they be removed without miracles, by others or their own ſubjects, they muſt ſtill be diſowned, and that before they be removed: for if they be to be owned before their removal, if they exiſt, cannot make them to be diſowned: diſpoſſeſſion cannot take away their right, if they have it before.

2. There are many promiſes of *breaking the yoke* of Tyrants, *Iſa*, x. 27. *His burden ſhall be taken away from off thy ſhoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck.* And in that promiſe of the Church's deliverance and enlargement, wherein they are prophetically urged and ſtirred up to ſome activity in co-operating with the providence *Iſa*. lii. 1, 2. *They are called to awake, and put on ſtrength and their beautiful garments* ---- and *to ſhake themſelves from the duſt* ---- and *to riſe and looſe themſelves from the bands of their neck*, that were captives. Here is not only a promiſe of deliverance, or a ground of encouragement what the Church may expect, but a promiſe of, and direction for their being active in delivering themſelves, and men, from the encroachments that were made on their human Liberties, that they ſhould looſe themſelves from theſe bands. Whoſe bands? from their bands that ruled over them, and made them to howl, and the Lord's Name to be blaſphemed, (*ver.* 5) Here's a promiſe of breaking the bands of Rulers, by them who howled under their ſubjection. And it alſo includes a precept, that people ſhould not ſtay any longer under theſe yokes than they can ſhake them off, or ſlip from under them. Hence we ſee we are not to ly ſtupidly ſleeping, or ſinking in the ditch, expecting the accompliſhment of the promiſe of Deliverance; but are to endeavour actively in dependence upon the Lord's Aſſiſtance, to deliver ourſelves. Hence we may argue, 1. A promiſe by way of Command, That a people under bands of oppreſſing Rulers ſhall rouſe themſelves up to looſe themſelves from them, implies and infers a promiſe and a duty of diſowning thoſe Rulers (for otherwiſe they cannot be looſed from their ſubjection.) But here is a promiſe by way

of Command, that a people under bands of oppressing Rulers shall rouse themselves up to loose themselves from them: *Ergo*---. 2. If the removal of Tyranny and Usurpation be promised as a blessing, then those can never be owned to be the Ordinance of God; for the removal of that can never be a blessing; but in these promises we see the removal of those is promised as a blessing: therefore they can never be owned.

*Sixthly*, To the same purpose we may cite some *Threatnings*, that will confirm the same Truth.

1. There are many threatnings against Tyrants themselves. There are two mentioned, *Jer.* xxii. that seem partly to quadrate, and near of a piece with our Misrulers; both because of the demerit of the threatning, and the likeness of the judgment threatned. The ground of it was *building their house by unrighteousness, and their chambers by wrong*, ver. 13. And severally they are threatned: *Jehoiakim with the burial of an Ass unlamented*, ver. 18, 19. *Coniah* with a life without prosperity, and a death without issue to succeed, *ver.* 30. The first of these is verified in the elder of our Royal Brothers, the last is like to be of both. But that which I take notice of is, first, the demerit, building their house by unrighteousness, on which *Whitehall* is built with a witness: and particularly it is noted of *Jehoiakim*, as his crimson sin (to which his son *Jehoiachin* or *Coniah* served himself heir) that he *burnt Jeremiah's Roll*, or Causes of Wrath; so did our Dominators burn the Causes of Wrath (a book written by the Commission of the General Assembly) and the Covenants. Then I note these words, *ver.* 15. *Shalt thou reign because thou closest thy self in Cedar, &c.* It is certainly not fit for us to say, *He shall reign*, of whom the Lord says, *He shall not reign*; but when we own the authority of those whom the Lord threatens they shall not reign, we say, They shall reign; for we say, They have a right to reign, and own ourselves obliged to do all that is required in our capacity to perpetuate their reign. There is a terrible threatning against *Zedekiah*, *Ezek.* xx. 25---27. *Thou profane* (or as some translate it, *Thou worthy to be killed*, *Pool. Synops. Crit. in locum.*) *wicked Prince of Israel*—— *Thus saith the Lord*

*God, Remove the Diadem, take off the Crown, this shall not be the same, exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high; I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it shall be no more until he come whose right it is, and I will give it him.* Than which nothing can be more applicable to our Princes, who are *profane*, and the patterns and patrons of it, whose Diadem the Lord will remove; and if he threaten it, wo to them that contribute to hold it on. We see here a profane and wicked Prince threatned to be overturned must not be owned, because he hath no right; but our excommunicate Tyrant, is a profane and wicked Prince, threatned to be overturned: *Ergo*———. There is another dreadful Threatning against Tyrants, *Amos* iv. 1, 2. *Hear this word ye kine of Bashan, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy*——— *The Lord God hath sworn by His Holiness, that lo the days shall come upon you, that He will take you away with hooks, and your posterity with fish-hooks.* Shall we own these, against whom the Lord hath engaged His Holiness by Oath so solemnly, that He will fish them with hooks? We may fear if there be such a tie as Allegiance between them and us, that that same hook which fishes them may also catch us; as it is said of *Pharaoh* and his subjects, when he is hooked, then his *fish stick unto his scales*, and he and they are left in the Wilderness, *Ezek.* xxix. 4, 5. that is, as *Grotius* expounds it, whoever are of his Community shall be Consorts in his Calamity, *Pool Critic. in locum.* If we then own them, we must be of their Community, and so partake of their Judgments.

2. There are many threatnings against illimited *Loyalty*, and those who had more of that than Religion: for this *Ephraim* was broken in Judgment, *because he willingly walked after the Commandment*, *Hos.* v. 11. And because the Statutes of *Omri* were kept, and the works of the house of *Ahab*, therefore the Lord threatens to make them a Desolation, *Micah* vi. *ult.* And among other Threatnings against the men of such universal Loyalty, that is notable, *Hos.* x. 3. *Now ye shall say, We have no king, because we feared not the Lord, what then should a king do to us?* It is the just punishment of wicked Loyalty, that prefers the fear and favour of Kings to the

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fear and favour of God, that at length they are brought to that pass, that either they have no Kings at all to look to, or else they have such of whom it may be said, they are no Kings in effect; for they cannot act the part of Kings to them that trust in them. Hence, 1. If to have really no Kings be a punishment, then such Kings as are a punishment cannot be owned to be Kings; for to have them cannot be a punishment, if the want of them be a punishment. 2. If those that have the name of Kings, that can do no good, be no Kings; then Tyrants that can do no good, but a great deal of hurt, must be reckoned no Kings also; but here 'tis threatned, people that had Kings, that had the Name, but could do no good, should reckon they had no Kings: therefore much more may Tyrants be reckoned to be no Kings, who can do no good, but a great deal of hurt.

*Seventhly*, This Truth is confirmed from Scripture *Prayers*; whereof there are many against Tyrants, none for them. Hence we argue, If we are not to pray for Tyrants, then we are not to own them; for we are to pray for all that are in Authority, 1 *Tim.* ii. 2. But we are not to pray for Tyrants: *Ergo*, we are not to own them. The *Minor* now must be proved. And this leads me to another subordinate Question, which hath also been a head of suffering to some serious Seekers of God in our Land of late.

The profane Emissaries of this and the late Tyrant, sent out with bloody Commissions to hunt after the Lord's hidden ones, in order to murder all whom they might meet with, that made Conscience of adhering to every part of the present Testimony; among other trapping Questions to discover their prey, they used to put this to them as a discriminating *Shibboleth*, and Tessera of owning the present Tyranny, *will you say, God save the King?* And for refusing this, many have been cruelly murdered in the Fields; and many before their bloody Judicatories, have for this been arraigned and condemned, and executed to the Death. Wherefore to this somewhat must be said, 1. By way of Concession. 2. By way of Vindication, of scrupling it, and suffering upon it.

*First*, In the general, it will be necessary to premit by way of *Concession*, 1. It is duty to pray, supplicate, and interceed *for all men*, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1. not collectively considered, nor distributively for every one universally without exception, but indefinitely and indiscriminately, *for the kinds of every individual*, for all sorts and sexes, of whatsoever Nation or Religion, *Jew* or *Gentile*, *Christian* or *Infidel*, not excluding any for these distinctions: and not only so, but *for every individual of the Kinds*, also conditionally, if they be among those *all* whom the Lord will have to be *saved*, vers. 4. If they be among those *all* for whom the Mediator gave himself a *ransom to be testified in due time*, *vers.* 5, 6. if they have not sinned *the sin unto death*, for which we are not bidden pray, 1 *John* v. 16. Which, because we know not particularly who are guilty of it, Charity will oblige us to take into our Prayers many that may never be the better of them; yet it is necessary that we pray *in Faith*, for what, or whomsoever we pray; at least, if I may so call it, we must have a *negative Faith*, a belief that they have not sinned that sin unto death; which we cannot have of all, there being some whose demonstrations of desperate displays of affronted Wickedness, and hatred of Godliness, may give ground to doubt of it, as Christians had of *Julian* the *Apostate*. 2. We are obliged to *love our Enemies*, *to bless them that curse us*, *to do good to them that hate us*, *to pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us*, Matth. v. 44. Accordingly our Master, who commanded this, did give us a Pattern to imitate, when he prayed, *Father forgive them for they know not what they do*, Luke xxiii. 34. And his faithful Martyr *Stephen*, prayed for his Murderers, *Lord lay not this sin to their charge*, Act. vii. *the last vers.* We are to pity them, and not to seek vengeance against them, for any injuries they can do to us. Yet, as this doth not interfere with a holy and zealous appeal to God for righting, and resenting, and requiting, the wrongs done to us, that he may vindicate us and our Cause, and make them repent of their injuries done to us, to the Glory of God, and Conviction of Onlookers, and Confusion of themselves, which may well consist with mercy to their Souls:

so

ſo all we can pray for them in their oppoſition to us, is in order to their Repentance, but never for their Proſperity in that Courſe. And we may well imitate, even againſt our enemies, that Prayer of *Zechariah's*, *The Lord look upon it and require it*, 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. But we are never to pray for *Chriſt's ſtated Enemies*, as to the bulk of them; and under that formality *as* his enemies: for we muſt not *love them that hate the Lord*, 2 Chron. xix. 2. but *hate them*, and hate them with a *perfect hatred*, Pſal. cxxxix. 21, 22. We are to pray for the elect among them, but only to the end they may eſcape the vengeance, which we are obliged to pray for againſt them. 3. We are not to *exſecrate* our enemies, or uſe imprecations againſt any, out of bind Zeal, or the paſſionate or revengeful motions of our own hearts: our Lord rebuked his Diſciples for ſuch prepoſterous zeal, *Luke* ix. 55. *Ye know not what manner of Spirit ye are of*; but againſt the ſtated and declared enemies of Chriſt, *as ſuch and while ſuch*, we may well take a pattern from the imprecatory Prayers of the Saints recorded in Scripture; ſuch as do not peremptorily determine about the eternal State of particular perſons: which determinations, except we be extraordinarily acted by the ſame Spirit, whoſe dictates theſe are, are not to be imitated by us. We find ſeveral ſorts of Imprecations in the Pſalms and other Scriptures: ſome are imitable, ſome not; ſome are *Prophetical*, having the force of a Prophecy, as *David's Pſal.* xxxv. 4. *Let them be confounded* —— *that ſeek after my Soul.* —— *Let Deſtruction come upon him*, Pſal. lv. 15. *Let them go down quick to Hell.* And *Jeremiah*, Chap. xvii. 18. *Let them be confounded that perſecute me*, —— *deſtroy them with double deſtruction.* Without this prophetical Spirit, determining the Application of theſe threatnings to particular perſons, we may not imitate this Peremptorineſs. Some are *Typical* of Chriſt's Mediatory devoting his Enemies to deſtruction; who as he interceeds for his friends, ſo, by virtue of the ſame Merits (by them trampled upon) he pleads for vengeance againſt his enemies: which Mediatory Vengeance is the moſt dreadful of all Vengeances, (*Heb.* x. 29.) So alſo, *Pſal.* xl. He whoſe *Ears* were *opened*, and who ſaid, *lo I come*,

*come,*——— verſ. 6, 7. (that is Chriſt) does imprecate ſhame, and confuſion, and deſolation, *verſ.* 14, 15. As alſo, *Pſal.* cix. the Pſalmiſt perſonates Chriſt, complaining of, and imprecating againſt, his enemies, particularly *Judas* the Traitor, *verſ.* 8. It muſt be dreadful to be under the dint of the Mediator's Imprecations; and alſo dreadful to claſh with him in his Interceſſions, that is, to apprecate for them againſt whom he imprecates, or pray for them againſt whom he intercedes. But ſome Imprecations againſt the enemies of God are imitable, ſuch as proceed from pure *zeal* for God, and the Spirit of Prayer, as that, *Pſal.* cix. *laſt verſ. Put them in fear, O Lord, that the Nations may know themſelves to be but men.* Pſal. lxxxiii. 16. ——— *fill their faces with ſhame that they may ſeek thy Name.* This is to be imitated in general againſt all the enemies of God, *Pſal.* cxxix. 5. *Let them all be confounded that hate Zion*; without condeſcending on particular perſons, except obviouſly and notoriouſly deſperate, and preſumptively Chriſt's implacable Enemies. 4. Touching Magiſtrates it is a great duty to pray, that God would give us Magiſtrates, as he hath promiſed for the comfort of his Church, *Iſa.* i. 26. *Iſa.* xlix. 2. *Jer.* xxx. 21. Promiſes ſhould be motives and foments of Prayer. We ought to pray againſt Anarchy as a Plague, and with all earneſtneſs beg of God, that the mercy of Magiſtracy may again be known in *Britain*, of which it hath been long deprived. 5. And when we have them, it is a neceſſary Duty to pray for them; *For Kings and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*, 1 Tim. ii. 2. Where it is ſpecified, what ſort we ſhould pray for, and to what end. As we are not to pray for all men abſolutely; for ſome, as they are declared to be out of the precincts of Chriſt's Mediation, ſo they muſt be out of our Prayers: ſo there may be ſome in actual Rule, that may be excepted out of the verge of the Chriſtians Prayers, as was ſaid of *Julian* the *Apoſtate*. But he that is a Magiſtrate indeed, and in authority, the ſubjects are to pray and to give thanks for him, not as a man merely, but as a Magiſtrate. Yea, though they be heathen Magiſtrates, *Ezra.* vi. 10.

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We may pray for all in authority, two ways; as men, and as Kings. As men, we may pray for their Salvation, or Converſion, or taking them out of the way, if they be enemies to Chriſt's Kingdom, according as they are ſtated; and upon Condition, *if it be poſſible*, and if they belong to the Election of Grace. Though for ſuch as are oppoſites to the coming of Chriſt's Kingdom, as it is a contradiction to the ſecond petition of the Lord's Prayer, (*thy Kingdom come*). So, in the experience of the moſt eminent Wreſtlers, they have found leſs faith, and leſs encouragement, in praying for them, than for any other ſort of men. It is rare that ever any could find their hands in praying for the Converſion of our Rulers. And though we pray that the Lord would convince them; yea, and confound them, in mercy to their ſouls; yet this muſt never be wanting in our Prayers for Tyrants, as men, that God would bring them down, and cauſe Juſtice overtake them, that ſo God may be glorified, and the Nation eaſed of ſuch a burden. But if we pray for them as Kings, then they muſt be ſuch by God's Approbation, and not mere poſſeſſory Occupants, to whom we owe no ſuch reſpect nor duty. For whatever the *Hobbiſts*, and the time-ſerving Caſuiſts of our day, and even many good men (though woſully laxe in this point) homologating both Doctrinally and Practically their heatheniſh Notions, ſay to the contrary; I hope it be in ſome meaſure made out, that Tyrants are no more the Ordinance of God, nor to be owned as his Miniſters and Vicegerents, than the Devil the Prince of this World for the Lord's anointed, or *Baal's* Prieſts for true Miniſters. If we pray for them as Kings, we muſt pray for their peace, proſperity, and preſervation, that their Government may be bleſſed with ſucceſs, their deſigns not fruſtrated, nor their deſires diſappointed. This we cannot pray for Tyrants. 6. Albeit, we may pray for the Peace of the Nation, and for the Government thereof, ſo far as it may conduce to our own and the Church's Tranquility, that we may live a peaceable and godly Life under it; yet this cannot be extended to the peace of Tyrants, for whom the beſt Prayer that we can beſtow is, That the Lord would bridle and reſtrain them,

them, that they may not mar the Church's peace. That Command, *Jer.* xxix. 7. *Seek the Peace of the City, whitherſoever I have cauſed you to be carried Captives, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof ſhall you have peace*, is apparent to have been but of a temporary nature, upon occaſion of their Captivity there, until the 70 years ſhould be expired, having it alſo declared by God, that their own peace was bound up in that of *Babylon's:* for after that time they are taught the contrary carriage towards that City, to depart, and pray againſt it, and exult and rejoice in its ruin; *O Daughter of Babylon, happy ſhall he be that rewardeth thee as thou haſt ſerved us, that daſheth thy little ones againſt the Stones*, Pſal. cxxxvii. 8, 9. *The voice of them that flee out of the Land of Babylon, to declare in Zion the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his Temple*, Jer. l. 28. And *Jer.* li. 35. *The violence done to me, and to my fleſh, be upon Babylon, ſhall the inhabitant of Zion ſay, And my blood be upon Chaldea, ſhall Jeruſalem ſay.* Certainly this is not the ſeaſon to ſeek the Peace of Myſtical *Babylon*, but to pray for the deſtruction thereof, and all its ſupporters; which we cannot do, if we pray for them that improve, employ, and apply all their power to ſupport it, leſt we pray contradictions; as many do, who pray againſt *Babel's* brats, and yet pray for the King; but the comfort is this, that Nonſenſical Prayers will do little good, little hurt, but to themſelves that pray them.

*Secondly*, To *vindicate* the Scruplers and Refuſers of ſuch compelled and extorted Devotion, in praying for Tyrants, I ſhall offer theſe Conſiderations,

1. The impoſed form of it (which as it is found in the original from whence it is taken, is only paraphraſtically expounded, *God ſave the King*; and moſt Catechreſtically applied to Tyrants, being in the native ſenſe of the Words of this Signification, *Let the King live*; which is a very improper wiſh for men of death, of whom God ſays, They ſhall die, and the Law ſays, They ſhould die for their Murders and capital Crimes) muſt be taken either as an Adulatory Complement; or a Congratulatory Honour; or a Precatory Benediction. The firſt, as it is extorted moſt illegally, ſo it can be ren-

rendered neither civilly, nor sincerely, nor Christianly; but all ingenuous men would think it a base imposition, to be forced not only to subject themselves to their Tyrannical Oppressors, but to flatter them as if they were not such. Whatever they may force the Mouth to speak dissemblingly, they can never compel the heart to think such Wishes are due to them; and so they can never be Cordial, nor consistent with Candor; and to interpose the holy and dreadful Name of God, in a dissembling Complement, to flatter base men, is a horrid mocking of God, and a heinous taking his Name in vain, contrary to the *Third Command.* If it be a *Congratulation*, (as always it is used in Scripture, and in all cases formerly; being never imposed on men, by way of Compulsion, before this set of Tyrants started up, that know they can get no Deference of honest Men, but by extortion) it is the more abominable; not only for the Hypocrisy that is in it, but the blasphemy, in giving thanks for the Promoter of the Devil's Interest, and the Destroyer of Christ's, and the Liberties of Mankind. What have we to congratulate him for, but for overturning our Laws and Liberties, and oppressing us in most grievous Tyranny? Besides, to give the vilest of men, when exalted, any congratulatory honour, is contrary to the fifth Command, as is shewed above. And it were a *forsaking of the Law*, thus *to praise the wicked*, since they that *keep the Law*, will *contend with them*, Prov. xxviii. 4. If it be a *Benediction*, we cannot bestow it upon one whom our Father curses, our Mother curses, and all our Brethren. It is no less preposterous to bless whom the Lord declaredly curses, than to curse whom he blesses. *The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked*, Prov. iii. 33. we cannot then bless that house. Nor can we bless them that our Mother curses, and cries for vengeance against, as she did against *Nebuchadnezzar*, Jer. li. 34, 35. Nor them against whom the blood of our dead Brethren hath a moral cry, *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood*, Revel. vi. 10. And the vexed spirits of our Brethren, yet howling under the same yoke, are putting up before the Throne of Grace the,

the same continued Cry, with incessant importunity, *How long, how long shall the wicked triumph? How long shall they break in pieces thy people? O God, to whom vengeance belongeth*, Psal. xciv. 1---4. Yea God hath said it, and we must not contradict it in our practice, against all Tyrants that wrest judgment, and *say unto the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him*, Prov. xxiv. 24. And this must stand registred, as the everlasting Clause of all *Zion*'s haters, to which all her Lovers must say, *Amen*, that they shall be *as the grass upon the house tops*, and never have the benefit of the Church's benediction, *Psal.* cxxix. 8. *Neither do they which go by say, The blessing of the Lord be upon you; we bless you in the name of the Lord.* This one word may be a sufficient *Supersedeas* from blessing any of the enemies of God, or of the Church, while acting in a declared opposition to God for the destruction of his People and Interest.

2. Either this——— *Save the King*, as they mouth it, and demand the repetition of it, is a Prayer, or it is not. If not, it must be a dreadful profanation of the name of God, to be commanded to speak to him, and yet not to pray. If it be a Prayer, we would expect another way of dealing with us, if they really desired the benefit of our Prayers, than a threatning us with death, if we did it not. And if they did desire it, as *Darius* did, *That we might offer sacrifices of sweet savour unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons*, Ezra vi. 10. we could not refuse to pray for him, so far as might consist with that Prayer of the same *Darius*, in that same decree, *ver.* 12. *That God may destroy all kings and people, that shall put to their hand to alter and destroy the House of God.* We can pray no Prayer inconsistent with this; and to pray that God would save this king, and yet destroy all Kings that put to their hand against his house, were to pray contradictions. But they know they deserve no Prayers, and must force them, if they get them. And all the world knows, that *compelled Prayers are no Devotion*; and if they be no devotion, they must be sin: imposed Prayers are not the Prayers that God will hear and accept: and if we have not the

faith

faith of acceptance in them, they must be sin; for *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, Rom. xiv. *last ver.* All Prayers which God will hear, must proceed from the heart voluntarily and fervently, in Spirit and in Truth, with the whole heart; but imposed and compelled Prayers cannot be such, especially when they are not only by them imposed, but prescribed as to the form of them: which Sets and *Forms* prescribed by men, and such men as usurp a Supremacy over the Church, cannot be subjected to, according to the Word of God, and the Principles of our Reformation.

3. That infallible Proposition of the Apostle, *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, must be urged yet a little further: and that with a reference, both to the Person required to be prayed for, and to the matter of the duty more generally. First, If we cannot pray for this man, neither as a Christian, nor as a King, then we cannot satisfy this imposed demand; for it will not satisfy to pray for him as a Heathen: but we cannot in faith pray for him, either as a Christian, or as a King. Not as a Christian; for besides that he is an *excommunicate* Apostate (by a sentence, which we believe stands yet ratified in Heaven, pronounced by a faithful Servant of Christ) and a *Papist*, which, *as such*, can no more be prayed for, than the *Pope* as *Pope*; for whom, and all the limbs of Antichrist, the only Prayer that Protestants can pray, is, that the *Lord would consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming*, 2 *Thess.* ii. 8. (we cannot reconcile the prayers of some, that pray against the *Pope* and his supporters, and upholders of his tottering Kingdom, and yet for this his Antichristian vassal) his rage and resolution in prosecuting a war against Christ and his Followers, is such, that if we may make Comparisons, our faith will have little more ground to pray for *James*, than Christians of old could find for *Julian* the Apostate. Nor as a King, for that we cannot do, because he is none with God's approbation, and may not do, for a very heathen could teach us to pray, that God would destroy all Kings that put to their hand to alter and destroy the House of God, *Ezra.* vi. 12. And besides, in the *Second* place, with respect to the matter of

of the duty in general; that cannot be, in faith, which wants a warrant in the Word, either by precept, promise, or practice; but to pray for wicked Tyrants and Enemies of God, wants a warrant in the word, either by precept, promise, or practice: There is no *Precept* for it, either general or particular, neither expres, nor any to which this is reducible: And who dare add without a Precept in the Worship of God, either for matter, or manner, or end, what he hath not commanded? For such presumption *Nadab* and *Abihu* were destroyed, *Levit.* x. 1, 2. because they did that which the Lord *had not commanded.* What command can there be for praying for that, which is against the preceptive will of God? But it is against the preceptive will of God that there should be Tyrants: therefore to pray that these may be preserved in the World, cannot fall under a Command of God. There is no *promise* for it, which is the foment and foundation of Prayer: we can pray for nothing that we have not a promise for, either general or particular; but we have none, nor can have any, for the Preservation of a plague to us, as Tyrants are. There is no *Practice* for it in Scripture, to pray for Kings that put to their hand to destroy the House of God. *Samuel* did indeed mourn for *Saul*, but the Lord reproved him for it, *How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, seeing I have rejected him from being King over Israel?* 1 *Sam.* xvi. 1. belike this reproof was for his praying for *Saul*'s preservation as King, for otherwise we may mourn for wicked Wretches, for their Sin and Misery both. But hence, if the Lord reprove his Servant for mourning for a King whom he disowned, then we may not pray for such a King whom the Lord disowns, as he disowns all Tyrants, for they are set up and not by him; but the antecedent is true in that example of *Samuel:* therefore also the Consequent, that we may not pray for them as Kings, whom the Lord disowns.

4. Moreover to confirm this yet further; that Prayer is not *of Faith*, and so sin, which is contrary to the Precepts of God, and his promises, and the practices of the Saints; but praying for wicked Kings their preservation, is contrary to these precepts, promises, and practices, &c.

*&c. Ergo*——. It is contrary to some divine Precepts, both Affirmative and Negative. There is an *Affirmative* precept, prescribing what Prayer should be used under the Domination of Tyrants, that they should weep and say, *Spare thy people, O Lord, give not thine Heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them, wherefore should they say among the people, where is their God?* Joel ii. 17. If it be a Reproach to be under Heathen Rulers, and if we should pray that they may not rule, but that our God may shew himself where he is, and who he is, in delivering his people from their Domination; then it is contrary to this, to pray for the preservation of Tyrants, that do rule over them to their destruction and reproach: for it is contradictory to pray, that they may not rule, and that they may be preserved in ruling. There is a *negative* Precept, prohibiting the salutation of Hereticks and Enemies of the Gospel, which will condemn this salutation of Heretical Kings: for in the Original, *God save the King*, is no more than a solemn salutation, or apprecatory Wish that he may prosper. *2 Epist. John. vers.* 10, 11. *If there come any*——, and *bring not this Doctrine,*—— *neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds. God speed*, in the *Greek*, is the same with *God save*, in the *Hebrew*. If then we must not say, *God save a Heretick*; neither must we say, *God save an heretical King*, or a Popish Tyrant, a sworn enemy to the Gospel of Christ, and the coming of his kingdom. This is also inconsistent with that rule and directory of our prayers, commonly called *The Lord's Prayer*, not only because it cannot be reduced to any of its petitions, (which are comprehensive of all that we are warranted to pray for), but because it is contradictory to the *second*, which is, *Thy Kingdom come*. The Coming of Christ's Kingdom in our land cannot consist with the preservation of the Tyrant's reign, which is *Satan's* rule: for Antichrist's and Satan's kingdom, and Christ's, cannot be promoted both at once. It may be also demonstrated, that it is inconsistent with all the petitions of that perfect form of prayer. With the first, *Hallowed be thy Name*; for when they who rule over his people make them to howl, then his

his Name continually every day is *blasphemed, Isa.* lii. 5. yea much profaned in the frequent repeating that imposition. With the second, *Thy Kingdom come*; for when he takes unto him his great power and reigns, then is the time *he will destroy them that destroy the earth, Rev.* xi. 17. 18. It is against the third, *Thy Will be done*—— for it is against his preceptive will that there should be a throne of iniquity, it shall not have fellowship with him; as it would have, if according to his will. And therefore *Habakkuk* pleads from the Lord's holiness and righteousness against Tyrants, *Habak.* i. 13, 14. It is against the fourth, *Give us this day our daily bread*, to pray for them that rob us of it, whom the Lord hath set over us for a plague, to domineer over our bodies, and all the means of life, *Neh.* ix. 37. The Saints there make a complaint of Kings, and pray to remove them, not to save them: the Church also prays against base Rulers on this account, because under them they *get their bread with the peril of their lives, Lam.* v. 8, 9. It is against the fifth, *Forgive us our debts or sins*; for if we pray for taking away the guilt of sin, we must also pray for removing the punishment; whereof this is one, to be under Tyrants: and if it be sin which brings on such a judgment, then it is sin to pray for the keeping of it on, and continuing thereof: and though we should forgive their sin against us, yet we ought to complain against their sins against God, and the Church, in defiling it, and shedding the blood of the Saints *Psal.* lxxix. 1——7. It is against the sixth, *Lead us not into Temptation, and deliver us from evil:* for their Government is a continued tract of Temptation, they being a snare on *Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor, Hos.* v. 1. And if we pray to be delivered from all evil, then we must pray to be delivered from Tyranny, which is a great evil. It is against the *Conclusion* also, *For thine is the Kingdom,*——*and Glory:* Tyrants being stated in opposition to the Glory of God. Again, in the next place, It is against many *promises* of giving good Rulers, and of breaking the yoke of Tyrants, (as I cited several above); neither of which can consist with the preservation of Tyrants, if such a prayer should be answered according to the idol of the heart of the Supplicants,

plicants: for if God should save this man as long as we may pray for him as a King, then all the promises of a Change and Revolution are precluded. Lastly, It is contrary to the constant tenor of the Saints *Prayers* against the Enemies of God. *Deborah* prayed upon the destruction of a Tyrant, *So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord, Judg.* v. *ult. Jotham* prayed against that bastard King, *Let fire come out from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem*, and————*let fire come out from the men of Shechem and devour Abimelech, Judg.* ix. 20. *David* prays against *Saul*, whom he calls *Cush* the *Benjamite* in the Title of *Psal.* vii. alluding to *Kish* his Father, or because he was no better than an *Ethiopian*, a *Cushite*, *Amos* ix. 7. and could no more change his manners than an *Ethiopian* can change his skin, *Jer.* xiii. 23. See *Pool's Synops. Critic. in Locum.* Where it is proven, that this was *Saul*; against him he prays, that the Lord would *awake to judgment*, *Psal.* vii. 6. and that he would *break the arm of the wicked and the evil man*, *Psal.* x. 15. that he would not slay them, (to wit, suddenly, or in a common way), lest the people forget, but scatter, and bring them down, and *consume them in wrath*, that they may not be, that it may be known *God ruleth in Jacob* to the ends of the earth, *Psal.* lix. 11. 13. This is a Psalm against *Dogs*, vers. 6. what dogs? *Saul* and his men watching *David*. See the *Title*. As also it is against *Saul* that he prays, that the Lord would not grant his desires, nor further his devices, and as for the head of them that compassed him about, (which was *Saul*), *Let the Mischief of their own Lips cover them*, *Psal.* cxl. 8, 9. There is also a prayer, that the Saints may execute vengeance, and the judgment written upon Tyrants, and bind them with chains, *Psal.* cxlix, 7, 8, 9. The Church is brought in praying for vengeance against the *Babylonian* Tyrant, *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon* hath devoured me,———the *violence done to me and my flesh be upon Babylon shall the inhabitants of Zion say*, *Jer.* li. 34, 35. *Paul* imprecates any man that does not love the Lord Jesus, *Let him be Anathema Maranatha*, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 22. and sure no Tyrant, Persecuter and Subverter of Christ's Kingdom, can be a Lover of Christ. The Martyrs, under the fifth

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seal slain for the Word of God, and the Testimony which they held, are brought in crying against the Tyrants that murdered them, *How long! O Lord, Holy and True, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood, Revel.* vi. 9, 10. Which though it be to be understood of a moral cry of blood, as *Abel's* blood cried against *Cain*; yet ought to be a pattern of our prayers against such bloody enemies, imbrueing their hands in the blood of our brethren, for which we ought to pray that the Lord would haste to make inquisition. *Durham* observes from this place, that God's people, in a holy way, may pray for vengeance upon Persecuters.

5. Let us consider the person and matter, for whom and for what this prayer is extorted. Either it is for the personal salvation of *James* the *Papist*: or the Royal preservation of *James* the *Tyrant*. It will not satisfy to pray, that if it be possible, and if it were the Lord's will, he might be taken to Heaven, that so we might be quit of him. Neither were it lawful to pray, that, except we prayed first, that he might repent of this his wickedness, if perhaps it might be forgiven him, as *Peter* directed *Simon Magus* to pray for himself, *Acts* viii. 22. for it is unlawful to pray for the salvation of a Papist, except upon supposition of his repentance and relinquishing *Popery*. We must pray nothing but according to the Will of God; and it is not the Will of God, that they that have and keep, and will not part with the *Mark of the Beast*, should be saved, for he is adjudged of God to drink of the wine of his wrath, *Revel.* xiv. 9, 10. So we cannot pray for him as a Christian, which he is not; nor as a Papist, except that he may get repentance. Nor can we pray for him as a King, which he is not: nor as a Tyrant, except that he may repent of and relinquish his Tyranny and Usurpation: for Tyrants as such cannot be saved, no more than Papists as such; for *Tophet is ordained of old, yea for the King it is prepared,* ——— *Isa.* xxx. 33. We cannot then pray for his salvation, except we pray for his repentance, and relinquishing all his sins, and so we must pray for his relinquishing his Kingship, and that he may cease to be King; for that is his sin, that he hath made himself King

King without God, and againſt the laws of the land. And now, while he continues ſuch, we muſt complain in prayer, not for his miſgovernment only, but for that he governs, and deſire to be delivered from him. See *Gee's Magiſtrates Original, pag.* 258. But now conſidering what a man, and what a King he hath been, guilty of Murder, Adultery, Idolatry, under ſentence of the Law both of God and Man; we can pray no otherwiſe for him, than for a Murderer, Adulterer, or an Idolater. We cannot pray for him as cloathed with authority, or that the Lord may bleſs his Government, for that is his ſin and our miſery, that he is a Governor: and his Throne is a Throne of iniquity, which we dare not pray may have fellowſhip with God. Can we pray that God would bleſs him on a throne of iniquity? Could we pray, that the Lord would bleſs a Drunkard in his drunkenneſs, abuſing his enjoyments? Or a Thief in his ſtealing, though he uſed his purchaſe never ſo ſoberly? What if prevailing Robbers by land, or Pyrates by ſea, preying upon all Paſſengers, ſhould require this as the ſign of ſubjection to them, and only condition whereupon ſuch, as they apprehended and overcame, ſhould be ſuffered to live, that they ſhould pray for preſervation and proſperity to them? Would not this be wickedneſs thus to pray for Thieves and Robbers? And are not Tyrants the greateſt of Thieves, that rob and deſtroy twenty for one of private Robbers? And do they not require this as ſuch a ſign on ſuch a condition?

6. Laſtly, Then the plea will be reduced to this, that it is exacted as a Badge of Loyalty, and Sign, Teſſera, and *Shibboleth* of owning the Authority. Which I have at this length endeavoured to prove, cannot be conſcientiouſly owned by us, in theſe circumſtances. And even by this argument: That authority which we cannot pray for we cannot own; but we cannot pray for this tyrannical authority: *therefore*———. The *Minor* I truſt is in ſome meaſure made manifeſt, by what is ſaid above. And ſo I conclude this Head, with that Form of Prayer, that I uſe for the King. *O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, ſhew thyſelf; lift up thyſelf, thou Judge of the*

*Earth, render a reward to the proud. Lord, how long ſhall the wicked? how long ſhall the wicked triumph? Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowſhip with thee, that frameth miſchief by a law? The Mighty and Terrible God deſtroy all Kings and people, that put to their hand to alter and deſtroy the Houſe of God. Overturn, overturn, overturn this Throne of Tyranny, and let it be no more, until he come whoſe right it is.*

## HEAD III.

*The refuſing to ſwear and ſubſcribe the many unlawful impoſed Oaths, for which many have ſuffered great Cruelties; chiefly that of* Abjuration *which was the Cauſe of ſeveral their ſuffering to Death,* vindicated.

ANother great Head of grievous ſufferings, in this fatal period, hath been, that during this ſtated war between Chriſt and his enemies in *Scotland*, he hath not wanted Witneſſes, who in their Wreſtlings for the Word of God and the Teſtimony which they held, thought it their duty to refuſe all illegally impoſed and wickedly required *Tranſactions* with his declared enemies, and tampering any manner of way with them, in taking or ſubſcribing any of their conſcience-couzening impoſitions of deceitful and deſtructive *Bonds* and *Oaths*, obtruded by men who have caſt off all ſenſe of a Deity, or regard to humanity, upon the conſciences of poor people, to debauch them and caſt them down from the only excellency or integrity that was left them: whereby (though they have miſſed of their deſign as to ſome, who thro' grace have eſcaped the ſnares of theſe Fowlers, and in reſiſting have overcome through the blood of the Lamb) they have prevailed to inveigle the generality, even of the Profeſſors of this generation, into ſuch a degree of defection and wretched compliance with all their ſnares, that as it prognoſticates univerſal deſolation ineluctable, (if it be not prevented by repentance as univerſal as the com-

compliance hath been), so it proclaims the infamy of the Complier's perjury as indelible as their perfidy with whom they have complied. The consideration of which woful Apostasy, in its various steps by which it hath been propagated and promoted, ought to deter and demur all the Fearers of God, that would not partake of its threatned punishment, from venturing any more to come near the brink, or border of such precipices, and paths of the Destroyer, when so many have stumbled, and fallen, and been hooked, and snared, and taken; yea not so much as to look near them, lest they be left to follow their look, but to stand aloof from every appearance of transacting with these Man-catchers, yea Conscience-catchers, who are so cunning to ensnare and destroy; as their Predecessors, to whose sins and judgments also they serve themselves heirs, are described by the Holy Ghost, *Jer.* v. 26——29. *They lay wait as he that setteth snares, they set a trap, they catch men,——their houses are full of deceit, therefore they are become great and waxen rich.* ——*Shall I not visit for these things saith the Lord?* Many and manifold have been the snares, traps and gins, laid in the way of the Professors of this generation and nation, by these Mischief-hatchers, these keen and cunning Persecuters, the party now regnant or rather raging, in madness and malice against Christ and all that are Loyal and zealous for his Interest against their Encroachings thereon; whereby they have caught and cozened many out of their Consciences, and have broken the neck of some, the peace of others, and the hearts of not a few. Yea no nation can be instanced, wherein so many oaths and bonds have been imposed on peoples consciences, so nauseating for naughtiness and number, as well as noxious in their nature, in an age, as have been in *Scotland* within these 27 years past; on design to waste all remainder of conscience, or sense of religion among people, that so having worn out the awful impression of it, they may introduce what they would, upon a people involved in the same Apostasy with themselves: and either to incorporate all with themselves in the same combination against the Lord, or to extirpate all Dissenters, who should discover any tenderness of conscience, in not going along

with them in the ſame exceſs of riot. And to the end they might have the greater concurrence and countenance, with the help of Hell's policy, they contrived them in ſuch terms as might engage many to take them, and load the Recuſants with odious obloquies, either as ſilly Scruplers, or ſeditious Schiſmaticks, or Rebels. For this hath been all along their grand project, to level their deſigns againſt religion, not directly and formally under that notion, but obliquely to the deſtruction of the Lovers and Profeſſors of it, under the Nickname of Fanatical Enemies to Government. Of theſe enſnaring engines levelled to theſe ends, ſome have been more patent and open, others more latent and hidden; both have made a prey of people, the laſt chiefly. For a ſnare, the more latent and hidden it be, and the more varniſhed over with the vermilion of pretended honeſty and innocence, it is the more dangerous; and will be ſo accounted by all the circumſpect and cautious, as in its deſign more deſtructive, and in its effects, when diſcovered, more dolorous, than that which is more open and manifeſt. A hook, the braver that it is busked, and the better that is is baited, the ſurer and more ſucceſsful it is to catch the ſimple fiſh; if it want its busking, they will not ſo readily bite at it. In vain is a net ſpread in the ſight of any bird: yet, tho' this is a truth, ſuch ſilly birds have the bulk of us been, ſuch ſilly doves without a heart, and ſo ſenſleſsly ſtupified, as to ſuffer ourſelves to be blind-folded and hood-winked into ſnares, of ſuch a manifeſt baſeneſs, as none could be readily ſuppoſed might fall into, who did not brutiſhly abandon all common ſenſe of reaſon, beſides religion; as a *Teſt*, and oaths of arbitrary *Allegiance*, bands of *Conformity*, and irregular *Regulation*, &c. Some again, and theſe, alas! too many, have been enſnared with ſnares of a more ſmooth, ſoft, and ſubtile complexion, and poiſoned with gilded arrows, coloured over with the ſpecious pretexts of the enemies relenting condeſcendency and tenderneſs, ſtooping now to univerſal and general terms, obviouſly thought capable of a very good conſtruction, and daubed over with the untempered mortar of the frequency of the moſt univerſally unſcrupled ſubſcription of very goo

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and conſcientious men, and the rarity of Recuſants lying under the reproach of ſome few, wild, fantaſtical fools. Theſe well busked hooks have caught many; of which ſort have been many banded *Indemnities*, and eaſily ſwallowed Oaths thereunto appended. Though the preſent indeed is contrived without gins of this ſort, and now all theſe ſnares of *Oaths* and *Bands* are as illegally taken away as they were before impoſed; upon the ſame deſign, to catch ſilly fiſh by other methods; not with hooks, as before, but with a large ſpread net, to hale the whole ſchool to Antichriſt's ſhore; and to put to proof and practice the vaſtneſs of that *Leviathan Prerogative* of *abſolute Power*, to diſpenſe with all Oaths; eſpecially becauſe, in all of them, even the moſt monſtrous, people might think there was ſome tye obliging them to maintain the *Proteſtant* Religion, therefore to obliterate that, and bury it in Oblivion, all now are taken away; but the guilt of them ſtill remains upon the land, and the grievous cry of ſuffering for refuſing them ſtill continues; and therefore the iniquity of them muſt be looked unto and lamented, and that with an eye to the account and reckoning muſt be rendered for them, to a greater judgment than that of creatures. But among all theſe deſtructive and diabolical devices, there have been none more charming and cheating, than that cunningly contrived *Oath of Abjuration*, as it is called, enjoined to be taken by all within the Kingdom, by a Proclamation about it, repreſenting a late Declaration emitted by that party, whoſe ſufferings I am vindicating (as a Manifeſto of their grievances, and neceſſities to fall upon ſevere reſolutions towards their enemies) under the moſt odious character, that the malice of men helped with Hell's hatred could deviſe; and requiring all to abjure it in the moſt peremptory manner, and under the ſevereſt penalty that ever was heard. This Oath, I ſay, was contrived with ſuch cunning, and followed with ſuch keenneſs, that it hath involved more under its obligation, and engaged more to ſubſcribe it, than any other that went before it: becauſe it hath been painted over with ſuch pretexts, as never any before was capable of. The preſſing of it hath been ſo impartial, upon all travel-

travelling to the country, &c. And their acceptance of the *Pass* annexed to it thought so necessary, as without it no business could be gone about. Its subscription so universally unscrupled, even by the generality of great Professors and Ministers too; the thing abjured represented so odious, as no honest man could refuse to renounce; and the matter renounced, under its best aspect and construction, esteemed only a paper declaration of a party very despicable, wherein the principles, profession, or confession of the Church seems no way concerned; and if any way concerned, yet the concern appearing so small, as few or none durst state their sufferings upon that head. Yet I believe, if either such as have taken it, or others that may have the tentation of the like hereafter, will impartially ponder it; so much iniquity may be discovered in it, as may oblige the one to mourn in the sense of its sinfulness, and the other to beware of its danger. And so much the rather would I offer this to consideration, that I know one who was wofully wheedled into it, that found the bitter effects of this poisoned pill in his wounded conscience, after reflections on the deed, in such a measure that he despaired of ever recovering Peace. And this man had as much, and more to say, To justify his deed, than any that ever took it; having it with all the Advantages that ever it could be tendered with: for, being urged thereunto before the *Justiciary*, he expressly refused to disown that Declaration, and the Principles whereupon it was founded, and told them that it was misrepresented in the Proclamation: and when they yielded to an abstract disowning of it *in so far as* the Proclamation represents it, or, *if so be*, it might be so represented, he gave in a sense in writ, wherein he would take it; shewing that, upon supposition, the Declaration did assert such things as was represented, he would disown it: and after the sense was accepted as satisfactory, he refused to swear after the ordinary Manner, following the Clerks blind Manuduction, but behoved to have it written down: and when it was written, with express specification of that Apologetical Declaration, he refused to swear it, till it was altered and corrected, and the Word *pretended* put

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in the ſtead of it: which done, before he ſubſcribed it, he proteſted it might be conſtructed in no other ſenſe, than the genuine meaning of the words he delivered in, and that it might not be reckoned a Compliance for fear of his life: yet, notwithſtanding of all this, he loſt the Jewel of inward peace, and knew the terror of the Lord for many days. Therefore I ſhall chiefly inſiſt on diſcovering the iniquities of this laſt Oath, called the *Abjuration Oath*, both becauſe it is the ſmootheſt, and more generally taken than any other, and approven by many that condemn the reſt, and the refuſing it hath been puniſhed by death, and moſt illegally preſſed upon all, under the penalty thereof, as none of the reſt was; and becauſe as all other Oaths ſucceſſively impoſed, were ſo contrived that the laſt did always imply and involve the Subſtance of the former, ſo it will appear that the iniquity of none of the preceeding Oaths was altogether wanting in this. But to the end, both the Complication of the iniquities of this Oath may be evidenced, and the continued ſtrain of all the Oaths (which have alſo been heads of ſuffering, though not to this degree) may be diſcovered; I ſhall touch ſomewhat of all the ſorts of them, and ſhew that their iniquity cleaves to this laſt Oath: and then come to canvaſs this Oath it ſelf, after I have premitted ſome general Conceſſions.

*Firſt*, In a few Words ſome general Conceſſory propoſitions may be premitted,

1. That Oaths both Aſſertory and promiſſory are lawful, will not be denied but by *Quakers*, &c. It is clear, ſwearing is a moral duty, and ſo material, that oftentimes it is uſed for the whole Worſhip of God, *Deut.* vi. 13. *Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and ſhalt ſerve him, and ſwear by his Name*, Deut. x. 20. ——————. *To him ſhalt thou cleave and ſwear by his Name.* The reaſon is, becauſe by whomſoever we ſwear, him we profeſs to be our God, and invocate him as Witneſs of our heart's uprightneſs, and honeſt meaning in the thing ſworn, according as it is underſtood by both parties, and as avenger if we prove falſe. Hence, every Oath which doth not bind us faſter to ſerve and cleave to him, is but a breach of the *Third Command.* Again, it is not only com-

commanded as a duty, but qualified how it ſhould be performed, *Jer.* iv. 1, 2. Where it is required of a people returning to the Lord, to ſwear *in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteouſneſs.* Hence, every Oath which is not ſo qualified, and does not conſiſt with a penitent frame; is ſin. It is likewiſe promiſed in the Covenant, that Believers ſhall ſpeak the language of *Canaan*, and ſwear to the Lord, *Iſa.* xix. 18. every Oath then that is not in the Language of *Canaan*, is unſuitable to Believers, that is to ſay, Conſentaneous to the Word of God, and Confeſſion of our Faith. Again, he that *ſweareth in the earth ſhall ſwear by the God of Truth*, Iſa. lxv. 16. and therefore that Oath which is not according to truth, is diſhonourable to the God of Truth. If all the Oaths impoſed upon *Scotland* theſe many years, were examined by theſe Touch-ſtones, they would be found all naught. So giving *Bands* for Security, which for obligation are equivalent to promiſſory Oaths, are alſo lawful materially; but with the ſame qualifications, otherwiſe they are ſinful.

2. This duty when ſuitably diſcharged, truly, judiciouſly, righteouſly, in the fear of God, according to his will, is in many caſes very neceſſary. Not only in *vows*, in which God is the party, in matters morally neceſſary, to keep *the righteous Judgments of God*, Pſal. cxix. 106. Nor only in *National Covenants* for Reformation, and promoting the Intereſt of Chriſt, whereof we find many Inſtances in Scripture, in *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Aſa*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, their making and renewing ſuch Covenants by Oath, coming under the dreadful Curſe of it if they ſhould break it. And this may make our Hearts meditate Terror, for the univerſal unparaleled Breach of ſolemn Covenants with God, that expoſes the Nation to the Curſe of it; but alſo in human tranſactions, whereunto God is invocated as a Witneſs; as in National Tranſactions, at chooſing and inaugurating their Magiſtrates, for ſecurity of Religion and Liberties, as we have many Examples in Scripture. Seldom indeed do ſuch bonds hold Tyrants, but it is this Generation's indelible brand and bane, that without this they have come under the Yoke of ineluctable ſlavery, and have

have entailed it upon Poſterity. As likewiſe in Contracts and mutual Compacts of Friendſhip, or ſtricter Aſſociation, when Edification, or other Satisfaction, or Security calls for it, as *Jacob* ſware to *Laban*, *David* to *Jonathan*, &c. In which the matter muſt be clear, and mutually underſtood, and honeſtly meant, without (equivocation and mental Reſervation, and all ambiguity, as alſo poſſible, and likely to continue ſo: for otherwiſe, it were but a mocking of God and Man, to ſwear a thing we either cannot, or will not perform, according to the meaning of him in whoſe favours the Oath is given. But withal we ought to be ſparing in ſuch things, except where the matter of the Oath or Bond is weighty and neceſſary, and not multiply them needleſly upon formality or cuſtom: for if there were ſuitable Confidence in one another, there would not be need for ſo many of theſe Securities. And ſpecially in relative Stipulations betwixt Man and Wife, *&c.* Where an indiſſolvable relation is entred into. And, in a particular manner, even in things civil, when we are called thereunto by a lawful Magiſtrate, for deciding of Controverſies, or our own vindication, or to confirm our Obligation to ſome duty, an Oath for Confirmation is an *end of all Strife*, *Heb.* vi. 16. But always in this the matter muſt be lawful, according to the will of God, and true, and certainly known, and alſo neceſſary, weighty, uſeful, worthy of ſuch Confirmation, for the Glory of God, and the good of our Neighbour, that his holy Name be not taken in vain; for otherwiſe if the matter be falſe, God is made Witneſs of a lie; if uncertain, Conſcience condemns us that we know not, nor care not, what we call God Witneſs to; if unlawful, then God is called to approve what he hath condemned, and ſo to contradict himſelf, which is horrid Blaſphemy. With all which Caſes, if we compare and examine all theſe Deluſory Oaths, and Hell-deviſed Impoſitions on Conſciences in theſe days, obtruded to debauch and inſnare them, not one of them, levelling all at one deſign, how ſmoothly ſoever conceived, can be taken without a wound and wramp to the Conſcience.

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3. Of all theſe Caſes, only two are applicable to our impoſed Tranſactions with our wicked Rulers, to wit, in the matter of friendly Contracts, or in the matter of judicial Appearances before them, and ſwearing and banding before them, and to them. In both which, there muſt be a ſort of confederation with them. In contracts with them it will not be doubted; and in judicial ſubmitting to their authoritative Impoſitions of ſuch Securities, it is evident, there muſt be alſo a Confederation with them, not only in acknowledging their authority, but in coming under mutual exacted ſtipulations; wherein, by taking theſe Oaths and Bands, we give them ſecurity of orderly ſubjection, as members of the Community whereof they are judges, and get their ſecurity of acquittance, and that we ſhall not be moleſted nor proſecuted among the Recuſants. Now concerning this Confederation, I ſhall concede in two caſes, it may be owned, and conſequentially Oaths and Bands may be given to Men of their ſtamp, 1. A Confederation which is more *Diſcretive*, or Diſcriminative may be allowed to them; that is, ſuch Bargains wherein they and we are kept ſtill divided as two parties, and not under one incorporation, as in contracts of Co-habitation, living under them as tenants, buying and ſelling, and the like. But we cannot enter into a Confederation unitive with them, which may make us one body or party. 2. A Confederation which is neceſſary and unavoidable; when either an unavoidable ſtrife or contention doth ariſe between them and us, whereupon we are compelled to anſwer in Law, and can no otherwiſe be decided but by our Oath of Confirmation, which is an end of all ſtrife; or when we are falſly accuſed of ſome odious and heinous Crime, as of Murder or Adultery: it is then lawful and neceſſary to vindicate ourſelves, by giving all theſe legal Confirmations that we are free of theſe things; for otherwiſe to ly under the imputation of ſuch enormities, were ſhamefully ſcandalous to Religion. But we cannot allow any Tranſactions of this ſort, which are elective and voluntary, to make or purſue either peace or pleas with them, when our own intereſt or benefit draweth us thereunto; but ere we go to Law, or give Oaths and Bonds

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:o, and before the unjuſt and perfidious, and ſuch alſo as we cannot own as Magiſtrates, we would rather take wrong, and ſuffer our ſelves to be defrauded; as the Apoſtle adviſeth, 1 *Cor.* vi. 1, 7. It was not unlawful, as Expoſitors ſhew from that place, for the *Corinthians* to anſwer in Law for their own vindication, being purſued by a Heathen; but it was utterly a fault to go voluntarily one with another. And if to purſue a brother was a fault, then much more to go to Law with an Apoſtate, with whom there ſhould be leſs meddling. And if to go before the unjuſt Magiſtrates, as theſe heathen Judges were at *Corinth*, who yet were Magiſtrates, was utterly a fault, then much more to go before ſuch as have neither rightful nor righteous Authority at all; which yet muſt be acknowledged, if we take Oaths and Bands before them: for none can exact theſe but acknowledged Magiſtrates. Hence it is apparent, it would be an elective Confederation with theſe wicked uſurping Judges, when brought before them to take their tendered Oaths and Bonds, not as parties purſued before them, but as tranſacting with them, with whom, as well as before whom, we muſt give theſe confirming Securities: And ſo not only muſt we acknowledge them to be *gods*, among whom the Lord ſitteth, whoſe holy Name is interpoſed in ſuch ſolemn Tranſactions; but alſo we muſt ſwear and enter in bonds to them as they require. This indeed is neceſſary when called before them againſt our will, and accuſed of horrid Crimes, as was always in the impoſition of the Oath of *Abjuration* audaciouſly impured to the Refuſers, that they aſſerted murdering Principles, and owned it lawful to kill all that ſerved the King; in ſuch a caſe, to declare with the moſt ſolemn Aſſeverations, for vindication of Truth, that we diſown not only all ſuch Aſſertions, but all ſuch thoughts as that it is lawful to kill all that ſerve the King, or any that ſerve him becauſe they ſerve him, or becauſe they have injured us any manner of way, and to declare our abhorrence of all Murder and Aſſaſſinations. But to ſwear ſuch things to them, when we are altogether innocent, would be a granting that we were legally ſuſpected, by offering a legal purgation. And ſo all the Subjects of

*Scotland*

*Scotland* ſhould take upon them to purge themſelves from a ſuſpicion of Murder, which were odious. And to abjure a Declaration, as aſſerting ſuch things, when it aſſerts no ſuch thing, is a ſwearing to a Lie.

4. All ſolemn Securities of Oaths or Bonds, that are ſacred Promiſes, are, by *ſtrictneſs of Law*, of moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſible Obligation, as Mr. *Durham*, on the *Third Command*, ſhews in many caſes: No man's loſs, or private prejudice, can make it void, (though we ſwear to our *own hurt*, we muſt not *change*, *Pſal.* xv. 4) nor indifferency in the matter, if once engaged in, (for then our Souls are *bound*, *Numb.* xxx. 2.) nor deceit of others, if the deceit be circumſtantial only, as in the *Gibeonites* caſe; nor the extortion of it by fear or violence, if the matter be lawful; nor raſhneſs and ſin in the manner, if lawful in the matter, as with the *Gibeonites*; nor another meaning afterwards deviſed, not according to the Impoſer's mind, nor our own at firſt who took it, (that's but a *ſwearing deceitfully*, *Pſal.* xxiv. 4.) nor any good meaning or deſign in reverſing the Oath (*Saul* was puniſhed for breaking his Oath with the *Gibeonites*, out of zeal, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 2.) nor though the Oath be conceived by Creatures, (as by the *Altar* or *Temple*, *&c. Matth.* xxiii. 20---22. nor when the thing becomes impoſſible, if that poſſibility could have been foreſeen or prevented; nor any other ſecret meaning, by equivocation or mental reſervation, which are abominable; nor any Diſpenſation from *Pope* or *King*; nor any other poſterior Oath. None of theſe things can make an Oath void; but if we have bound ourſelves, God will require it: for *whoſo deſpiſes an Oath, by breaking the Covenant, when lo he hath given his hand, he ſhall not eſcape, God will recompenſe it*, Ezek. xvii. 18, 19. They are null indeed and of no force, when they become bonds of iniquity, tying to things unlawful or impoſſible; or when the thing ſworn is not in our own power, *Numb* xxx. 5. Or when there is deceit in it, not in Circumſtantials only, but in Eſſentials; or when it hinders a greater Good; when the caſe materially altereth; or when the party ſworn to relaxeth us. All theſe do condemn the horrid breach of the Sacred and *Solemn League and Covenant*, and confutes the perverting

verting and wreſting the words of it in the *third Article*, as if it did oblige to Allegiance of Tyrants: for, in that caſe, the obligation is unlawful, and there is a deceit in Eſſentials, and the caſe materially altereth, (for in the Covenant we are bound to the King, not to a Tyrant) and the party ſworn to hath relaxed us long ago, by annulling the Covenant; yet all theſe things prove, that the Covenant is ſtill in force, and that all the Oaths and Bonds contradictory to it, are ſinful: and yet, tho' it be ſinful to take them, and ſinful to keep them, it is nevertheleſs Perjury to break them, eſpecially to them whoſe erroneous Conſcience is bound by them, under a notion of their lawfulneſs. And in a ſpecial manner it is here conſpicuous, how deceitful a juggle that ſinful ſhift of many hath been, that they could ſubſcribe an unlawful Bond under a *Penalty*: as for example, to anſwer to their Courts, or to go to Church, or ſeparate from the perſecuted Meetings of the Lord's people, under ſuch a *Penalty*, which they thought, to pay the Penalty would clear them of, as if it were only an *Alternative* Bond. The Iniquity of this Juggle will appear, if we conſider, ſuch Bonds cannot be Alternative: for Alternatives are always disjunctive, binding equally either to this or that; and the one Alternative is no more determinately enjoined by the Impoſer, than the other. And ſo, if theſe Bonds were Alternative, it ſhould be in the binders choice, whether to anſwer the Court, go to Church, to ſeparate Meetings; or pay ſo much Money. But it is not ſo, for the Stipulation and Promiſe is determinate to the Obligation, for which the Bond is required, and the Penalty is annexed, as a Puniſhment of the Breach of that Obligation. And that Fancy of eluding the Bond, by paying the Penalty, would quite enervate all Security among Men, in their mutual Compacts of that Nature; and under that pretence, they might give a ſatisfactory Compliance to the moſt wicked impoſed Obligation imaginable, to ſubſcribe the *Turk's Alcoran*, with a reſerved intention only to pay the impoſed Penalty. Which Reſervation is ſo far from being ſuitable to that Chriſtian Simplicity the Goſpel requires, that it does not anſwer that moral Honeſty that our concern,

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in the good of human Society, calls for. 'Tis incumbent on all that expect to dwell in God's holy Hill, to have this requisite qualification for one, though they swear to their *own hurt* they will not *change it*, and they must be far from swearing *deceitfully*; and consequently, if they bind themselves by a promise, which a Christian should be no less tender of than of his Oath, they must keep it. And besides, to condescend that that penalty or fine should be paid, by ourselves or friends in our behalf, were to condescend that these enemies should be enriched by our own or the spoil of our friends, upon the account of the forfeiture of our promise; which seems such a dishoneſt and dishonourable thing, that an honest heart would disdain it. And though this should be flouted as foolish preciseness, to chuse rather to ly still and suffer in such a case; yet it may be considered that Christ's Cross, even with reproaches, is always a better choice than the world's ease, purchased at any price which is a hire for Christ's enemies.

5. All Divines and Casuists do grant, that an Oath must be taken in his sense and meaning who tenders it, and in whose favours it is conceived: becaus Oaths and Bonds are for security, and therefore whosoever would deal honestly and Christianly in taking an Oath, must take it in the sense that it is understood by such as impose it: otherwise the Holy Name of God should be taken in vain, and the swearers and promisers shall deal deceitfully, in frustrating the end of the Oath or Bond, and the design of the tenderers thereof. And therefore, as Reason and Religion requires, that all Oaths or Bonds be so conceived and enunciated, that all concerned may understand them, and if there be any doubt how far they bind, the Imposers should explain the same, as *Abraham* did to his servant: So Conscience requires, that they be always taken in the Imposers sense, and as they discover their sense and sentiments of them, and not according to the meaning that we may think the words Capable of; Nor yet according to the wheedling explications that they may give or allow, which are as deceitful and insnaring as the things themselves. Nor is it to be looked upon as a favour to get a Liberty to

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put a ſenſe upon them, contrary to their known meaning; for that is but a Liberty to mock God, to mock others, and ourſelves too, and nothing but a ſnare to the Conſcience. And to put a Gloſs upon printed Oaths or Bonds, which in ſtrict Conſtruction they will not bear, and then to ſubſcribe them *in the terms* as offered, is not only an intangling ourſelves into the bond of ſinful Oaths and Bonds, but to ſtumble the Godly, and harden the wicked in the preſent, and to mock poſterity in future ages; who ſhall ſee the Oaths *in the terms* ſubſcribed, but not the ſenſe they were taken in. See *Apolog. Relat. Sect.* 14. It is known by manifold experiences that it is dangerous to hearken to their overtures who ſtudy to enſnare us, but far more hurtful and hateful to propound overtures to them. For they interpret it a Ceding and giving ground, and when they ſee a man beginning to yield, then they will ſeem to be very condeſcending, even to accept of little at firſt that they may draw him on to more: like cunning Anglers ſometimes recoyling and drawing back the well baited and busked hook, to invite the poor unwary fiſh to purſue, and ſometimes leting it run away with the hook, when it begins to bite kindly: So when they find a man offering and ready to accept of Accommodations, they will be very yielding and eaſie, but with a deſign to hook him. But Conſcience can find no ſafety at preſent, nor ſatisfaction afterwards in accommodations with them. For it is plain to all that are not blinded with Ignorance, or partiality, or a Judicial ſtroke, that our Impoſers are ſuch ſons of *Belial* as cannot be taken with hands, or by the hand; and if we reflect upon the matters upon which theſe Accommodations are to be offered or accepted, they are not things upon which we may come and go, upon our diſcretion, as we do with our own particulars, or with Problems to be diſputed, or ambiguous propoſitions capable of different ſenſes; but matters ſo and ſo circumſtantiate, as do require the poſitive determinate Judgment of the Conſcience, Concerns of Truth and falſhood, duty and ſin, which cannot admit of Accommodation, or diſpenſation, or Reſervation, or any other ſenſe than the Impoſers

ers and they that ſtate their Inquiſition about ſuch things do own, and are obſervably known to have and maintain about them. Otherwiſe, all other forged Accommodations are but tampering tricks, juggling with jugglers, deceiving the deceivers, in ſuch a way as does not well conſiſt with the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, or the doves innocency; for what is that but a ſwearing or promiſing deceitfully! *Pſal.* xxiv. 4. a *conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falſhood, Iſai.* lix. 13. a *falſe Oath, Zech.* viii. 17. *which are hateful to God who will be a ſwift Witneſs againſt falſe ſwearers; Mal.* iii. 5. Neither will they be ſo eaſily deceived, for they will readily yield to accommodations, or any tolerable ſenſe that we can put upon their ſnares; for they reckon that a yielding in part, and are glad to find us ſo far juſtifying their acts and impoſitions, as by our offer practically to declare they bear a good ſenſe, and they will come many wayes to our hand to get us hooked ſo.

*Secondly*, Theſe things being premitted, I ſhall offer Reaſons why it was neceſſary, in point of Conſcience, to refuſe all the Oaths hitherto tendered; and conſequently conſcientious Sufferers upon this account will be vindicated. And firſt, ſome general Reaſons againſt all of them together, and then a Word to each ſort of them.

1. There is one general argument, that will condemn coming in any terms of Oaths or Bonds with that party, that have broken the Covenant, overturned the Reformation, and deſtroyed the people of the Lord: becauſe ſuch Tranſactions with them (as is hinted above) are a ſort of *Crnfederacy* with the known Enemies of Truth and Godlineſs, importing a voluntary ſubjection to them, compliance and incorporation with them, as Members of the ſame Community, whereof they are acknowledged to be the Head. Now all ſuch ſort of Confederacy with ſuch malignant Enemies of God and of the Church, is unlawful, as Mr. *Gilleſpie* demonſtrates in his *Uſeful Caſe of Conſcience, concerning Aſſociations and Confederacies with Idolaters, or any known Enemies of Truth and Godlineſs.* Though *Civil* Compacts for common Commerce may be allowed, as *Abram* was confederate with *Aner*, *Eſhcol* and *Mamre*, Gen. xiv. 13. *Jacob* covenanted with

with *Laban* by way of *Lawborrows*, Gen. xxxi. 44. But ſacred Confederations of this ſort are unlawful from theſe arguments, 1. The Law of God condemns them, *Exod.* xxiii. 32. *Thou ſhalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods, they ſhall not dwell in thy land, leſt they make thee ſin againſt me.*-----Where not only religious Covenants are diſcharged in a *toleration of* their Idolatry, but familiar Converſation alſo, *they ſhall not dwell in thy land.* If then we muſt not ſuffer them, if in capacity, ſure we muſt far leſs be impoſed upon by them; if we are not to be familiar with heathens, far leſs with apoſtates, that call themſelves Chriſtians: for the Apoſtle lays much more reſtraint from communion with them, than with Pagans, 1 *Cor.* v. 10, 11. The reaſon of the Law, *leſt they make thee ſin:* as long therefore as there is that hazard of ſinning, the Law obliges to that caution. So *Exod.* xxxiv. 12---16. *Take heed to thyſelf, leſt thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land --leſt it be a ſnare ——but ye ſhall deſtroy their altars —— leſt thou make a covenant with them ——— and they go a whoring after their gods, and thou take of their daughters unto thy ſons———.* Here again all ſacred Tranſactions are diſcharged, upon a moral and perpetually binding ground, and all *Toleration* is prohibited, and conjugal Affinity. Such compliance brought on the firſt deſolating judgment, the flood on the old world (*Gen.* vi. 1, 2, 3.) when the godly conformed and incorporated themſelves, and joined in affinity with that ungodly crew, from whom they ſhould have ſeparated themſelves. Likewiſe, *Deut.* vii. 2, 3, 4. 5.———*Thou ſhalt make no covenant with them, nor ſhew mercy unto them, neither ſhalt thou make marriages with them — for they will turn away thy ſon from following me———ſo ſhall the anger of the Lord be kindled againſt you———but thus ſhall ye deal with them, ye ſhall deſtroy their altars.* Where all Tranſactions with a people devoted to deſtruction are diſcharged, even that of *Toleration* of malignant Enemies; according to which precept, *David* reſolved to *deſtroy early all the wicked of the land, and cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord*, Pſal. ci. 8. Mark this *All*, of what degree or quality ſoever, without reſpect of perſons. And leſt it ſhould be thought

this is meant only of these seven Nations there enumerate, the Law is interpreted by the Spirit of God of many other Nations; where *Solomon* is condemned for joining in affinity with other wicked people, besides these, 1 *Kings*, xi. 1, 2. So that it is to be understood generally, against Confederacies with all, to whom the moral ground is applicable, and the danger of insnaring the people of God. It is clear likewise, we must have nothing to do with the wicked, but to treat them and with them as enemies, *Psal.* cxxxix. 21, 22. with whom, as such, there can be no Confederation; for that supposes always the enmity is laid aside, but that can never be between the professors of Religion and the professed Enemies thereof: but that must always be the language of their Practice, *Depart from me ye workers of iniquity, for the Lord hath heard me*, Psal. vi. 8. The commaud is peremptory and perpetual, *Forsake the foolish*, Prov. ix. 6. *Make no friendship with them*, Prov. xxii. 24. *Say not a confederacy to them*, Isa. viii. 12. where it is clear from the opposition in that Text, betwixt confederating with the wicked and the fear of God, that the one is not consistent with the other. There is an expres- discharge to *yoke* or have any *fellowship* with them, 2 Cor. vi. 14. to the end——— *for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?*——*what concord hath Christ with Belial?*———*wherefore come out from among them, and be separate*———. 2. Many sad and sharp reproofs for such Transactions and Confederations do conclude the same thing, *Judg.* ii. 1, 2, 3.——— *I said,* ——— *ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land, you shall throw down their altars: but you have not obeyed my voice, Why have you done this? Wherefore* ——— *I will not drive them out from before you* ——— It cannot be expected, the Lord will drive out these enemies, if we swear Subjection and Allegiance, and come under Confederations with them; for thereby we contribute actively to their settlement and establishment, and bring ourselves not only under the misery, but the guilt of strengthning the hands of evil doers. So *Jer.* ii. the People of God are reproved, for making themselves *home-born slaves.* How? by outlandish Confederacies, *vers.* 18. *Now what hast*

*hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Sihor? or what hast thou to do in the way of Assyria?*—— The *Chaldee* Paraphrase hath it, *What have you to do to associate with* Pharaoh *king of* Egypt? *and what have you to do to make a covenant with the* Assyrian? So may we say, What have we to do to take their Oaths and Bonds, that are as great enemies as they were? *Ephraim* is reproved for *mixing himself among the people*, Hos. vii 8. by making Confederacies with them. What follows? He is *a cake not turned*, hot in the nether side, zealous for earthly things, but cold and raw in the upper side, remiss in the things of Christ. And this we have seen in our experience to be the fruit of such bargains, or bonds, or oaths, that they that were engaged in them, have always in some measure fallen from their former fervour for Christ. Nay we shall find, that such Transactions are seldom or never recorded in the Book of God without a reproof, or some greater marks of God's displeasure put upon them? which doubtless is set purposely as beacons, that we may beware of them. And therefore, 3. We may take notice of many disallowed and condemned examples, on which the Lord sets marks of wrath, as *Ahab's* covenant with *Benhadad*, 1 Kings, xx. 32. to the end. *Asa's* covenant with *Benhadad*, which the Prophet calls a *foolish Deed*, 2 Chron. xvi. from beginning to *vers* 10. proceeding from an evil heart of unbelief, as all such Transactions are overawed Compliances. *Jehoshaphat's* with *Ahab* hath the same censure, though he kept himself free of *Ahab's* Idolatry, and *Ahab* seemed to have been penitent before he joined with him, and his relation to him was very near, the enemy of both was an Infidel, the cause was good, to recover a city of refuge, the manner of his proceeding was pious, consulting the Prophets, and his end good; yet all this did not justify that wickedness, related 2 *Chron.* xviii. and reproved 2 *Chron.* xix. 2. *Jehu* the Prophet is sent to him, *Shouldst thou love them that hate the Lord? therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord. After this, when he joined himself with Ahaziah, who did very wickedly*, the Lord brake his works, 2 *Chron.* xx. 35. to the end: which made him afterwards mend his fault, for he would not again join

with him, when he sought the like Association, 1 *Kings*, xxii. 49. So *Amaziah*'s bargain with the *Israelites*, when the Lord was not with them, is condemned by the Prophet, admonishing him to disjoin himself from them, 2 *Chron.* xxv. 7---10. And *Ahaz* his bargain with *Tilgath-Pilneser* the *Assyrian*, 2 Chron. xxviii. 16. *&c.* is plainly disallowed. 4. The Complaints, Confessions, and Lamentations of the Lord's people, mourning over this sin, demonstrate the evil of it, *Ezra* ix. 14. *Should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations? Wouldst not thou be angry with us, till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?* Psal. cvi. 35. *They were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works.* All these Commands, Reproofs, Examples and Complaints, are written for our learning; and being seriously laid to heart, will sufficiently scare all the fearers of God to join, but stand alooff from all compliances, conjurations, or confederacies with the enemies of God, directly or indirectly, formally or interpretatively, for fear of partaking of their sins, and receiving of their plagues. I insist the more largely on this argument, both because it will conclude that for which these proofs are adduced, to condemn all bonding or bargaining with malignant Enemies; and because it will vindicate the aversion of this poor persecuted Remnant, from associating in expeditions of war, with promiscuous subverters and perverters of the Cause, on which it were not so proper to my purpose to dilate any discourse in a distinct head, while I must confine myself only to the heads of Sufferings; only because it may be *objected*, and it will be profitable to consider it, that these Scriptures disprove only voluntary and elective confederations with the wicked, but cannot condemn necessitated subscriptions of lawful obligations, when the matter is not sinful; nor come they home to the case of prisoners, who are constrained to transact and treat, and have to do with the men in power, otherwise, if all bonds were unlawful, then Prisoners might not procure liberty for longer or shorter time, upon bond and bail, to *answer again when called*; which yet is generally approven, and practised without

without ſcruple, and ſeems not to want a precedent in Scripture, in that *Jaſon* gave ſuch ſecurity, *Acts* xvii. 9. I ſhall therefore ſubjoin here ſome conſiderations, by way of *Anſwer* to this. 1. Theſe Scriptures diſprove all Covenants, *Exod.* xxiii. 32. All Confederacies, *Iſa.* viii. 12. All concord or agreement with the men of *Belial*, 2 *Cor.* vi. 15. and, without diſtinction of voluntary or over-awed Tranſactions, all *unitive* Agreements of whatſoever ſort are diſcharged, and can no more be reſtricted to the particulars there ſpecified, as if any other Covenant, Confederacy, or Concord might be lawful, that were not a joining in Marriage, an aſſociating in War, or communion in Worſhip with them, than the moral grounds of theſe Prohibitions can be ſo reſtricted: for the Hazard of Sins and Snares, the Hurt of faithleſs Fears, from whence they flow, and the Hatefulneſs of ſuch unequal Conjunctions, which are the Grounds and Reaſons of theſe Laws, as may be ſeen in theſe forecited places, cannot be reſtricted to the particulars ſpecified. But now all the tendered Oaths and Bonds of our Adverſaries, when ſubſcribed as they require; yea, even thoſe Tranſactions of Priſoners for procuring their Liberty, on terms of engaging to re-enter themſelves according to agreement with their Perſecuters, are unitive Covenants, or conditional Agreements, giving ſolemn Securities for their reſpective Obligations, upon terms wherein both parties accord: for theſe Bonds are given to them, and not only before them, as was ſaid. They are confederacies of the ſubjected, ſeeking the Peace and Favours of their ſuperiors, which when over-awed are ſinful to be made with wicked enemies of Religion, as well as when unconſtrained, for *Ahaz* his Tranſaction with the *Aſſyrian*, was forced out of fear, and yet it is called a ſinful confederacy, not to be homologated by any of the fearers of the Lord, *Iſa.* viii. 12. They are concords and agreements with the unrighteous ſons of *Belial*, and not about common Matters, but Matters wherein Religion and Righteouſneſs are nearly concerned: can any think that theſe Commands are given with exception of Priſoners? And that if any *Iſraelite* was Priſoner to theſe Nations, he might make a Covenant with them for his Liberty,

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upon an engagement to render himſelf Priſoner to them again? Then he might give bond to God's devoted enemies, to bind up his hands from proſecuting the War with them, which all *Iſrael* was obliged to do: for if they might covenant Subjection to them, then it would have been their ſin to rebel, as it was *Zedekiah*'s ſin to rebel againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, becauſe it was Breach of Covenant: and ſo there might be a caſe, wherein the *Iſraelites*, notwithſtanding of all theſe Prohibitions, would be obliged not to deſtroy, nor break down their Altars, to wit, if they made ſuch a Bargain with them for their Liberty, to ſurrender themſelves as their ſubjects. Now we read, many times they were brought under Subjection, and that as a Puniſhment of their leaguing with them; and yet they broke the Yoke, when they cried unto the Lord, and never ſubmitted any longer than they were able to deliver themſelves. Whence it is plain, that they never bound themſelves to ſuch Subjection by Oath, Bond, or Promiſe, for that would have been no Mercy which was purchaſed by Treachery. 2. It is a voluntary compact with the Men in power, to procure Liberty upon bond to anſwer again, and cannot be called neceſſitated; or if it be, it is but a neceſſitated ſin. It muſt be voluntary, becauſe it is an act of the will, and the will cannot be forced; 'tis the *conſent* of the will, and the conſent cannot but be voluntary, in ſo far as it is a conſent; and by this, whereas, before their ſo procured Liberty, they were Priſoners by *Conſtraint*, now when they muſt return to priſon, they are Priſoners by *Conſent*: 'tis the Priſoners *choice*, whether he will come out upon theſe Terms, or not; and every Choice, in ſo far as it is a Choice, is elective and voluntary: 'tis put to the man's choice, whether he will continue under the Croſs, and continue his Teſtimony for the cauſe, or ſurceaſe from it for a time, the latter in the Caſe is choſen. 'Tis the Priſoner's *Deſire* and *Petition*, to tranſact with them in theſe terms for Liberty, without which no Benefit of any ſuch Bond can be procured, and every deſire is voluntary. Yea, it is a formal *Compact* and Capitulation with them, binding and obliging theſe bonders by their own word and writ, at leaſt to be

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at their call and command, not by compulſion and force now, but by the moral Obligation of their own Compact: now, every ſuch Compact is voluntary. And therefore, if all voluntary Covenants, Confederacies, and Agreements, be diſcharged in Scripture, then this Bond of Compearance alſo muſt be diſcharged. The Judgment of the famous Mr. *Rutherford*, of a Draught of a Petition to have been preſented to the Committee of Eſtates, by thoſe Miniſters who were Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, will confirm what is ſaid: We find it in the third Part of his *Letters*, *Numb.* 63. where are theſe Words, 'I am ſtraitned as another ſuffering man, 'but dare not petition this committee, 1. Becauſe it draws 'us to capitulate with ſuch as have the Advantage of the 'Mount, the Lord ſo diſpoſing for the preſent, and to 'bring the Matters of Chriſt to Yea and No (you being 'Priſoners, and they the powers) is a hazard.' 3. This Agreement with the Enemies for Liberty, upon theſe terms, is ſinful. For it is not only an Acknowledgment of a wicked Power, in owning and tranſacting with them as Judges, who can free them and bind them as priſoners by Law, which is diſproved above; but it is a binding themſelves over to a pacqued, perverſe, and Law-perverting Judicatory, not as Priſoners by forcible conſtraint, but a willing conſent, acknowledging the Legality of their impriſonment, and obliging themſelves to obſerve it when demanded: yea, it is a covenanted and bonded Obedience to a wicked Law; for it is a wicked Law, to exact from a Sufferer for Truth his re-entry to priſon, for no crime but his duty. As alſo it is a juſtifying of a wicked Sentence; for it is a wicked Sentence, that an innocent Man ſhall return to Priſon when they pleaſe; which is juſtified when they bind themſelves to obey it. This is noways like a Man's going to the Gibbet on his own Feet; for the Man does not bind himſelf to do that, neither is it exacted of him as an Obedience to a Law, nor is it given forth as a part of his Sentence, only he chooſeth it for his own eaſe: but if all theſe did concur, it were unlawful for a Martyr for Righteouſneſs to obey ſuch a Law, or voluntarily to ſubmit to ſuch a wicked Sentence. Neither

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is it of any Pertinency to urge, that it is lawful for a Man to ſubmit ſo far to a Robber, as to bind himſelf to return to him againſt ſuch a day with another Purſe to him: for this is a neceſſitated Bargain, to give what a Man hath, and promiſe more to ſave his life, and is like a Man's caſting his goods out at Sea to ſave the Ship; the other is not ſo, but elective: this is only a Choice of the leaſt of two evils of ſuffering, but the other is a Choice of one of two evils, which is ſin, which cannot come under a Chriſtian's election at all: this is a compact with the Robber, which is ſtill diſcretive, and no-ways unitive of the Robber and him, in any Bargain of concord, or confederacy, or acknowledged Subjection, only a paſſive ſurrender to his greater force as an enemy; but the other is unitive, as between Rulers and ruled: this is not any Obedience to a Law, nor is the Man's Purſe required to be given, or promiſed under that notion, as the other is. I ſhall here alſo ſubjoin ſome more of that foreſaid *Letter* of Mr. *Rutherford's*, in the *ſecond* Place, ſays he, 'A ſpeaking to them in writ, and paſſing 'in ſilence the ſworn Covenant, and the Cauſe of God, 'which is the very preſent Controverſy, is contrary to 'the practice of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, who being ac-'cuſed, or not accuſed, avouched Chriſt to be the Son of 'God, and the Meſſias, and that the dead muſt riſe again, 'even when the Adverſary miſſtated the queſtion.' Now plain it is, that neither in the bonds nor petitions, is there any word of the cauſe or Teſtimony ſuffered for. 4. As it is ſinful, ſo it is very ſcandalous in ſeveral reſpects; in that at leaſt it hath the appearance of evil, which Chriſtians ſhould abſtain from, 1 *Theſ.* v. 22. and ſeems to be a voluntary ſubjecting themſelves to their Impoſitions (at leaſt of that to return to priſon again) a willing acknowledgment of their unjuſt Uſurpations; a ſpontaneous conſenting to their Miſchiefs framed into a Law, and exacted under the Notion of a Law; a gratifying of the Enemies of Religion, and pleaſing them more than any thing a priſoner can do, except he ſhould wholly deny the cauſe; and therefore chiefly always this overture is moſt acceptable from thoſe that durſt give any Teſtimony, becauſe they look upon it as ſome indication of their faint-

fainting or falling from it, or of their wearying of the Cross of Christ, of which they are very glad; and an offending and making sad the hearts and condemning the practice, of some truly tender and zealous Confessors of Christ, who have had strong tentations to make such transactions, and durst not yield so far for a world; yea it is certainly an argument of faithless fear, and impatient wearying of the Cross, because of the fury of the Oppressor, which the Lord taxeth, when the *Captive hasteneth that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail*; which is a dishonour to him who hath promised to bear their charges, and hath given them many encouragements to trust, that he will open a door in his own time and way. See *Isa.* li 13. 14. Of this *Rutherfoord* adderh in that forecited letter, 'Silence of the cause of God which Adversaries persecute, 'seems a tacite deserting of the cause, when the state 'of the question is known to Beholders, and I know the 'Brethren intend not to leave the cause. And a little after, says he, The draught of that petition which you 'sent me, speaks not one word of the Covenant of God, 'for the adhering to which you now suffer, and which is 'the object of mens hatred, and the destruction whereof 'is the great work of the times; and your silence, in this 'nick of time, appears to be a not confessing of Christ 'before men, and you want nothing to beget an unclean-'ly deliverance, but the profession of silence:' which is professed by all that petition for such a bond, when their address and transaction speaks no more in favours of the cause, than if they denied it. It is plainly a coming out of prison without a Testimony, which cannot consist with faithful and zealous suffering for Christ, and is far from the choice of Christ's Witnesses, who overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their Testimony, recorded, *Heb.* xi. 35. —— *Who were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.* 5. As it is scandalous, so it is very inconvenient and unsuitable for the Confessors of Christ. In that not only they may be ignorant, and much troubled to know what underhand dealings their friends may use sometimes to procure that liberty without acquainting them,

them, and how odiously their act of deliverance may be worded and registred to the prejudice of the cause, which they dare not testify against afterwards when they do know it, for fear of many inconveniencies. But also it cannot be vindicated from being a dishonourable shifting, and putting off, or casting off the call of a Testimony; and confessing either an inconstancy, or impatience or unreadiness, or want of resolution, to confess or profess the Testimony for Christ, without some respite to gather new defences for it: whereas Christ's Witnesses should be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them, 1 *Pet.* iii. 15. And besides, they involve themselves into the incumbrances of a doubtful suspense about the event, whereas if they keep their first resolution and condition with cheerfulness, aloof from such bargains, they know the utmost they have to fear or hope from men. But now, as it is hard for them to come off without some sinful engagement, and to continue any measure of faithfulness when they are out, for fear of being soon called again; so they bring themselves into many sad difficulties how to behave, and cast themselves into many tentations unavoidably. However, except of late, a precedent of this practice can hardly be instanced among the Sufferers of Christ in former times, but, on the contrary, many have refused such offers. I shall only name one; in the persecution of Queen *Mary* of *England*, Dr. *Sands*, Prisoner at *London*, had the offer of liberty, upon the terms of such a bond, finding bail to appear when he should be called, but refused it absolutely; and when a Gentleman, without his knowledge, having procured it by giving 1000 *l.* Bond for him, brought him forth and required his consent and observance of the obligation, he would not consent to give any security, and denied his resolution to observe it in the least; whereupon the Gentleman very courteously told him, he would stand to his hazard. This was far more like the innocency of the dove, but this new prudence resembles more the wisdom of the serpent. Finally, As for *Jason*'s business, which is so much harped upon by these Bonders. (1) These were Rulers that he had

had to deal withal, and not raging Tyrants. (2) They were indifferent Arbiters between *Jaſon* and the lewd Fellows that troubled him, and not both Judge and Party; he gave no ſecurity to his Perſecuters, as theſe Bonders do, but to the true Judges of the cauſe, who impartially took cognizance of it, from whom *Jaſon* might and did expect right. (3) This was before he was Priſoner, being as free as his Accuſers, and having the law as free for him as it was for them; whereby he could vindicate himſelf and abide the law, and be abſolved by it: which does not anſwer the caſe of Priſoners actually ingaged in and called to a Teſtimony for Chriſt, when there is no law but what is eſtabliſhed in oppoſition to Chriſt. (4) In the original it is, *when they got ſatisfaction from him*; that is, when he ſo cleared himſelf, that they could not faſten any tranſgreſſion upon him, then they abſolved him.

2. All theſe Oaths and ſolemn Securities that have been impoſed in theſe times, are dreadful and heinous breaches of the *Third Command*, by *taking his Name in vain* in the worſt ſort, whereby the takers cannot be holden guiltleſs. For it is impoſſible ſuch Oaths and Bonds, however they be conſtructed, can ever be taken with theſe requiſite qualifications neceſſary to be obſerved in all Oaths (and conſequently in all ſolemn Promiſes or Bonds) that are mentioned once for all, *Jer.* iv. 2. where one that *ſweareth*, muſt do it *in truth, in judgment, and in righteouſneſs.* 1. They cannot be taken in *Truth*, which is a neceſſary qualification in all Oaths, according to the definition of a true Oath, which is *A ſolemn Invocation of God, for Confirmation of ſome true, lawful, grave and weighty, uſeful and worthy Buſineſs, wherein he is atteſted and appealed unto, that he, as the only Searcher of Hearts, may give his Teſtimony to the Truth of the thing, and puniſh the Swearers, if he ſwear not in Truth.* And this ſwearing in *Truth* does import and require both *Sincerity* of the Heart, filled with Reverence and the awful Apprehenſion of a preſent God; and *Simplicity* of the Mind, well informed of the genuine meaning of the Oath, that we have clear uptaking of it, and take it not implicitely, but with our own underſtanding;

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and alſo *ſingleneſs* and *honeſty* of the intention, that it be not to deceive, by putting any other ſenſe than the Impoſer hath, or will allow when he underſtands it: ſo the meaning muſt be clear, and ſuch as may be obviouſly gathered from the words, and according as they are ſuppoſed to be underſtood by others, eſpecially them that exact the Oath; for if they mean one thing and we another, God's Name is profaned, and the end of the Oath fruſtrate, and ſo all equivocations and mental reſervations are condemned; as all Divines treating on Oaths teach, and worthy Mr. *Durham* particularly, on the *third Command*, who aſſerts, 'that tho' we could deviſe ſome 'other meaning, that might ſeem to make for us; yet if that 'was not meant at firſt tendering, but otherwiſe under-'ſtood by him that did take it, it will not abſolve from the 'guilt of perjury; for an oath is *of ſtrict law*, and will not 'admit, on any reſpect or account, of interpretations pre-'judicial to the native Truth of it, leſt it ſhould be found 'to be (according to *Pſal.* xxiv. 4.) a *ſwearing deceit-'fully.*' And afterwards he ſays, 'Much leſs will it 'exempt a man from guilt, that in ſwearing he had a 'meaning of the words, contrary to what in common 'ſenſe they bear, and in the conſtruction of all indiffe-'rent perſons, *without Oath*, or *beyond it*; but it ſhould 'be plain, ſingle, and clear.' And *Paræus* ſaith, in *Catech Urſ. part.* 2. *queſt.* 102. *An Oath hath the Divine Sanction, that it might be a Bond of Verity among men, and a Teſtimony that God is the Author and Defender of Truth.* Now, none of theſe Oaths and Bonds can be taken in Truth; for if they may be ſafely taken in any ſenſe, it muſt be ſuch as the Oath in the deſign of the Impoſers cannot bear, and which the Impoſers never intended, nor would they ever have allowed, if they had underſtood it; which induſtriouſly the takers have a care they ſhould not underſtand, and ſo they muſt take it in that ſenſe *with a mind to deceive*, which cannot be in truth, but moſt derogatory both to the truth and ſimplicity of the Goſpel. And they are all unclear and ambiguous which cannot be taken in truth, becauſe they have no truth in them, as Dr. *Sanderſon* ſaith, *De Jur. Promiſſ. Oblig. Præl.* 6. *Sect.* 10. 'A Propoſition of an am-

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'biguous and indefinite sense, before the matter be di-'stinguished, is not a true proposition; yea, nor a pro-'position at all: for a proposition, as its definition clear-'eth, should signify either a truth or a falshood, without 'any ambiguity; and therefore, says he, such Oaths 'should be suspected that there is some deceit lurking, 'and every pious and prudent man should refuse them 'offered under such Terms, cited by *Apol. Relat. Sect.* 10. '*pag.* 118. *& sect.* 14. *pag.* 267.' In fine, none of them can be taken in *Truth*, since they are all a denying the Truth, as will be evident by the induction of all of them: Which, how it can consist with the fear of God, or sincerity of the heart, cannot be imagined; and if Conscience be called into Judgment, it will condemn the taking them. 2. They cannot be taken *in Judgment*, that is, with knowledge and deliberation, minding and understanding what it is we swear or subscribe, as Mr. *Durham* explains it in the place above cited. For, *first*, They cannot be taken in Judgment, because they are all ambiguous, the terms of them being capable of divers senses, not explained by the Imposers. And if they were explained in their sense, then they could not be taken in Righteousness; and so at best they are uncertain: And that is dreadful to invoke the Majesty of God to be a Witness to Uncertainties; for that is to swear with an evil Conscience and contempt of God, to dare to call Him in as a Witness of that which is in suspense, whether it be Truth or a Lie; and such a swearer must make it a matter indifferent, whether he make God a Witness of a Truth or of a Lie in the case. *Vide Paræum loc. sup. cit. pag.* 654. *sect.* 4. Dr. *Sanderson* as before, gives these Reasons further against all ambiguous Oaths. 'Because of 'him who tendereth the Oath. For the proper end of 'an Oath is, that he in whose favours it is taken should 'have some certainty of that whereof he doubted before; 'but there can be no certainty out of Words which have 'no certain sense. Next, Because of him who sweareth, 'who, if he take such an Oath in these terms, either 'stumbleth his neighbour, or spreadeth a net for his own 'feet; for to what else should such collusion tend, but 'either that by our example others may be induced to

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'take it, whereby they are ſtumbled; or, that afterwards, by virtue of that Oath, ſome thing may be required of us, which is either unlawful or hurtful, and this is to lay a ſnare for ourſelves! Therefore let every prudent man beware of ſuffering himſelf to be deceived by theſe wiles, and of thinking ſo much either of the favour or of the ill-will of any other, as to ſwallow the bait under which he is ſure there is a hook: it is expedient, that, in the matter of Oaths, all things be done aright, and that the ſenſe be clear to all, and that is, *to ſwear with a clear Conſcience*, *Apol. Relat. pag.* 267.' But next, They cannot be taken in Judgment, becauſe they are all *impoſed* and extorted under a ſevere penalty, and ſome of them of death, and ſo muſt be taken out of fear. Such Oaths are by many famous Divines judged unlawful, eſpecially publick Oaths impoſed by Authority, and under colour of Law; theſe are worſe than a man's private Oath given to a Robber, for fear of death, if the matter be unlawful: for, whether the matter be lawful or unlawful, ſuch Oaths coacted, exacted, and impoſed by Law, cannot be taken in Judgment; for if they be taken out of reſpect to the Law, then it is the perſon's ſuffrage to the equity of that Law, and an approbation of the impoſition; which, in the preſent caſe, cannot be done, by any man of conſcience; for, whether the Oaths be lawful or not, the Authority impoſing them is nought, and the Law wicked, and can never be approven; and if they be extorted out of fear, then they cannot be taken with deliberation, or voluntary and unviolented choice, unconſtrained light or liberty, which are all the ingredients of Judgment. 3. They cannot be taken *in Righteouſneſs*, that is, according to the Law of equity as well as piety, neither wronging God nor others by our Oaths. Lawful Oaths ſhould be in themſelves *Ties of Equity*, as well as *Truth*. And *Paræus* ſaith, in the place before cited, *Lawful Oaths are only theſe which are engaged into about things true, certainly known, lawful, poſſible, weighty, neceſſary, uſeful and worthy.* And if that be true, then are all the Oaths and Bonds taken theſe many years but fetterings into Bonds of iniquity; which, when the Conſciences of the Takers will reflect on them,

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will become Galls of bitterneſs, and found to have none of theſe qualifications; but on the contrary, to be about matters falſe, uncertain, unlawful, impoſſible, frivolous, fruitleſs, uſeleſs, and unworthy, to the worſt degree of baſeneſs; and, which is worſt of all, dreadfully ſinful, and horrid to be thought on to interpoſe the Name of God upon, making Him the Approver of what His Soul hates, and a Witneſs of that which he will be an Avenger of, as will appear by the particular conſideration of all of them.

3. Let it be conſidered, that though (as the pleaders for theſe tranſactions do impertinently alledge) the ſame words in other caſes might be ſubſcribed in a more abſtract ſenſe, as being capable of a good conſtruction; yet complexly conſidered in the form and frame of all the Oaths and Bonds we have been troubled with, they cannot be ſubſcribed in any ſenſe; and if in any, that muſt be the Impoſer's ſenſe, which in them all is always pernicious. 1. They cannot be taken in any ſenſe though never ſo good, if we conſider the abſolute illegality of their arbitrary impoſition. It will be confeſſed that Oaths ſhould be very tenderly impoſed upon Conſciences, not only leſt the Name of God be proſtitute to profanation, in matters light and trivial, or dubious and uncertain; but leſt a tyrannical Juriſdiction be exerciſed over the Souls of men, which are not ſubject to any power that Mortals can claim: So it cannot be denied, but that the Conſtitution of our Government requires, and Reaſon as well as Religion ſays it is neceſſary, that no Ruler hath right to enjoin an Oath which is not firſt enacted into a Law; and it was always accounted a good plea for refuſing Oaths, when there was no Law for them; and ſome have been charged with Treaſon, for exacting Oaths without a Statute ordaining them: which might be brought in as a Charge againſt all the Impoſers of our Oaths, the moſt part of which have been exacted and extorted without any colour of Law; ſome of them being never ordained by any Act of Parliament, and others of them before they could obtain ſuch a Miſchief framed into an Act for them, and all of them neither ever legally adminiſtred nor righteouſly enacted, by ſuch who

who had power to make Acts; for as for the packed Parliaments that made them, no conscientious man could ever own such a company of perjured Traitors, to be their parliamentary Representatives. Yet abstracting from that, I say, the Oaths that have been imposed without and against Law could never be taken in any sense, without consenting to their treasonable breach of Law, for which they have forfeited their lives to Justice, whenever there shall be a Judicatory to revise their Administrations: and these that have been imposed by a pretended Law, could never be taken without justifying of that Law that ordained them, which hath been nothing but a mischief framed into a Law by a Throne of iniquity. 2. They cannot be taken in a good sense, with a safe Conscience, considering either what is plain in them, or what is more ambiguous. What is plain and capable but of one sense, that is always either constraining to a clear Sin, to renounce some part of the covenanted Reformation, in profession or practice; or restraining from a clear duty, that we should not do that which we may or ought to do. There is nothing in all of them plain but what obliges to one of these two. Again, what is ambiguous in them, as it ought to be refused for its ambiguity; so, when it is explained according to the Imposer's mind and meaning, the sense will be found always pernicious, though the words may be plausible. As when they require an obligation to Allegiance, or Loyalty, or Peaceableness, or Orderliness, and other smooth Words, signifying excellent things in an abstract notion, these will be found to carry quite another sense, if we enquire into the Imposer's meaning, in which only Oaths and Bonds must be taken. The only way to find out their meaning, is to consider either their Acts or Actings, or their Designs and Intentions, as they are discoverable by any man of prudence or consideration. If we consult their Acts or Actings practically, and only legally explaining them for a commentary, then by *Allegiance*, we can understand nothing else but an owning of their *absolute* Tyranny: by *Loyalty*, nothing but an absolute and implicite Obedience of their absolute Commands, *without reserve* (as the late Proclamation for the

*Tolera-*

*Toleration* expounds it) by *peaceableness*, nothing but a stupid subjection to them, letting them do what they please without Resistance or Controul; and by *Orderliness*, nothing but a disorderly Compliance and Conformity with them, in going along with the Corruptions and Defections of the time; for their Acts and Actings expound them so. If we consider their Designs and Intentions, according to which they are all uniformly calculate and equally levelled; he is blind who hath not seen they have been driving all this time at these designs (to which all these Oaths and Bonds have been adapted and successfully subservient, and by which they have been promoted to the present pass) to overturn gradually all the degrees of our Covenanted Reformation, to establish *Tyranny*, and advance it unto greater degrees of *Absoluteness*, and to introduce *Popery* and Slavery: so that by *Allegiance* and *Loyalty*, can be meant nothing else but an obligation to own and obey, and never to oppose the design of advancing Tyranny; and by *Peaceableness* and *Orderliness*, nothing else can be intended, than an obligation never to oppose either the present Settlement, or future Establishment of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*, upon the Ruins of the *Reformation*, and our civil and Religious Rights and Liberties. Whence, they that can take these Oaths and Bonds in any other sense, and plead for the inoffensiveness of the terms, in a more abstract notion, and sense alledged more legal, without regard to that of the Imposers, practically explained by their administrations, and so looking more to the briberies of their blinded reason and worldly interest, than to the Dictates of Conscience, please themselves with such notions and quibbling evasions, do but mock God, deceive the world, allude the enemies, and delude themselves. And all these debatings for Accommodations and Expositions in another sense, are but foul fairdings of Conscience-beguiling compoundings in, and pitiful priggings for, a base Compliance. But it is usual for a guilty son of *Adam* to sew fig-leaves.

4 Let it be considered, that all these Oaths and Bonds that the Land hath been debauched with these 27 years, are all condemned by, and contradictory to anterior bind-

ing *Orders*, the Acts of the General Aſſemblies, requi ring *no Oaths in the common Cauſe to be taken, without th Church's conſent*, as was cleared in the hiſtorical Part, u pon the *fifth Period, page* 97. And that eſpecially they are condemned as being contradictory to, and violatory of *prior Oaths*, of continuing indiſpenſible Obligation being deſigned, preſſed, and impoſed, on purpoſe to de lete the ſame out of the minds and memories of the pre ſent Generation; I mean the *National* and *Solemn Leagu and Covenants*, and other former nationally binding pu blick Engagements. Which, becauſe they are not onl broken and burnt, but declared Criminal to be owned and becauſe the owning of their Obligation is ordinarily inſerted in the Indictments of our Martyrs, I muſt touch upon them more particularly. It was cleared above *Head* I. *Arg.* 11. from the *Form*, the *Object*, and from th *Ends* of the *Covenant*, which are all *Moral*, and of indiſ penſible Obligation, that it is of perpetual and unalter ably binding Force, obliging the preſent and all futur *Generations*, as well as that which did firſt come unde the Bond of it. And to confirm this, I ſhall add mor particularly theſe many *Conſiderations*. 1. The *Nationa Engagements* are *National Promiſes*, plighting and pledg ing the *Nation's publick Faith*, for the preſervation an propagation of *Religion* and *Liberty*, to ſucceeding Poſte rity; which if ſucceeding Generations may reverſe, the the Faith of Men, and the Faith of Nations, can be of n Force above a Century of years; nay nor after the de ceaſe of them that perſonally made the *Promiſe*: An ſo every new Ruler, every new Parliament, yea ever perſon coming up to ſucceed the father in any capacity might be free not to ſtand to it, which were very ab ſurd. Certainly that Promiſe of the *Jewiſh* Nobles an Rulers, not to exact *Uſury* of their Brethren, but to re ſtore, and not require it of them, did not only oblig themſelves, but would bring their poſterity under th curſe, if they ſhould exact the ſame debt there remit ted, *Neh.* v. 12, 31. And does not a national Promiſ of preſerving the *Reformation*, bind as much to the curſ of the breach of it? 2. They are *National Vows*, avow ing and avouching, and devoting themſelves and thei poſterity

poſterity to be the Lord's people, and to keep His Statutes, and promote His Intereſts; which do bind the Poſterity. *Jacob's* Vow at *Bethel*, That *the Lord ſhould be his God*, *Gen.* xxviii. 21. did oblige all his poſterity, virtually comprehended in him; *He found Him in Bethel, and there He ſpake with us*, ſaith the Prophet many hundred years after, *Hoſ.* xii. 4. The *Iſraelites* Vow to deſtroy the *Canaanites*, did oblige all their *Poſterity*, *Numb.* xxi. 2. Not only by virtue of the *Lord's Command*, but by virtue of their *Vow*; as we are obliged to preſerve the *Reformation*, not only by virtue of the *Lord's Command*, but by virtue of our *Covenants*. *Vows* are Bonds to the *Soul*, which muſt *ſtand*, *Numb.* xx. 2, 4. And whereas it is ſaid, That as a Woman's Father or Huſband might diſannul her Vow, and ſo the Magiſtrate might abrogate the *Covenant*: Beſides the impertinency of this Compariſon, as might be eaſy to demonſtrate, it may be refelled, by giving and not granting that he might do ſo; yet if the Father and Husband ſhall *hold their peace*, then all her *Vows* ſhall ſtand, and her *Bonds* wherewith ſhe bound her *Soul* ſhall *ſtand*, *ver.* iv. 7. but ſo it was, that the ſupreme Magiſtrate did give his conſent to the *National Covenant*, and the Succeſſor did ſwear the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and received the Crown on the Terms thereof, to preſerve and promote Religion and Liberty; and therefore his Vows muſt ſtand, they cannot be made void afterwards; for, *It is a ſnare to devour that which is holy, and after vows to make enquiry*, *Prov.* xx. 25. So we find the *Rechabites* were obliged to obſerve the vow of their forefather *Jonadab*, *Jer.* xxxv. 6, 14. And if the fathers vow obliges the children, ſhall not the nations vow oblige the poſterity? 3. They are *national Oaths* which do oblige poſterity: *Eſau's* Oath to *Jacob*, reſigning his birth-right, did oblige his poſterity never to recover it, *Gen.* xxv. 33. *Joſeph* took an Oath of the Children of *Iſrael*, to carry up his bones into *Canaan*, *Gen.* l. 25. which the poſterity, going forth of *Egypt* in after ages, found themſelves ſtraitly ſworn to obſerve, *Exod.* xiii. 19. and accordingly buried them in *Shechem*, *Joſh.* xxiv. 32. The *Spies* ſwore to preſerve *Rahab* alive and her houſe, *Joſh.* ii. 12. *&c.* which was with-

out the consent of the Magistrate, and yet *Joshua* found himself obliged to observe it, *Josh.* vi. 22. *Moses* swore unto *Caleb* to ensure him an inheritance, *Josh.* xiv. 9. and upon this ground he demands it as his right, *ver.* 12. which he could not do, if Successors might reverse their Predecessors lawful Oaths. The Lord will, in a special manner, resent and revenge the posterities breach of the Oath of their fathers Covenant, *Ezek.* xvi. 59 *Thus saith the Lord God, I will even deal with thee as thou hast done, which hast despised the Oath, in breaking the Covenant*, which was the Covenant of their fathers. 4. They are National *Covenants*, wherein King, Parliament, and People do Covenant with each other, for the performance of the respective Duties of their several stations, either as to the Work of Reformation, or as to the preservation of each others mutual Rights and Privileges: so that they are National Covenants made by men with men; and these we find do oblige the posterity. *Israel's* Covenant with the *Gibeonites* did oblige the posterity, *Josh.* ix. 15, 19. and for the breach of it many Ages after, the Posterity was plagued, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. *Zedekiah* was bound by his Predecessor's Covenant, though it was such as made the Kingdom base, yet in keeping it, it was only to *stand. Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered? Thus saith the Lord, as I live, surely mine Oath that he hath despised, and my Covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head*, Ezek. xvii. 12, 14, 15, 19. The Apostle says even of human Covenants, *Though it be but a Mans covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereunto*, Gal. iii. 15. that is, cannot do so lawfully, much less can one man disannul a Nation's Covenant. 5. They are National *Attestations* of God as a Witness, for the perpetuity, as well as fidelity of these sacred Engagements All such Covenants, wherein the Holy Name of God is invocated as Witness, are owned of God as his (hence the Covenant betwixt *David* and *Jonathan*, is called the *Covenant of the Lord*, 1 *Sam.* xx. 8.) and *Zedekiah's* fault was the breach of the *Lord's Covenant*, Ezek. xvii. forecited. So likewise that Covenant mentioned *Jer.* xxxiv. 8, 9, 10. wherein the Princes and

nd People did swear *to let their* Hebrew *servants go free*, s called *God's Covenant*, vers. 18. and upon this account orer judgments are threatned, *vers.* 19, 20. *And I will ive the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have ot performed the words of the covenant which they had nade before me——into the hands of their enemies.* Cerainly this did oblige the posterity, at least not to recal hese Servants, and it was always morally obliging. So ur National Covenant, sworn with hands lifted up to he most high God, being materially also binding, canot be abrogated by the posterity, except the Lord reounce his Interest in them; as long as the Witness liveth hen, who claims them as his, they cannot be made oid; especially considering, 6. They are National Coenants made *with God*, as the other *Party* contracting, n the matters of God, which none can dispense with, r grant Remissions in; and therefore they must peretually bind, until he loose them. And if even the poterity break them, the Lord will make them that hate hem to reign over them, and he will bring a *Sword upn them, to avenge the quarrel of his Covenant*, Levit. xxvi. 5, 17, 25. Such were all the National Covenants of he Lord's people, renewed by *Joshua*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Iezekiah*, *Josiah*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, for the breaches of vhich the Lord plagued the posterity. It was for breach f their fathers Covenant with God, that the ten Tribes vere carried away captive, 2 *Kings*, xvii. 15, *&c.* We ave already experienced the threatned judgments for Coenant-breaking, and may look for more. 7. They are for ieir *Matter* National Covenants, about things *Moral* objetively, obliging to *join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual venant that shall not be forgotten*, Jer. l. 5. I might easily emonstrate all the Articles of the Covenant to be moally obliging, but they are demonstrate sufficiently above, *Head* I. *Arg.* 11. therefore they are perpetually inding. 8. They are for their *Ends* National Coveants, inviolably obliging, Which cannot be made void, nough they should be broken, because the ends of them re always to be pursued, as is proved above, *Head* I. nerefore they are perpetual. 9. They are for their *Formality* National Covenants, most *solemnly* sworn, and sub-

ſubſcribed by all Ranks, with uplifted Hands, with bended Knees, with ſolemn invocating the Name of God, with ſolemn Preaching, Prayer and Praiſe, rendering themſelves and the poſterity obnoxious to the *Curſe*, if they ſhould break it. Now the Solemnities of the Oath do aggravate the heinouſneſs of the breach of it, as is clear from *Jer.* xxxiv. 19. *Ezek.* xvii. 18. quoted above: the reaſon is, becauſe of their greater deliberation in the action, and becauſe of the greater Scandal accompanying the Violation thereof. Hence as they are National Oaths and Covenants ſo ſolemnized, they are National *Adjurations*, under the pain of a National *Curſe*, not to break them Nationally, which do make the poſterity obnoxious to it; as *Joſhua* adjuring *Iſrael*, ſaying, *Curſed be the man that raiſeth up, and buildeth this city Jericho*, Joſh. vi. 26. which was fulfilled many Generations after, in the days of *Ahab*, upon *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, 1 Kings xvi. *laſt verſe*. So the Curſe of introducing abjured *Prelacy* and *Popery*, if it be let in, will be impendent on the Nation. All National Covenants have a Curſe annexed, in caſe of a breach, whenever it ſhall be: ſo in *Nehemiah*'s Covenant, *They clave to their brethren, and entred into a curſe, and into an oath, to walk in God's Law, which was given by Moſes the ſervant of God, and to obſerve and to do all the commandments of the Lord our Lord, and his judgments and ſtatutes*; particularly not to enter into affinity with their malignant Enemies, *Neh.* x. 29, 30. which certainly did oblige the poſterity, becauſe the thing was moral; ſo in our Covenants we are bound to the ſame things, and nothing but theſe: and therefore the poſterity is liable to the curſe of perjury, for the breach thereof. 10. They are for their *Legality* National *Laws*, being ſolemnly ratified by the Parliament and by the King, and made the foundation of their Compact with him at his Inauguration, whereby they became the *fundamental Laws* of the Government, and among the very *Laws and Rules of governing*, which, though they be reſcinded by a wicked Law, yet make the Reſcinders chargeable not only of *Perjury*, in breaking a Covenant, but of *Treaſon* and *Tyranny*, in breaking and altering the Conſtitution of the Government, and render them liable

liable to the curſe thereof: for they cannot reſcind that, nor eſcape its vengeance: whereof we have a ſpeaking pledge already, in that the Reſcinder of theſe Covenants was ſo terribly reſcinded, and cut off by the hands of unnatural violence; God thereby fulfilling that threatned Judgment of Covenant-breakers, that *he* that *hath broken his Covenant* ſhall be brought to deſtruction, and *bloody and deceitful men ſhall not live out half their days*, Pſal. lv. 20, *laſt verſ.* So *Charles* II. got not leave to live out half the days that he projected to himſelf. 11. They are National Engagements of an *Hereditary* Nature, like that of *Iſrael*, Deut. xxix. 14, 15. which did oblige not only the preſent, but the *abſent*, *not only them that ſtood there that day before the Lord their God, but them that were not there that day. Grotius de jur. bel. lib 2. cap. 6.* gives theſe Marks of hereditary Covenants, (1.) When the *Subject is of a permanent Nature*, and as long as *the ſame Body remains*; therefore as long as *Scotland* is *Scotland*, whoſe People in their perſonal Capacity, whoſe Parliaments in their Parliamentary Capacity, whoſe King in his Princely Capacity, did all ſolemnly and ſacredly engage in the Covenant, it muſt be real and perpetually obliging. (2.) When there is ſuch a *Clauſe in the Covenant, as that it ſtould be perpetual*, there are many Clauſes in the Solemn League to this purpoſe. In *Art.* 1. are theſe Words, *That we, and our Poſterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt if us.* In the 5th *Art. We ſhall each one of us, according to our Place and Intereſt, endeavour, that the Kingdoms may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity.* (3.) When it is ſuch as is made *for the Good of the Kingdom*, the Covenant expreſſes its End, for the perpetual Good of the Kingdom, *having before our Eyes the Glory if God, the Advancement of the Kingdom of-----Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſs of the King and his Poſterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms; wherein every ones private Condition is included.* And again it is added, *for Preſervation of ourſelves and our Religion from utter Ruin and Deſtruction.* All this is a publick National Good. (4.) The *Matter* is *moral*, about materially binding Duties, and therefore it muſt be hereditary, and of perpetual

tual Obligation. (12.) *Lastly*, They are National Obligations, taking on publick Duties, by way of virtual *Representation of the Posterity*. And they that think it irrational, that the father should represent and involve the family, must resolve us how the Religious and Civil Covenants of *Israel* and *Judah*, made in *Moses*, *Joshua's* *David's*, *Asa's*, *Joash's*, *Hezekiah's*, *Josiah's* and *Nehemiah's* days, did comprehend and bind as well the absent as the present, and their posterity, yet unborn; as also, how the Laws and Contracts continually passed by some do take in others, not personally consenting; yea, how comes it to pass, that every succeeding generation is bound to the Laws, and must be obedient to the Kings, that they did not make themselves; no reason can be given, but because they are virtually represented by, and included in their Fathers. Now, if these Arguments prove our National Covenants to be perpetually binding, and cannot be dispensed with, then must these posterior Oaths that are made in a diametrical Opposition to the Covenant, and are condemned by the Covenants, be false and unlawful Oaths; but the first is proved: therefore these Oaths, so opposite to, and condemned by the Covenants, are false and unlawful. That they are opposite to the Covenant, will appear in the Induction of all of them. And that, whatever they be imposed by this party, they are condemned by the Covenants, wherein we are obliged to make no such Transactions with them, will appear if we consider these and the like Expressions, 'That we *shall neither directly, nor indirectly, suffer* ourselves to be divided, by whatsoever Suggestion, 'Allurement, or Terror, from this blessed Conjunction, 'nor shall cast in any let or impediment that may stop 'or hinder any such resolution, as shall be found to conduce for so good ends.' Which are the Words of the *National* Covenant, clearly condemning Oaths and bonds given to Malignants, which are divisive of them that adhere to, and unitive with them that oppose the Covenant, and impeditive of resolutions to prosecute the ends thereof. So, in the *Solemn League and Covenant*, *Art.* 4. 'We are obliged to oppose all such as make any faction 'or parties amongst the people, contrary to this League

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'and Covenant; but, by theſe Oaths and Bonds, ſuch 'factions are made, *&c.*' And, by *Art.* 6. 'We are o-'bliged to aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this 'Covenant (contradicted by all the latter Oaths and 'Bonds) and not to ſuffer ourſelves directly, or indirect-'ly, by whatſoever Combination, ——— to be divided '——— from this bleſſed Union,———whether to make 'defection to the contrary part, or to give ourſelves to a 'deteſtable indifference, *&c.*' Which we do, when we divide ourſelves from theſe that refuſe theſe Oaths, and make defection unto the party that impoſe them. And, in the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties*, 'We are ſworn, *Sect.* 6. to be ſo far from con-'niving at, complying with, or countenancing of Ma-'lignancy, Injuſtice, *&c.* that we ſhall not only avoid 'and diſcountenance theſe things, *&c.* but take an ef-'fectual courſe to puniſh and ſuppreſs theſe evils.' All which we counteract and contradict, when we take any of theſe Oaths or Bonds.

In the *ſecond* Place, by a particular Induction of the ſeveral kinds of theſe *Oaths* and *Bonds*, the Iniquity of each of them will appear; and the complex Iniquity of the ſmootheſt of them, the *Oath of Abjuration* compared with every one of them, will be manifeſt. And conſequently the honeſty and innocency of Sufferers for refuſing them, will be diſcovered.

1. The *firſt* in order, which was a Copy to all the reſt, was the *Declaration*, ordained to be ſubſcribed by all in publick Charge, Office, or Truſt, within the Kingdom: 'Wherein they do affirm and declare, they judge 'it unlawful to Subjects, upon Pretence of Reformation, 'or any other Pretence whatſoever, to enter into Leagues 'and Covenants, or take up arms againſt the King, '———and that all theſe gatherings, ——— Petitions, 'Proteſtations——— that were uſed —— for carrying on 'of the late troubles, were unlawful and ſeditious; and 'particularly that theſe Oaths, ——— the *National Co-'venant*, ——— and the *Solemn League and Covenant*, 'were and are in themſelves unlawful Oaths.' Here is a Confederacy required againſt the Lord, at which the Heavens might ſtand aſtoniſhed; an unparallelled breach

of

of the *Third Command.* Which could no more be taken in *Truth* and *Righteouſneſs*, than an Oath renouncing the Bible; but it hath this Advantage of the reſt; that it is ſomewhat plain, and the Iniquity legible on its front, 1. That it is a renouncing of ſolemn and ſacred Covenants, perpetually binding to moral and indiſpenſible duties, the Wickedneſs whereof is evident from what is ſaid above. 2. It makes perjury of the deepeſt dye, the *abſolutely* neceſſary qualification of all in publick Office: who cannot be preſumed capable of adminiſtrating Juſtice, when they have avowed themſelves perjured and perfidious, and not to be admitted among Heathens, let be Chriſtians, nor truſted in a matter of *ten Shillings* money, according to the Laws of *Scotland.* 3. It renounces the whole Work of Reformation, and the way of carrying it on, as a *Pretence* and *Trouble* unlawful and ſeditious: which if it be a Trouble, then the Peace they have taken in renouncing it, muſt be ſuch a Peace as is the plague of God upon the Heart, filling it with Senſleſsneſs and Stupidity in his juſt Judgment, becauſe of the palpable Breach of Covenant; or ſuch a Peace, as is very conſiſtent with the Curſe and Vengeance of God, purſuing the quarrel of a broken Covenant. 4. It condemns the taking up arms againſt the King, which ſhall be proven to be duty. *Head* 5. Beſides, that hereby the moſt innocent Means of ſeeking the Redreſs of Grievances, that Religion, Riſings, Law, and Practice of all Nations allows, is condemned. Yet, in effect, for as monſtruous as this Oath is, the complex of its Iniquity is couched in the *Oath of Abjuration*; in which many of theſe methods of Combinations, Riſings and Declarations of War againſt the King, and Proteſtations againſt his Tyranny, which were uſed in the late Troubles for carrying on the Reformation, are abjured; in that a Declaration is renounced, in ſo far as it declares War againſt the King, and aſſerts it lawful to kill them that ſerve him: which yet, in many Caſes in the Covenanted Reformation here renounced, were acknowledged and practiſed as lawful, beſides that it hath many other Breaches of Covenant in it, as will be ſhewed.

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II. The next *Net* they contrived to catch Conſciences, was the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy*: 'Wherein 'they that took it, for teſtification of their faithful Obe- 'dience to their moſt gracious and redoubted Sovereign, 'Charles, King of *Great Britain*, ——— do affirm, teſtify, 'and declare, ———That they acknowledge their ſaid 'Sovereign, only ſupreme Governor of this Kingdom, 'over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes; and that no fo- 'reign Prince ——— hath any Juriſdiction, Power, 'or Superiority over the ſame; and therefore do utterly 'renounce all foreign Power, ——— and ſhall, at their 'utmoſt Power, defend, aſſiſt, and maintain his Majs. 'Juriſdiction foreſaid, ——— and never decline his 'power ———.' The Iniquity of this Oath is very vaſt and various, 1. It is a Covenant of *Allegiance* with a King, turned Tyrant and Enemy to Religion, Subverter of the Reformation, and overturner of our Laws and Liberties; and therefore demonſtrate to be ſinful both from the firſt general Argument againſt Oaths, and from *Head* 2d. 2. It cannot be taken in *Truth*, *Righteouſneſs*, or *Judgment*: becauſe the Words are general and very comprehenſive, and ambiguous, capable of diverſe ſenſes: when he is affirmed to be *ſupreme over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes*, and to be aſſiſted, and maintained, in that Juriſdiction. Who can be ſure in ſwearing ſuch an oath, but that he may thereby wrong others, wrong Parliaments in their Privileges, wrong the Church in her Liberties, and which is worſe, wrong the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is Supreme alone in ſome Cauſes? Can an Oath be taken in Truth and Righteouſneſs, to aſſiſt him in all encroachments, upon Cauſes, that are not ſubordinate to him? And in invading all thoſe Privileges of Subjects, which are natural, civil, moral, and religious? For if he be ſupreme in all Cauſes, then all theſe depend upon him, and be ſubordinate to him. And can it be taken in *Judgment*, and with a clear mind, when it may be debated and doubted (as it is by ſome) whether the Obligation of it is to be conſidered, as circumſtantiate and ſpecificate to the preſent object of it, ſuppoſing him a Tyrant? Or in a more abſtract notion, as it might be tendered in the ſenſe of its firſt Authors, as it was taken

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in King *James* the VI's Days, and as they plead for taking the *Engliſh* Oath of Allegiance, as it was accepted by the *Puritans* in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s days? Whether it obliges to a King in *Idea*, and in a more general conſideration, as one who is ſaid *never to die?* Or with reference to ſuch an one as we have, a mortal man, and an immortal enemy to all thoſe precious Intereſts, for preſervation of which he only received his Kingſhip? Whether it muſt be taken in that of the Impoſers, practically explained by their adminiſtrations? Or in any other ſenſe, alledged more legal? Theſe would be clear, before it can be taken with the due qualifications of an Oath. 3. As for the civil part of it, or eccleſiaſtical, no other explanation needeth to be enquired after, than what they give forth in their Acts on Record: the *Act of Supremacy* (to be ſeen in the hiſtorical repreſentation of the *ſixth* and *laſt Period*, *pag.* 111. ſenſes the Eccleſiaſtical part of it: and the *Act for acknowledgment of his Majeſty's prerogative* does ſufficiently ſenſe, explain and expound the civil part; declaring, 'That it is inherent in the Crown, and an undoubted part of the Royal prerogative, —— to have the ſole choice and appointment of all Officers of State, ——the power of calling, holding, and diſſolving Parliaments, and all Conventions and Meetings of Eſtates, —— the power of armies, making of peace and war, treaties and leagues with foreign Princes or States, or at home by the ſubjects among themſelves: — and that it is high treaſon in the Subjects,—— upon whatſoever ground to riſe —— in arms,——or make any treaties or leagues---------among themſelves: without his Majeſty's Authority firſt interponed thereto; that it is unlawful to the Subjects, of whatſoever quality or function, to convocate---------themſelves, for holding of Councils to treat, conſult, or determine in any matters Civil or Eccleſiaſtick, (except in the ordinary judgments), or make leagues or bonds upon whatſoever colour or pretence, without his Majeſty's ſpecial conſent,---------that the League and Covenant, and all treaties following thereupon, and acts or deeds that do or may relate thereunto, are not obligatory,---------and that none---- -----ſhould preſume, upon any pretext of

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'any authority whatſoever, to require the renewing or 'ſwearing of the ſaid League and Covenant, *&c.*' Whereby it appears, that all this ſcrewing up the Prerogative to ſuch a pitch, is by the Oath of *Allegiance* to defend all this juriſdiction juſtified; and ſo, theſe palpable encroachments on the privileges of the *Scots* Parliaments, that, by the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Government, always had a ſhare in making laws, and peace and war; theſe robberies of our natural privileges of defending ourſelves by arms, in caſe of the King's tyranny and oppreſſion, and of convocating for conſultations about the beſt means thereof; and theſe invaſions upon our Eccleſiaſtical privileges, in keeping General Aſſemblies for the affairs of religion *for an affair newly happening*, always ſtrenuouſly contended for as a part of the Teſtimony; yea, all theſe reſcindings, repealings, and condemnings of the way and manner, methods and meaſures, of promoting the covenanted Reformation, are by this Oath explained, and by this Act acknowledged to be parts of that ſupremacy and juriſdiction to be defended and maintained: as likewiſe, by many wicked Acts ſince promulgated, which promote the Supremacy to a vaſt degree of abſoluteneſs, which all do interpret what that Supremacy is which is ſworn to be maintained, to wit, pure tyranny eſtabliſhed by law. See the many grievous conſequences of this laid out at large, in *Apol. Relat. Sect.* 10. 4. Here is *abſolute* allegiance ſworn to an *abſolute power*, Paramount to all Law, engaging to *faithful obedience* to their *Sovereign, as Supreme over all perſons, and in all cauſes,----and to defend, aſſiſt, and maintain his ſaid juriſdiction, and never to decline his power*; there is no reſtriction here on obedience, nor limitation on the power, nor definition of the cauſes, nor circumſcription of the caſes, in which that aſſiſtance, *&c.* is to be given, whether they be lawful or not. Now, abſolute allegiance to an abſolute power cannot be ſworn by any man of conſcience, nor owned by any man of reaſon, as is proven, *Head* 2. *Arg.* 6. It cannot be lawful in any ſenſe, to ſwear ſuch an Oath to any Mortal, nay, not to a *David* nor *Hezekiah*: becauſe to ſwear unreſtricted and unlimited allegiance to any man, were a manifeſt mancipating of man-

mankind, not only to an Aſs-like ſubjection, but to a ſervile obligation to maintain and uphold the perſons and government of mutable men, be what they will, turn to what they will; it is known the beſt of men may degenerate: and, by this no remedy is left to redreſs ourſelves, but our heads, hearts, and hands all tied up under an engagement to defend, aſſiſt, and maintain whoſoever doth hold the government, manage it as he pleaſes. This reaſon will alſo conclude againſt the *Engliſh* Oath of *Allegiance*, though it be a great deal more ſmoothly worded, and ſeems only to require a rejection of the *Pope*, and legal ſubjection to the King; yet, that comprehenſive clauſe makes it border upon abſoluteneſs, *I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majeſty's heirs and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever.* There are no conditions here at all, limiting the allegiance, or qualifying the Object; but an arbitrary impoſition of true allegiance and defence, in all caſes, againſt all attempts, (even that of repreſſing their tyranny not excepted), not only of their perſons, but of their *Dignities*, if this be not an illimited allegiance to an abſolute power, I know not what is. 5. Here is an acknowledgement of the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy reſident in the King: which is the moſt blaſphemous Uſurpation on the Prerogatives of Chriſt, and privileges of his Church, that ever the greateſt Monſter among men durſt arrogate: yea, the *Roman* beaſt never claimed more; and, in effect, it is nothing elſe but one of his *Names of Blaſphemy* twiſted out of the *Pope*'s hands by King *Henry* the VIII. and handed down to Queen *Eliſabeth*, and wafted over to *James* the VI, for that was the original and conveyance of it. The iniquity whereof is diſcovered above, *Head* 1. *Arg.* 3. But further, may be aggravated in theſe particulars, (1.) It is only a change of the *Pope*, but not of the *Popedom*; and nothing elſe but a ſhaking off the Eccleſiaſtical *Pope*, and ſubmitting to a Civil *Pope*, by whom Chriſt's Headſhip is as much wronged as by the other: and hereby a door is opened for bringing in *Popery* (as indeed by this Stratagem it is brought now to our very doors) for by the Act of Supremacy

macy he hath power to ſettle all things concerning Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline or Government, by his Clerks the *Biſhops*, having all the Architectonick power of diſpoſing, ordering, and ordaining theſe, as he in his Royal Wiſdom thinks fit. (2.) By this Church and State are confounded (whereof the Diſtinction is demonſtrate above) making the Magiſtrate a proper and competent Judge in Church-matters, not to be declined; whereby alſo he hath power to erect new Courts, Mongrel-judicatories, half Civil, half Eccleſiaſtick, which have no Warrant in the Word. (3.) By this, many palpable and intolerable encroachments made upon the Liberties and Priviledges of the Church of Chriſt are yielded unto; as that there muſt be no Church-judicatories or Aſſemblies, without the Magiſtrate's conſent, but that the power of convocating and indicting Aſſemblies do belong only to him, and the power of delegating and conſtituting the members thereof, that he may diſſolve them when he pleaſes; that his preſence, or his Commiſſioners, is neceſſary unto each national Aſſembly; that Miniſters have no proper deciſive ſuffrage in Synods, but only of advice; that the Church-judicatories be prelimited, and nothing muſt be treated there, which may be interpreted grating upon the Prerogative, nor any thing whatſoever, but what he ſhall allow and approve, without which it can have no force nor validity; yea, by this a door ſhould be opened unto the utter deſtruction and overthrow of all Church-judicatories, ſeeing he is made the fountain of all Church-power. (4) By this, the Magiſtrate is made a Church-member as he is a Magiſtrate, and ſo all Magiſtrates as ſuch are Church-members, even Heathens. And yet, (5) by this he is exempted from ſubjection to the Miniſtry, becauſe they are made accountable to him in their adminiſtrations, and in the diſcharge of their function are under him as ſupreme. Yea, (6) By this the Magiſtrate is made a Church Officer, having the diſpoſal of the Churches Government. And not only ſo, but, (7) By this he is made a Church Officer of the higheſt degree, being ſupreme in all Cauſes, to whom Miniſters in the diſcharge of their Miniſtry are ſubordinate. And ſo, (8) By this the Church of the New Teſtament

ſtament is made imperfect, ſo long as ſhe wanted a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, wanting hereby a chief Officer; yea, and the Apoſtles did amiſs in robbing the Magiſtrate of his power. (9) By this the Magiſtrate might exerce all acts of juriſdiction, immediately by himſelf; ſeeing he can do it as ſupreme by his Commiſſioners in Eccleſiaſtick Affairs. (10) *Finally*, By this Oath the King is made the head of the Church, being ſupreme over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes, unto whom all appeals and references muſt ultimately be reduced, even from Church Judicatories. Thoſe things are only here touched, they are more apodictically confirmed above, and may be ſeen made out at large in *Apol. Relat. Sect.* 12. But I proceed. 6. It is contrary unto the Solemn League and Covenant; into whoſe place, after it was broken, burnt, buried, and reſcinded, ſince they have remitted the Subjects Allegiance by annulling the Bond of it, they ſubſtitute and ſurrogate this in its place: and therefore none can comply with the ſurrogation of the ſecond, except he conſent to the Abrogation of the firſt Oath. All the Allegiance we can own according to the Covenant, ſtands perpetually and expreſly thus qualified, *viz.* in *defence of Religion and Liberty*, according to our firſt and ſecond Covenants, and in its own nature muſt be indiſpenſibly thus reſtricted: therefore to renew the ſame, or take an Oath of Allegiance ſimply, purpoſely omitting the former reſtriction, when the Powers are in manifeſt Rebellion againſt the Lord, is, in effect, a diſowning of that limitation, and of the Sovereign prerogative of the great God, which is thereby reſerved; and as much as to ſay, 'Whatever Authority command us to do, we ſhall not 'only ſtupidly endure it, but actively concur with, and 'aſſiſt in all this Tyranny.' See *Naph. firſt edition. Pag.* 177. 178. Vindicated at length by *Jus Populi. Chap.* 11. By all this the Iniquity of the *Scots* Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* may appear, and alſo that of the *Engliſh* Oath of Allegiance, even abſtract from the Supremacy, is in ſome meaſure diſcovered; though it is not my purpoſe particularly to ſpeak to that: yet this I will ſay, That they that plead for its Preciſion from the Supremacy annexed, ſeem not to conſider the full import of its terms; for

for under the *Dignities, Superiorities, and Authorities,* there engaged to be upheld, the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy muſt be included; for that is declared to be one of the Dignities of the Crown there, as well as here; and hither it was brought from thence. And therefore thoſe *Scots* Men that took that Oath there, and pled, that though the Oath of Allegiance in *Scotland* be a ſin, yet it is duty to take the Oath in *England*, ſeem to me to be in a great Deceit; for the Object is the ſame, the Subject is the ſame, the Duty expected, required, and engaged into, is the ſame, and every thing equal in both. Yet all this Iniquity, here couched, is ſome way comprehended in, and implied by the *Oath of Abjuration:* for the civil part is imported, in abjuring a Declaration, for its *declaring War againſt the King*; where it is clear, he is owned as King, and all part with them that declare War againſt him being renounced, it is evident the Abjurers muſt take part with him in that War, and ſo aſſiſt and defend him; for being ſubjects, they muſt not be neutral, therefore if they be not againſt him, they muſt be for him, and ſo under the bond of Allegiance to him the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy is inferred from that Expreſſion of it, where ſome are ſaid to *ſerve him in Church*, as well as in State, which implies an eccleſiaſtical Subordination to him as ſupreme over the Church.

III. The Tenor of ſome other *Bonds* was more ſmooth and ſubtile, as that of the *Bond of Peace*; ſeveral times renewed and impoſed, and under ſeveral forms; but always after one ſtrain; engaging to *live peaceably*, whereby many were caught and cheated with the ſeeming Fairneſs of theſe general Terms; but others diſcerning their Fallaciouſneſs, refuſed and ſuffered for it. This in the general is capable of a good ſenſe: for no Chriſtian will refuſe to *live peaceably*, but will endeavour, if it be poſſible, as much as lieth in them, to *live peaceably with all Men*, Rom. xii. 18. that is, ſo far to *follow Peace with all Men*, as may conſiſt with the purſuit of *Holineſs*, Heb. xii. 14. But if we more narrowly conſider ſuch Bonds, we ſhall find them Bonds of Iniquity. For, 1. They are Covenants of Peace, or Confederacies with God's enemies, whom we ſhould count our enemies;

and *hate* them becauſe they hate him, *Pſal.* cxxxix. 21. It is more ſuitable to anſwer, as *Jehu* did to *Joram*, 2 *King.* ix. 22.——*What Peace, ſo long as the whoredoms of thy Mother Jezebel, and her Witchcrafts are ſo many?* Than to engage to be at Peace with thoſe, who are carrying on *Babylon's* Intereſt, the Mother of Harlots and Witchcrafts. 2. This cannot be taken in *Truth*, *Judgment*, and *Righteouſneſs*, becauſe of the Fallacy and Ambiguity of the Terms: for there are diverſe Sorts of Peace and Peaceableneſs; ſome kind is duty, ſome never. It muſt then be rightly qualified, for we can profeſs and purſue no Peace of Confederacy with the enemies of God, not conſiſtent with the Fear of the Lord, otherwiſe we cannot expect to have the Lord for a *Sanctuary*, *but for a ſtone of ſtumbling*, Iſa. viii. 8, 12,——14.——No Peace obſtructing the Goſpel or Teſtimony, or abſtracting from the Duty of the Day; no Peace tending to ſinful Security, *Jer.* viii. 11. No Peace leading to ſlaviſh ſtupidity; no Peace prompting to prepoſterous Prudence, in palliating ſin, or daubing defections with untempered morter; no Peace inconſiſtent with Truth; they muſt go together, *Zech.* i. 19. No Peace that may not be followed with *Holineſs*, Heb. xii. 14. But it muſt be ſo qualified, that it be in the Lord, in Truth, in Duty, contributing for the good of the Church, *Pſal.* cxxii. 8, 9. and the Fruit of that Wiſdom, which is firſt *pure*, *and then peaceable*, Jam. iii. 17. Now, all that know the Impoſers of theſe Bonds, will acknowledge that is not the Peace they are ſeeking. 3. If we further enquire into their meaning of *living peaceably*, and ſeek a determinate ſenſe of it from their acts and actings, it is plain they mean ſuch a peaceable living, as gives obedience to their wicked Laws, and is a Compliance to their eſtabliſhed Courſes: and it muſt be ſuch a peaceable living, as is oppoſite to their ſenſe of *Sedition*, *Rebellion*, *Schiſm*, &c. Which they interpret every ſeaſonable duty to be: and it muſt be ſuch a peaceable living, as they were preſumed not to have been obſervant of before; and whatever it be, muſt be oppoſite to that with which they were charged as turbulent, and ſo contrary to all the duties of our covenanted Profeſſion, as going to Meetings, with-

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drawing from the *Curates*, &c. Which they interpret not to be peaceable living. 4. This is contrary to our Covenants, which oblige us to a constant contending with, and opposition to them. Yet all this is engaged into in the *Oath of Abjuration*, which abjures all War against the King, and all doing Injury to them that serve him, and consequently to Peace, and living peaceably with them.

IV. Of affinity to this were many other Bonds of *Regularity*, frequently renewed, and generally imposed, and that with unparallelled illegality and rigour; sometimes by hosts of Savage *Highlanders*; sometimes by *Circuit-Courts*, and by Heritors upon their Tenants, and with such unheard of Involvements, that the Master or Heritor was obliged for himself, his Wife, Children, Servants, Tenants, and all under him, to live *orderly*: Which in some was more bluntly expressed, in others more flatly explained, that they should keep the publick Ordinances, that is, hear the *Curates*, and not go to any Seditious Conventicles, (so they called the persecuted Meetings of the Lord's people for the Worship of God) and in others yet more impudently exacted, that they should not harbour, entertain, or correspond with any that went to these Meetings, but discover and assist to the apprehending of them. There were several Forms of them from time to time, some longer, some shorter; but all of them, first and last, were to the same Sense and Scope. And the most favourably worded had much Wickedness in them: for, 1. They are Covenants of *Order*, and coming under the same Rule with themselves, which is nothing but their lusts and mischiefs framed into Law, not according to the Rule of the word of God, but the iniquous Laws of Men. 2. They could not be taken in Truth, Judgment, and Righteousness: for either they were ambiguous, or their plain sense obliged to manifest iniquities, to conform with all their enacted Corruptions. 3. They are clear breaches of Covenant, which obliges to another kind of Orderliness, and to follow other Rules, and take none from them in the matters of God. 4. They are impossible, and absurd; obliging Masters to bind for all under them, that could nei-

ther ly in their power, nor in their duty, to reſtrain their Liberty in theſe lawful things, and to conſtrain and compel their Conſciences to ſin. 5. They are unnatural and cruel, obliging the Takers to partake with them in their Perſecution of the godly. 6. They were Engagements to hear *Curates*, which is proved to be ſin, *Head* 1. throughout. 7. They were Engagements to withdraw from the Meetings of the Lord's people, proved to be duty, *Head* 4. Yet the Oath of Abjuration is ſome way equivalent to this, in that it obliges the Abjurers to renounce Diſorderlineſs in their ſenſe, and to do no harm to the time-ſerving orderly Clergy or Laity, ſerving and proſecuting their wicked orders.

V. Some other *Bonds* of that nature, and *Oaths* frequently put to ſuffering people when taken priſoners, did require *peaceableneſs* and *orderlineſs*, in this ſtile, that they ſhould either tacitly or expreſly condemn ſome Riſings in Arms, as at *Pentland, Bothwel, &c. to be Rebellion againſt the King, and a ſin againſt God, and engage never to riſe in Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſionate by him, upon any pretence whatſoever.* The iniquity whereof is manifeſt; For, 1. This is a Covenant equivalent to a League offenſive and defenſive with them, obliging never to offend or oppoſe them, nor to defend nor reſcue our brethren againſt and from their murdering Violence. 2. This could not be taken in Truth, Judgment, and Righteouſneſs: for, who can tell how far that may extend, *upon any pretence whatſoever?* This may oblige us to make a ſtupid ſurrender of our lives, when the King turns ſo tyrannical, as to ſend his Cut-throats to demand them, or authoriſes his bloody *Papiſts* to maſſacre us, them we muſt not reſiſt upon this pretence. 3. It is contrary to our *Covenants*, that allow Reſiſtance in ſome caſes, and oblige to aſſiſt and defend all that enter under the bond thereof. 4. This infers an owning of the preſent Authority, as the irreſiſtible Ordinance of God, and an obligation of living peaceably in ſubjection under it; diſproved above. To which I ſhall add a part of that forecited *Letter* of Mr. *Rutherford's*, the 63d in number of the *third Part* of his printed *Letters*, which are a clear Vindication of the Principles and Practice of our conſcientious

entious Sufferers on this Point: [ 'There is a promiſe and 'real purpoſe (ſaith he) to live peaceably under the 'King's Authority; but, (1) You do not ſo anſwer can-'didly and ingenuouſly the mind of the Rulers, who, 'to your knowledge, mean a far other thing by Autho-'rity than you do: for you mean his juſt Authority, his 'Authority in the Lord——— in the maintenance of 'true Religion, as in the *Covenant*, and *Confeſſion of* 'Faith——— is expreſſed from the Word of God; they 'mean his ſupreme Authority, and abſolute Prerogative 'above Laws, as their Acts clear, and as their Practice 'is; for they refuſed to ſuch as were unwilling to ſub-'ſcribe their Bond, to add, *Authority in the Lord*, or juſt 'and lawful Authority, or Authority as it is expreſſed in 'the Covenant; but this draught of a petition yields the 'ſenſe and meaning to them, which they crave. (2) 'That Authority for which they contend, is excluſive of 'the ſworn Covenant; ſo that except ye had ſaid, Ye 'ſhall be ſubject to the King's Authority in the Lord, or 'according to the ſworn Covenant, you ſay nothing to 'the point in hand, and that ſure is not your meaning. '(3) Whoever promiſes ſo much of peaceable living un-'der his Majeſty's Authority, leaving out the expoſition 'of the *fifth Command*,——— may, upon the very ſame 'ground, ſubſcribe the bond refuſed by the Godly, and 'ſo you paſs from the Covenant, and make all theſe by-'paſt Actings of this Kirk and State theſe years bypaſt 'to be horrid Rebellion, and how deep this guilt draws, 'conſider.' 5. This would infer, though the King ſhould ſend and kill us, we muſt not reſiſt, nor defend our own lives: yet, being an Oath againſt the Sixth Command, which enjoineth natural Self-preſervation, it ſhould be intrinſically ſinful; and 'tis all one to ſwear to Non-preſervation of ſelf, as to ſwear to Self-murder. 6. I hope to make it appear in the *fifth Head*, that this is againſt the practice of Nations, the Law of Nature, and the Word of God. Yet all this complex Iniquity is clearly comprehended in the *Oath of Abjuration, in terms* abjuring all war againſt the King.

VI. There were ſome other *Oaths*, frequently obtruded upon people, for refuſing which they have ſuffered great

great Cruelties, that can hardly be deſcribed by any name; nor can their impoſition have a parallel in any age or place, for illegality, inhumanity, arbitrarineſs, and odiouſneſs. Theſe were the Oaths of *Inquiſition*, or *Things beyond all enquiry:* Whereby people were preſſed to anſwer the Inquiſitors, according to all their knowledge of things they were interrogate upon, and delate and diſcover intercommuned perſons in their Wanderings, or ſuch whoſe names were in their *Porteous Rolls*, *&c.* And power was given to ſingle ſoldiers, to preſs theſe Oaths upon whom they pleaſed. The iniquity of which is monſtrous: For, 1. This was the worſt kind of Combination with theſe Blood-hounds, to abet and aſſiſt them in their purſuing after the Lord's people: which is worſe than to be bare conſenters to ſuch wickedneſs, or to be onlookers to their affliction in the day of their calamity; but like that ſin charged upon *Edom*, that they delivered up thoſe of His that did remain in the day of diſtreſs, *Obad. ver.* 13, 14. for theſe that took Oaths, obliged themſelves to do all they could to deliver up the Remnant that eſcaped; and if they did not, no thanks to them; if they could not, their ſin was in their Willingneſs: if they would not, and yet ſwore would contribute their help towards it, by telling of all they knew, that was horrid perjury and falſe ſwearing. 2. This could be noways capable of the qualifications of an Oath; not only becauſe the matter is wicked and unnatural, to diſcover, may be, the husband, or children, or neareſt relations, to pleaſe men, or ſave their own life, which was a great tentation; and therefore in it there could be no deliberation in ſwearing: but alſo for the doubtful perplexity confounding the mind, that they either could not, nor durſt not tell of all they knew, and yet ſwore to do it. 3. It is againſt the Covenant, which obliges to diſcover Malignant Enemies, and aſſiſt our Covenanting Brethren, and not to diſcover them, and aſſiſt Malignant Enemies; which is a perfect inverting the *fourth* and *ſixth Articles* of the *Covenant*. 4. It is contrary to clear precepts in Scripture, to aſſiſt and defend our Brethren, to make our ſhadow as the night in the midſt of the noon-day, and hide the Outcaſt, and *bewray* not him

that

that *wandereth*, *Iſa.* xvi. 3, 5. The illegality of this impoſition makes it very abſurd, that every pitiful Officer or Soldier ſhould be impowered to impoſe and exact Oaths, and impannel and examine Witneſſes, about alledged Criminals. Yet the monſtrouſneſs of this Oath ſerves to aggravate the *Oath of Abiuration*; in that the Abjurers do renounce their part of, and diſown the Declarers of that abjured Declaration, and ſo do as much as from them is required, to give them up for a prey to their hunters; yea they declare them Murderers, in that they abjure their Declaration as aſſerting Murder; and conſequently they muſt be obliged to diſcover them to their acknowledged Judges.

VII. The abominable *Teſt* comes next: which needs no other Refutation than to rehearſe it; the Subſtance whereof was a ſolemn Swearing, 'That they owned and 'ſincerely profeſſed the true *Proteſtant* Religion, contain-'ed in the *Confeſſion of Faith*, recorded in the firſt Parlia-'ment of King *James* VI.—— and that they would ad-'here thereunto all the days of their life,———— and 'never conſent to any change or alteration contrary there-'to, —— but renounce all Doctrines, Principles, Practices, 'whether *Popiſh* or *Fanatical*, contrary thereto----- And 'they ſwear, That the King is the only ſupreme Gover-'nor of this Realm, over all perſons, in all cauſes, as well 'Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, --- and promiſe to bear Faith and 'true Allegiance to the King's Majeſty, his heirs and 'lawful ſucceſſors, and to their power ſhall aſſiſt and de-'fend all rights, juriſdictions, prerogatives, --- belonging 'to them ---- And affirm ---- it ---- unlawful for ſubjects, 'upon pretence of Reformation, or any other pretence 'whatſoever, to enter into Covenants --- or to convocate, 'conveen, or aſſemble --- to treat, conſult, or determine 'in any matter of State, Civil or Eccleſiaſtick, without 'his Majeſty's ſpecial command ---- or to take up Arms 'againſt the King, or theſe commiſſionate by him ----- 'And that there lies no Obligation on them, from the '*National Covenant*, or *Solemn League and Covenant* --- to 'endeavour any change or alteration in the Government, 'either in Church or State, as it is now eſtabliſhed by 'the Laws of the Kingdom --- and they ſhall never de-

'cline

'cline his Majeſty's power and juriſdiction --- And finally, they ſwear, That this Oath is given in the plain 'genuine ſenſe and meaning of the Words, without a-'ny equivocation, mental reſervation, or any manner 'of evaſion whatſoever.' ——— This is the Complement of a wicked Conſpiracy, couching in its capacious boſom the Complication of all their Miſchiefs, comprehending all, and explaining all the former: which indeed cannot be taken with any equivocating Evaſion, that can eſcape either the *Stigma* of *Nonſenſe* and Self-contradiction, or the Cenſure of *Atheiſm* and Irreligion, or the Sentence of Divine Vengeance againſt ſuch baffling the Name of God. The beſt ſenſe that can be put upon it, is that which a poor *Sot* expreſſed, when it was tendered to him, prefacing thus before he took it, *Lord have mercy upon my ſoul.* For, 1. It is not conſiſtent with itſelf, there being ſuch contradictions between that *Confeſſion of Faith* and the following part, that no man can reconcile, ſome whereof may be inſtanced as follows: (1.) In the 11th *Art.* of that Confeſſion, intituled, of *Chriſt's Aſcenſion*, it is ſaid, 'That 'Chriſt is the only Head of the Church, and juſt Law-'giver, in which Honours and Offices, if Men or Angels 'preſume to intrude themſelves, we utterly deteſt and 'abhor them, as blaſphemous to our Sovereign and ſu-'preme Governor Chriſt Jeſus.' And a little before, in that ſame *Article*, it is ſaid, 'This Glory, Honour and 'Prerogative he alone among the Brethren ſhall poſſeſs.' And in the 16th *Art. of the Kirk*, 'Chriſt is the only 'Head of the ſame Kirk.' And yet in the *Teſt*, the King is affirmed to be the only Supreme in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. (2.) In the 14th *Art.* among good Works are reckoned theſe: 'To obey ſuperior Powers and their 'charges (not repugning to the Commandment of God) 'to ſave the lives of Innocents, to repreſs Tyranny, to 'defend the oppreſſed.' And among evil works theſe are qualified, 'To reſiſt any that God hath placed in Au-'thority [while they paſs not over the bounds of their 'Office.] And *Art.* 24th, it is confeſſed, 'That ſuch as 'reſiſt the ſupreme Power, doing that which pertains to 'his Charge, do reſiſt God's Ordinance,——while the 'Princes

'Princes and Rulers vigilantly travel in the execution of their Office.' And yet in the *Test*, true Allegiance is engaged into without any such limitations; and it is affirmed to be unlawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to *convocate*, &c. or to take up Arms against the King. (3.) In the 14th *Art.* 'Evil Works are affirmed to be, 'not only those that expresly are done against God's 'Commandment, but those also that, in matters of Re-'ligion, and worshipping of God, have no other assur-'ance but the invention and opinion of men.' And *Art.* 18th, among the Notes of the true Church, 'Ecclesiasti-'cal Discipline, uprightly ministred, as God's Word pre-'scribes, whereby vice is repressed, and virtue nourished, 'is one.' In *Art.* 20th, 'The voice of God and constitu-'tion of men are opposed.' And yet in the *Test*, they swear never to endeavour any change or alteration in the Government of the Church----as it is now established; whereof many things must be altered, yea, the whole form and frame of it, if these propositions be true, as they are. (4.( In the *Test*, they swear never to consent to any change or alteration, contrary to that confession, and that all principles and practices contrary thereto are *Popish* and *fanatical* (for so they divide them into one of these disjunctively) then must all the following principles in their *Test* be renounced as such, seeing they are contrary to that confession in some Propositions or Articles; and that the Government established by that confession was *Presbyterian*, and this established by the *Test* is *Episcopal*. 2. It comprehends all the former Oaths and Bonds, which are cleared above to be sinful. Yet for as wicked as it is, it must be someway homologated by the *Oath of Abjuration*, excepting the contradiction that is in it; seeing all these oppositions against the King, sworn against in the *Test*, are abjured and renounced in that *Oath of Abjuration*, in renouncing all Declarations of War against the King; for if any War can be undertaken against him, all these kinds of opposition must be allowed, that are in the Test sworn against.

VIII. In the *last* place, I shall come to consider more particularly the *Oath of Abjuration* itself; for refusing of which, the sufferings were more severe (being extended even

even to death or baniſhment) though the Words be more ſmooth than in any of the former, which are theſe: *I——do abjure, renounce, and diſown a late pretended Declaration, affixed on ſeveral Market-croſſes, &c. in ſo far as it declares War againſt the King, and aſſerts it lawful to kill any that ſerve his Majeſty in Church, State, Army,* or *Country.* That the taking of this Oath is a ſtep of Compliance, diſhonourable to God, derogatory to the day's Teſtimony, contradictory to the many reiterated Confeſſions of Chriſt's worthy (though poor and deſpiſed) Witneſſes, ſealed by their blood, bonds and baniſhments, encouraging and gratifying to the Enemies of God, hardening to backſliding Brethren, offenſive to the Generation of the righteous, ſtumbling to all, leaving a ſtain and ſting upon the Conſcience of the Subſcriber, I ſhall endeavour to make out by theſe Conſiderations.

1. Conſidering the *Party who impoſed it*; it muſt be looked upon as a Confederacy with them, being tendered upon all the Subjects, as a Teſt of their incorporating themſelves with, and declaring themſelves for their head, and ſiding with them and him, in this their Conteſt and Contention with a poor Remnant of the Lord's People, perſecuted and murdered by them for Truth and Conſcience ſake, who iſſued forth that Declaration againſt them, here abjured. Therefore let the Party be conſidered, impoſing the Oath with ſuch rigour, and proſecuting the Refuſers with ravenous rage, murdering and torturing all who did not comply with them, declaring a War more formally and explicitely againſt Chriſt as King, and all that will dare to aſſert their Allegiance to him, under an open diſplayed banner of defiance of him and his, than even Mortals durſt eſpouſe and avouch: the head of that treacherous and truculent Faction, both he who was firſt declared againſt in that Declaration, and he who hath by bloody and treacherous Uſurpation ſucceeded to him, being ſuch a Monſter for Murder and Miſchief, Tyranny, Oppreſſion and Perfidy, that among all the *Nimrods* and *Nero's* that paſt ages can recount, we cannot find a parallel, by all Law Divine and human, incapable of Government, or any Truſt, or ſo much as Protection, or any Privilege, but to be purſued by all, as a common Enemy

nemy to Mankind: and his Underlings, Agents and Complices, devoted to his luſt, and ſerving his wicked deſigns, in their reſpective offices and places of truſt under him, which by his nomination and ſole appointment they have been erected to, and eſtabliſhed in, with the ſtain and indelible Character of Perjury, the only qualification of their being capable of any advancement, occupying by Uſurpation, Intruſion and Violence, the publick places of Judicatories, and carrying all ſo inſolently and arbitrarily, and with an effrontry of wickedneſs and deſpight of all Reaſon, Religion or Juſtice, that they cannot but be looked upon as the moſt peſtilent and peſtiferous Plague that ever peſtered a people: The taking then of this Oath, by them projected as a Peſt to infect Conſciences with, and pervert them to wicked, Truth-deſerting and Law-perverting Loyalty, and impoſed as a Teſt of Compliance with them, and coming off from that little flock whom they deſign to devour and deſtinate to deſtruction; muſt be in their own eſteem, as well as of the Generation of the righteous, to their ſatisfaction, and the others ſorrow, a real incorporating with them, an owning of their uſurped power as Judges to adminiſter Oaths, giving them all obedience they required for the time to their Authority, and all the ſecurity they demanded for the Subſcribers Loyalty, an approving of all their Proceedings in that matter, and tranſacting, tampering, and bargaining with theſe Sons of *Belial*, out of fear, whereby a Right is purchaſed to that common badge of their owned and profeſſed friends, who (upon taking that Oath) had from them a privilege and allowance to travel and traffick (where and how they will) through the Country, denied to all other that wanted that badge; I mean the *Paſs* or *Teſtificate* they got from them thereupon, which was the Mark of that ſecular Beaſt of Tyranny, no leſs pernicious to the World than Popery hath been to the Church, and which was given to all the Takers of that Oath, as a Mark or *Teſſera*, that they were no Enemies to the Government, as they call it. O baſe and unworthy *Livery!* for the ſuffering Sons of *Zion* to put on the Signature of the Society of her devourers. Hence, if Covenants and Confederacies, declaring

claring we are on their ſide, cannot be made with the Enemies of Religion, then this Oath could not be taken lawfully; but the former is proved above: *therefore* the latter follows. This will yet more appear,

2. If we conſider the *Party that ſet forth that Declaration*, whom the Proclamation againſt it repreſents ſo odiouſly and invidiouſly, whom the Oath impoſed obliges us to condemn; being ſo repreſented, as if they were Maintainers of murdering principles, and Perpetrators of aſſaſſinating villanies, inconſiſtent with Peace or any good Government, and therefore to be exterminated and deſtroyed out of the land, whom therefore they proſecute and perſecute ſo cruelly to the effuſion of their blood, under colour of law. 1. The Takers of this Oath muſt have formally, under their unhappy hand, diſowned and renounced them, and all part or intereſt in them, or Society or Sympathy with them; who yet are known to be the ſuffering people of God, more earneſtly contending, witneſſing, wreſtling for the Faith and Word of Chriſt's Patience, and have ſuffered more for their adherence to the covenanted Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, and for their oppoſition to all its deformations and defections, than any party within the land: yet them have they rejected as their Companions, tho' with ſome of them ſometimes they have had ſweet Company and Communion in the Houſe of God, by abjuring and condemning their deed which duty and neceſſity have drove them to. 2. Hereby they have preſumptuouſly taken upon them, to paſs a judgment upon the deed of their Brethren, before their murdering enemies? and that not a private diſcretive judgment, but a publick definitive ſentence (in their capacity) by the moſt ſolemn way of declaring it, that can be, by Oath and Subſcription under their hand; whereby they have condemned all the ſufferings of their Brethren, who ſealed their Teſtimony in oppoſition to this compliance with their blood, and finiſhed it with honour and joy, as fooliſh and frivolous profuſion of their own blood, nay, as juſt and legally inflicted and executed upon them, as being Rebels, of murdering principles and practices: for this cannot be vindicated from a more than indirect juſtifying of all the murdering ſeverity executed upon them. 3. And

here

hereby they have unkindly and unchriſtianly liſted themſelves on the other ſide againſt them, and take part rather with their enemies than with them; for thus they uſed to plead for it, when they preſſed this Oath upon them that ſcrupled it; when any war is declared againſt the King, 'any of his Majeſty's Soldiers may queſtion 'any man whom he is for, and if he be not for the 'King, he may act againſt him as an enemy, and if 'they will not declare for the King and diſown the Re-'bels, they are to be reputed by all as enemies.' Which, whatever weakneſs be in the arguing, plainly diſcovers, that they take the abjuring of that Declaration in that juncture, to be a man's declaring of what ſide he is for, and that he is not for the Emitters of that Declaration, but for the King and his party: which, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, is a moſt dreadful owning of Chriſt's enemy, and diſowning of his friends. Hence, a diſowning of the Lord's perſecuted people, and condemning their practice, and an owning of their Perſecuters, and eſpouſing their ſide of it, is a ſinful Confederacy; but the taking of this Oath is ſuch, as is evident by what is ſaid: *therefore* it is a ſinful Confederacy.

3. Conſidering the Nature, Conditions, and Qualifications of ſo ſolemn and ſerious a piece of God's Worſhip, and way of invocating his holy Name, as an Oath is; it will appear, that the taking of this impoſed Oath of *Abjuration*, was a dreadful and heinous breach of the *Third Command*, by taking his Name in vain, in the worſt ſort, and ſo cannot be holden guiltleſs. I prove it thus: An Oath which cannot be taken in truth, judgment and righteouſneſs, is a breach of the Third Command; but this is an Oath which cannot be taken in truth, judgment and righteouſneſs: which is evident; for, 1. It cannot be taken by any conſcientious man in *Truth*, in ſincerity of the heart, ſimplicity of the mind, ſingleneſs and honeſty in the intention, not putting any other ſenſe than the Impoſer hath, and which is the clear ſenſe of it *without Oath* and *beyond it*. For, if he take it according to their meaning, then he ſhould ſwear it unlawful ever to declare war againſt the King, and conſequently never to riſe in arms againſt him upon any

any pretence whatſoever: for, if we may riſe in arms for our own defence, we make and muſt declare a defenſive war. And indeed, in themſelves, as well as in their ſenſe and meaning who impoſed them, theſe two Oaths, never to riſe in arms againſt the King, and this of *Abjuration*, are one and the ſame. Then alſo ſhould we ſwear it unlawful, at any time, upon any occaſion, or for any cauſe, to kill any ſuch as ſerve the King in Church, State, Army or Country, either in Peace or War: for that is their thought, and *the ſenſe even of the Oath itſelf, or what is beyond it:* and in part, for their exemption and immunity from all condign puniſhment, this Oath was contrived. But, in fine, how can this Oath be taken in truth; when it is not apparent, either that the declaring of a war againſt the King, or killing ſome for ſome cauſes (which ſhall afterwards be made appear to be lawful) that ſerve him, are to be abjured and diſowned? or that the Declaration does aſſert any ſuch thing? And indeed it will be found to be a denying the truth, and a ſubſcribing to a manifeſt falſeſhood, invoking God to be Witneſs thereto. 2. This Oath cannot be taken in *Judgment*; that is, with Knowledge and Deliberation, *&c.* All the Terms of it have much obſcure ambiguity, *declaring a War*, and *killing any who ſerve the King*, may be conſtructed in ſeveral ſenſes, good and bad, but here they are indefinitely expreſſed, and univerſally condemned. Particularly that [*in ſo far as*] hath ſeveral faces, and can never be ſworn in Judgment; for, if it denote a *Caſualty*, and ſignify as much as *becauſe* or *wherefore*, then *all Declarations of War* againſt any that have the name of King whatſoever, upon whatſoever grounds, and *all killing* of any ſerving him, tho' in our own defence, muſt be univerſally condemned, for *the Conſequence is good as to every thing*, if it import a *reſtriction*, excluding other things in the Declaration, but obliging to abjure only that; then it implies alſo an affirmation, that theſe two things are contained in it, which will not appear to the Judgment of them that will ſeriouſly ponder the Declaration itſelf: if again it be a *Suppoſition* or *Condition*, and to be interpreted for *if ſo be*, then all that the Judgment can make of it is, that it is uncertain, and ſo the Conſcience dare not invoke

God

God as a Witness of that which is uncertain whether it be a truth or a lie. 3. This Oath could not be taken in *Righteousness*: for the matter is not true, certainly known, lawful, possible, weighty, necessary, useful, and worthy: it is not *true*, that the *Declaration* imports *so far as*, as it is represented in the Oath of *Abjuration*: neither is it *certainly known*, but by collating these two together the contrary will appear: neither is it *lawful* (if it were true that such assertions were in it) to abjure all Declarations of war against the King, and to swear it unlawful ever to kill any, if he be once in the King's service, in Church, State, Army, or Country: nor is it *possible* to reduce this assertory Oath into a promissory one lawfully, as most part of such Oaths may and do necessarily imply; for when I swear such a thing unlawful, it implies my promise, by virtue of the same Oath, never to practise it; But it is not possible (as the case stands) for a man to bind up himself in every case from all declared war against the King, or from killing some imployed in his service; what if there be a necessary call to join in arms with the Lords people, for the defence of their Religion, lives, and Liberties, against him? what if he command a Massacre? Shall not a man defend himself? Nor endeavour to kill none of that murdering Crew, because they are in his service? Was ever a fool so fettered? Nor is it of such *weight*, as to be the occasion of involving the whole Country in perjury or persecution, as by that Oath was done: Nor was it *necessary*, in this mans time, to make all abjure a Declaration out of date, when the object of it *Charles* II. was dead, and no visible party actually in arms to prosecute it; nor was it ever of any *use* or *worth*, except it were implicitely to gratify their greedy lusting after the blood of Innocents, or the blood of silly Souls cheated by their snares, by involving them in the same sin of perjury and Conscience-debauching false-swearing, whereof they themselves are so heniously guilty. But let them, and such as have taken that Oath, and not fled to Christ for a Sanctuary, lay to heart the doom of false swearers *the flying roll of the Curse of God shall enter into their house, Zech.* v. 4. *Love no false Oath, for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord,*

*Lord, Zech.* viii. 17. *The Lord will be a ſwift Witneſs againſt falſe ſwearers Mal.* iii. 5. And let them liſt their Conſcience before the Word, and ſet the Word to the Conſcience, and theſe Conſiderations will have ſome weight.

4. If we conſider this Particular *Oath itſelf*, and the words of it more narrowly, we ſhall find a Complication of iniquities in it, by examining the ſenſe of them as the Impoſers expound them, 1. Not only that Declaration, but all ſuch *in ſo far as* they declare and aſſert ſuch things, are here renounced; and hereby many and faithful Declarations are diſowned, that declare the ſame things. It is indeed pleaded by ſome, that profeſs to be Presbyterians, as it was alſo pretended by ſome of the preſſers of the Oath themſelves, but in order to pervert and cheat the Conſcience; that here is not required a diſowning of the Apologetical Declaration *ſimpliciter*, but only *according to which*, or rather of a pretended one of their ſuppoſing, in *ſo far as* it imports ſuch things: but this is frivolous, for that pretended one is intended by the Impoſers to be the real *Apologetical Declaration*, which they will have to be diſowned, and cannot be diſtinguiſhed from it: and though all theſe aſſertions cannot be faſtened upon that *Apologetical Declaration*, but it is evident, that it is invidiouſly miſrepreſented; yet that ſame is the pretended one which they require to be abjured *in ſo far as* it aſſerts ſuch things, which it does not: and if it be *according to which* to be diſowned, then that muſt either be *according to* that aſſertion of *killing any*, &c. which is not to be found in it, and ſo it is not to be diſowned at all; or it muſt be *according to* the Declaration of war againſt the King; and ſo that *which*, or formal reaſon of diſowning it, will oblige to diſown all Declarations of War againſt the King, which cannot be diſowned. Others again object, that it is not required to be diſowned *formally*, but only *conditionally*, taking and confounding *in ſo far*, for *if ſo be:* but to any thinking man it is plain, this cannot be a *ſuppoſition*, nor yet a ſimple *reſtriction* (as they would give it out) but an *aſſertion*, that ſuch things are indeed imported in it; for ſo the Impoſers think and ſay: and

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if it might pass current under that notion, as a supposition, being equivalent to *if so be*; then under that sophistical pretext, I might renounce the Covenant, or the most undisputed Confession or Declaration that ever was, *in so far as* it contained such things; and so this equivocation might elude all Testimonies whatsoever, and justify all prevarications. 2. This must condemn all defensive War of subjects against their oppressing Rulers, in that a Declaration is abjured, *in so far as* it declares War against the King: to press and persuade people to which, it was usually urged by the Imposers, that when a War is declared by Rebels against the King, then all the Subjects are obliged to disown the Rebels, or else be repute for such themselves: and, when it was alledged the War was ceased, because the Object declared against was ceased, *Charles* II. being dead, otherwise if a man be obliged to give his opinion about a War declared against a King deceased and gone, then by the same parity of reason, he must be obliged to give his opinion of that War of the *Lords of the Congregation* (as they were called) against Queen *Mary*, in the beginning of the Reformation. It was still replied by them, that the Rebellion continued, and all were guilty of it, that did not abjure that Declaration: whence it is evident, they mean, that every thing which they call Rebellion, must be disowned, and consequently all Resistance of Superiors, upon any pretence whatsoever, as many of their Acts explain it; yea, and it was plainly told by some of them, to some that scrupled to take the Oath, because they said they did not understand it, that the meaning was *to swear, never to rise in Arms against the King*. Against this it hath been objected by several, that this was always denied by *Presbyterians*, that ever they declared War against the King, but only for defence of their Lives and Liberties; never against the King *expressly, purposedly and designedly*, but only against him *by accident*, when he happened to be the adverse Party: but this distinction will not be a *Salvo* to the Conscience; for the object declared against, is either a King or not; if he be not, then a Declaration of War against him is not to be abjured; if he be King, then he is either declared against *as King*, and *by him-*

*ſelf*, or as an oppreſſor, or an abuſer of his power: the firſt indeed is to be diſowned; for a King, as King or lawful Magiſtrate, muſt not be reſiſted, *Rom.* xiii. 2. But the ſecond, to declare War againſt a King, as an oppreſſor and abuſer of his power, and ſubverter of the Laws, hath been owned by our Church and State many a time, and they have oppoſed and declared War as purpoſedly againſt him, as he did againſt them, and as really and formally as he was an oppreſſor: ſure he cannot be an oppreſſor only *by accident*, nor does he declare War againſt the Subjects only *by accident*: however this hath been owned always by *Presbyterians*, that War may be declared againſt him him who is called King. And therefore to abjure a Declaration, *in ſo far as* it declares War againſt the King, will condemn not only that Declaration, upon the heads wherein its honeſty and faithfulneſs chiefly conſiſts, but all other moſt honeſt and honourable Declarations, that have been made and emitted by our worthy and renowned Anceſtors, and by our Worthies in our own time, who have formally, avowedly and explicitely, or expreſly, purpoſedly and deſignedly declared their oppoſition to Tyranny and Tyrants, and their lawful and laudable deſigns to repreſs, depreſs and ſuppreſs them, by all the ways and means, that God and Nature, and the Laws of Nations allow, when they did *by Law itſelf* depoſe and exauctorate themſelves from all Rule, or Privilege, or Prerogative of Rulers, and became no more God's Miniſters, but *Beelzebub's* Vicegerents, and Monſters to be exterminated out of the Society of Mankind. The honeſteſt of all our Declarations of defenſive War, have always run in this ſtrain; and others, inſinuating more prepoſterous Loyalty, have been juſtly taxed for aſſerting the Intereſt of the Tyrant, the greateſt enemy of the declarers, and principal object of the declared war; which diſingenuous juggling and foiſting in ſuch flattering and falſifying diſtinctions in the ſtate of the Quarrel, hath rationally been thought one of the procuring Cauſes or Occaſions of the diſcomfiture of our former appearances for the Work of God and Liberties of our Country. 3. This muſt infer an owning of his Authority as lawful King, when the Declaration diſown-

diſowning him is abjured, *in ſo far as* it declares War againſt his Majeſty; for in this Oath he is ſtiled and aſſerted to be King, and to have the Majeſty of a lawful King, and therefore muſt be owned as ſuch by all that take it; which yet I have proved to be ſinful above, *Head* 2. Againſt this it hath been quibbled by ſome, that that Declaration does not declare war againſt the King expreſly *as King*, but only againſt *Charles Stewart*, by them declared to be no King, who ſet forth the Declaration. But this will not ſalve the matter; for then (1) It is a ſubſcribing to a lie, in abjuring a Declaration, *in ſo far as it* did declare a thing, which it did not, if that hold. (2.) The Enemies impoſe the abjuring and diſowning of it, *in ſo far as* it declares war againſt their King, who had none other but *Charles Stewart* at that time, who was the King in their ſenſe; and an Oath cannot be taken in any other ſenſe, contradictory to the Impoſers, even though by them allowed, without an unjuſtifiable equivocation. (3.) Though he had been King, and had not committed ſuch acts of Tyranny, as might actually denominate him a Tyrant, and forfeit his Kingſhip; yet to repreſs his illegal arbitrarineſs and intolerable enormities, and to repel his unjuſt violence, and reduce him to good order, Subjects, at leaſt for their own defence, may declare a war expreſly, purpoſedly and deſignedly againſt their own acknowledged King: this ought not in ſo far to be diſowned; for then all our Declarations emitted, during the whole time of proſecuting the Reformation, in oppoſition to our King, would be diſowned: and ſo with one daſh, unhappily the whole Work of Reformation, and the way of carrying it on, is hereby tacitely and conſequentially reflected upon and reproached, if not diſowned. 4. It muſt infer an owning of the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, when it aſſerts, that ſome do *ſerve the King in Church*, as well as in State: there is no Diſtinction here, but they are ſaid to ſerve him the ſame way in both. And it is certain they mean ſo, and have expreſſed ſo much in their Acts, that Churchmen are as ſubordinate, and the ſame way ſubject to the King's Supremacy, as Stateſmen are; the abſurdity and blaſphemy of which is diſcovered above.

5. This condemns all *killing of any that ſerve the King* in Church, State, Army or Country: for a Declaration is abjured, *in ſo far as* it aſſerts it lawful to kill any ſuch; and ſo by this Oath, there is an impunity ſecured for his idolatrous prieſts and murdering varlets, that ſerve him in the *Church*; for his bloody Counſellors, and Gowned Murderers, that ſerve his tyrannical deſigns in the *State*; for his bloody *Lictors* and Executioners, the Swordmen, that ſerve him in the *Army*, whom he may ſend when he pleaſes to murder us; and for his bloody *Juſt-aſſes*, Informers, and intelligencing Sycophants, the *Ziphites*, that ſerve him in the Country: all theſe muſt eſcape bringing to condign puniſhment, contrary to the 4th *Art.* of the Solemn League and Covenant, and ſhall be confuted *Head* 6. Againſt this it is excepted by the Pleaders for this Oath, that it is only a declared abhorring of murdering Principles, which no Chriſtian dare refuſe; and it may be taken in this ſenſe ſafely, that it is to be abjured, *in ſo far as* it aſſerts it lawful to kill all that are to be imployed by his Majeſty, or any, *becauſe ſo imployed* in Church, State, Army or Country, which never any did aſſert was lawful: but though murdering principles are indeed always to be declaredly abhorred, and all Refuſers of that Oath did both declare ſo much, and abhorred the thoughts of them; yet this evaſion is naught: for (1) The Declaration aſſerts no ſuch thing, neither for that cauſe nor for any other, but expreſly makes a diſtinction between perſons under the *Epithet* of bloody cruel Murderers, and theſe only whom it threatneth to animadvert upon. (2.) The only reaſon of their declared intent of proſecuting theſe, whom they threaten to bring to condign puniſhment, was, becauſe they were ſo imployed by the Tyrant in ſuch ſervice, as ſhedding the blood of innocents, murdering people where they met them; and ſo that's the very reaſon for which they deſerve to be killed, and therefore fooliſh, impertinent, and very abſurd to be alledged, as a qualification of the ſenſe of that impious Oath.

5. If we conſider the *Proclamation* enjoining this Oath, and narrating and explaining the occaſions and cauſes of it, all theſe reaſons againſt it will be confirmed; and it will

will further appear, that the Proclamation itſelf is indirectly approved. For though it might be ſuſtained in the abſtract, that we may and muſt renounce ſuch Declarations founded on principles inconſiſtent with Government, and bearing ſuch inferences as are ſpecified in that Proclamation; yet complexly conſidered what they mean by Government, and what ſort of Society that is, the ſecurity whereof is ſaid to be infringed by that Declaration, and what is the ſcope of that Narrative; a renouncing of a paper contradictory thereto, muſt be in ſo far a tacite approbation of that Proclamation. For that Oath, which renounceth what is contrary to ſuch a Proclamation, does juſtify the Proclamation; but this Oath renounces what is contrary to the Proclamation, and that only: *therefore* it juſtifies the Proclamation. It is intituled, as it was really deſigned, for *diſcovering ſuch as own or will not diſown the foreſaid Declaration*, by them falſely nicknamed, *a late treaſonable Declaration of War againſt his Majeſty, and the horrid principle of Aſſaſſination.* And the body of it diſcovers ſuch Hell-bred hatred of, and malice againſt, that poor party, deſtinated, in their deſign, to final and total deſtruction, and lays down ſuch contrivances for their diſcovery and ruin, that the heads and hearts of the Inventers and Authors may ſeem to be poſſeſſed and inſpired with the Devils immediately aſſiſting counſel, and the Clerk's pen that drew it up to have been dipt in the *Stygian* lake, and the gall and venom of Hell: repreſenting the Emitters, and Abetters, and Spreaders of that Declaration, and all who have been joined in any of their Societies, and all who either will own or ſcruple to diſown the ſaid Declaration, in the manner by them tendered and impoſed, (which are the generality of the moſt tender and conſcientious Chriſtians in the land), under all the vileſt and moſt abominable and odious terms, their malice could invent; as if they were 'inſolent and deſperate Rebels, aſſociated 'under a pretended form of Government, who had for-'merly endeavoured to diſguiſe their bloody and execra-'ble principles, but now had pulled off the mask, and 'who think it a duty to kill and murder all who do any 'manner of way ſerve the preſent Rulers, or bear charge

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'under them; who maintain principles inconſiſtent with 'all Government and Society, and tending to the de- 'ſtruction of the lives of their loyal and honeſt Subjects; 'treacherous and aſſaſſinating principles, *&c.* Who now 'have declared their helliſh intentions, and for the bet- 'ter performance of their miſchievous deſigns, do lurk 'in ſecret, and are never diſcerned but in the acts of 'their horrid aſſaſſinations, and paſſing up and down a- 'mong the King's loyal Subjects, take opportunity to 'murder and aſſaſſinate, like execrable Rebels; and cal- 'ling that Declaration, an execrable and damnable pa- 'per, *&c.*' All which are execrable and damnable lies, and forgeries of the fathers of them, and a charge which all their Sophiſtry can never make out in any particular: yet by them amplified to a ſwelling height of heinouſneſs; and, among other circumſtances, aggravated, from their frequent refuſing the reiterated offers of their clemency, by which they underſtand their contempt of their preſumptuous, Chriſt-defying, and Church-deſtroying *Indulgences*, and their not ſubmitting to their inſnaring and baſe *Indemnities*, or their Conſcience-cheating bonds and oaths by them ſo finely busked. From theſe impudently pretended Premiſſes, in their falſely forged viperous Narrative, they lay down their bloody methods and meaſures for proſecuting that poor people, with all rigour of Savage ſeverity; ordaining, 'That whoſoe- 'ver ſhall own that Declaration, and the *Principles there- in ſpecified*,' (which is a larger dilatation of their meaning, than their pretended reſtriction, [*in ſo far as*, &c.], and gives a further diſcovery of the intent of the Oath, that gives a covert ſtroke to all the principles of our Reformation, which are reductively ſpecified in that Declaration), 'or whoſoever ſhall refuſe to diſown the ſame, '——ſhall be execute to the death; 'and command- 'ing all ſubjects to concur, and do their utmoſt endea- 'vour to ſeek, ſearch, delate, and apprehend all ſuch, under 'the ſevereſt penalties of the laws; and to difference the 'good from the bad, (meaning their own Aſſociates and 'Friends, from Chriſt's Followers), by diſcriminating 'ſigns, declaring it their pleaſure, and requiring all paſt 'the age of 16 years not to preſume to travel without

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'*Teſtificates* of their loyalty and good principles, by ta-
'king the Oath of Abjuration; whereupon they are to
'have a Teſtificate, which is to ſerve for a free *Paſs*;
'with certification to all that ſhall adventure to travel
'without ſuch a Teſtificate, ſhall be holden and uſed as
'Concurrers with the ſaid Rebels; commanding all He-
'ritors, *&c.* to give up the liſts of the names of all under
'them, before the Curate; declaring, If any ſhall refuſe
'to concur in ſuch ſervice, they ſhall be holden as guilty
'of the foreſaid crimes, and puniſhed accordingly; and
'ſtrictly prohibiting all to harbour, lodge, or entertain any,
'unleſs they have ſuch Certificates, under the ſame pain:
'and for encouragement to any that ſhall diſcover or ap-
'prehend any to be found guilty as above ſaid, enſuring
'to them the ſum of 500 Merks *Scots* for each of them.'
This is that Hell-hatched Proclamation, ſo grievous for its effects, ſo dreadful for its deſigns, ſo monſtrous for its abſurdities, that the like hath not been ſeen: whereby not only the country's intereſt and trade hath been prejudged, by compelling all to have a *Paſs* in time of peace, and theſe to be procured at exorbitant rates, oppreſſing poor people; not only common *Hoſtlers* and *Innkeepers* are made Judges, impowered to impoſe Oaths upon Paſſengers for their paſſes, that they be not forged; but many conſciences couzened, cheated, wounded, and inſnared, and the whole land involved in ſin. But they that took this Oath have approved and juſtified this deteſtable, execrable, bloody Proclamation, the ſpurious ſpawn of the Devil's venom againſt Chriſt's Followers: For they gave all the obedience to it that was required of them in their capacity, and obedience juſtifies the law enjoining it; they have have done all was required, or could be done by them, to anſwer the deſign of it in their circumſtances: and conſequently, by doing the thing preſcribed, they have juſtified the grounds upon which the Reſcript was founded, and the methods by which it was proſecuted, which hath a dreadful medley of iniquity in it. Hence, (1.) They have ſubſcribed to all theſe odious Characters wherewith they branded that poor perſecuted party, and condemned them as inſolent, deſperate Rebels, Murderers, bloody Aſſaſſins, *&c.*

*&c.* (2) In diſowning that Declaration, they have diſowned the principles therein ſpecified, and conſequently all the Teſtimony againſt this uſurping faction of Overturners of the Work of Reformation, active and paſſive, that have been given and ſealed by the eminent Servants of God, ſince this Cataſtrophe, the principle of defenſive arms, and our Covenants, and ſeveral others which are therein ſpecified. (3) They have given their conſent to all the concurrence there required, for ſeeking, ſearching, delating, and apprehending of theſe people, and to all the cruel villanies committed againſt them. (4) They have taken on their preſcribed diſcriminating ſign of loyalty, and of being repute by them men of good principles, that is, their friends, men for the times: which is ſo ſinful and ſcandalous, that it is ſhameful to hint at them, and yet ſhameful to hide them.

6. If we conſider the *Apologetical Declaration* it ſelf, which is ſo beſpattered, and ſo odiouſly repreſented, and ſo rigorouſly enjoined to be abjured; who will more narrowly look into it, and ponder and perpend the Purpoſe and Scope of it, will ſee nothing that can be abjured conſcientiouſly in it, but the whole of it, laying aſide Prejudice and invidious critical Cenſoriouſneſs, capable of a fair and acceptable Conſtruction. The *Motives* leading them to ſet it forth, being only their deſires and juſt endeavours to *proſecute*, and ſecure themſelves in the Proſecution of *holy commanded Duties*, and to keep a ſtanding Teſtimony againſt the Inſolency of thoſe that are given up of God, to lay out themſelves in promoving a Courſe of Profanity and Perſecurion, notwithſtanding of all their viperous threatnings. Their *Meaſures* being none other, than the commendable Precedents and Examples of zealous and tender-hearted Chriſtians, who have done the like, and our National and Solemn Covenants, lying with their binding Force indiſpenſible upon all of us, and obliging us to endeavour all that's there declared, as being bound for ever to have common Friends and Foes with our Covenanted Reformation, to all which they declare and avouch their reſolved adherence, and their own former Declarations, diſowning their Allegiance to, and auhority of a Man who had, *by*

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*Law it self*, forfeited all authority, by his intolerable Tyranny, Perjury, and perfidious breach of Trust, reposed and devolved upon him by Covenant; and by his overturning all the fundamental constitutions of the Government, perverting, inverting, and everting all Laws, all Liberties, all Privileges of Church and State, all Establishments of our covenanted Work of Reformation, all Securities of our life and enjoyments whatsoever, usurping to himself an absolute Tyrannical civil Supremacy, inconsistent with the Safety or Freedom of the People, and a monstrous blasphemous Ecclesiastical Supremacy; upon which Considerations, to endeavour to make good their Freedom and Emancipation from that yoke which they had cast off, they behoved to resolve upon defensive resistance, against him and his bloody Emissaries; which War being declared before, they only in this Declaration testified their unanimous Approbation of, adherence to, and Resolutions for prosecuting the same against him and his Accomplices, such as lay out themselves to promove his wicked and hellish Designs: by which *War* they do not mean a formed stated and declared *Insurrection* with hostile force, to break the Peace of the Nation, and involve all in Blood, but a resolved, avowed, constant, *Opposition* to the murdering Violence, Injustice, Oppression, and Persecution of this wicked Faction, now raging, rather than reigning, who have declared, and still prosecute a declared war against Christ, bearing down his Work and Interest in the Land; 'And 'a constant endeavour, in Opposition to them, to pursue 'the ends of our Covenants, in standing to the defence 'of the glorious Work of Reformation, and their own 'Lives; and, in the Defence thereof, to maintain the 'Cause and Interest of Christ against his Enemies, and 'to hold up the Standard of our Lord Jesus Christ (meaning the Gospel and the word of our Testimony) whereunto they looked upon themselves as bound and obliged by their holy Covenants, being therein dedicated 'to the Lord in their Persons, Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes, for defending and promoving this glorious work 'of Reformation, notwithstanding of all opposition, that 'is, or may be made thereunto, and sworn against all

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'Neutrality and Indifferency in the Lord's matters: 'whereunto they beſeech, invite, and obteſt, all them 'who wiſh well to *Zion*, to a concurrence and concert-'ing the ſame Cauſe and Quarrel.' In maintaining of which oppoſition againſt ſuch wicked enemies, becauſe by them they were reſtleſsly purſued and hunted, and murdered wherever they were found, neither could find any harbour or hiding place in any corner of the Country, for Searchers, Informers, and Inſtigators, who ſtill ſtirred up the Country to raiſe the *hue and cry* after them, and cauſed them to be delivered up, and delated them to the Courts of their murdering Enemies, whereby much innocent Blood was ſhed; therefore, to ſtop their career of Violence, and deter them from ſuch Courſes, they found it neceſſary to threaten them with more active and vigorous Oppoſition, and that they might expect to be treated as they deſerved. Wherein they are far from owning aſſaſſinating Principles, or practiſing Aſſaſſinations; for they give only open and plain warning, and advertiſement to the World, of their neceſſitated endeavours to defend themſelves, and prevent the Murder of their Brethren: and can no way be charged with aſſerting it lawful, to kill all employed in the King's Service in Church, State, Army, or Country, as the Proclamation in viperous, invective, calumny, miſrepreſents the Declaration; but, on the contrary, do jointly and unanimouſly declare, 'They deteſt and abhor that hel-'liſh principle of killing ſuch as differ in judgment from 'them, and they are firmly and really purpoſed, not to 'injure or offend any whomſoever, but ſuch as are dire&-'ly guilty of, or acceſſory to the murder of their Bre-'thren.' Whom yet they mind not to aſſaſſinate or kill tumultuarily, but to proſecute them with all the legal formalities, that Juſtice in their Capacity, and the times diſorder and diſtracted Condition, will allow; expreſly declaring, 'That they abhor, condemn, and diſcharge 'all perſonal Attempts upon any pretext whatſomever, 'without previous Deliberations, common conſent, cer-'tain Probation of ſufficient Witneſſes, or the guilty per-'ſons confeſſion.' Neither could it ever be ſuppoſed, that they threaten all employed in the King's Service with

with this ſort of handling, but ſome ſelect and expreſly diſtinguiſhed kind of notorious Villains, Men of Death and Blood, openly avowing and vaunting of their murders: and theſe they diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Claſſes, according to the reſpective aggravations of their wickedneſs: in the firſt, 'They place thoſe that murder by *Com-*' *mand*, under pretext of an uſurped authority, as Coun-' ſellers, Juſticiary, and Officers of their forces, or bands ' of Robbers, and not all, nor any of theſe neither, but ' the *cruel and bloody*.' In the ſecond Claſs, they threaten ſuch as are actually in arms againſt them of an inferior Rank; and ſuch Gentlemen, and Biſhops, and Curates, as do profeſſedly and willingly ſerve them to accompliſh and effectuate their Murders, by *obeying* their Commands, making ſearch for theſe poor Men, delivering them up, inſtigating, informing, and witneſſing againſt, and hunting after them: and not all theſe neither, but ſuch as cruelly proſecute that Service, to the *Effuſion of their Blood*. Neither do they threaten all equally, nor any of them peremptorily, 'But that continuing, after the ' Publication of this their Declaration, obſtinately and ' habitually in theſe Courſes (plainly declaring they in-' tended no hurt to them if they would hold up their ' hands) they would repute them as enemies to God and ' the Reformation, and puniſh them as ſuch, according ' to their power, and the degree of their Offence; withal ' leaving room for civil and eccleſiaſtical ſatisfaction, be-' fore lawful and ſettled Judicatories, for the Offences of ' ſuch perſons, as their power may not reach, *&c.*' And as unwilling to be neceſſitated to ſuch ſevere Courſes, and earneſtly deſirous they be prevented, they admoniſh them with ſorrow and ſeriouſneſs, of the ſin and hazard of their wicked Courſes; and proteſt, that only neceſſity of ſelf-preſervation, and zeal to Religion, leſt it ſhould be totally rooted out by their Inſolency, did drive them to this threatning Declaration, and not becauſe they were acted by any ſinful Spirit of Revenge. This is all that is contained in that Declaration. And if there be any thing here ſo odious and execrable, to be ſo ſolemnly abjured, renounced, and abhorred in the preſence of God, for the pleaſure of, and in obedience to the will of his

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and our enemies, let all unbyaſſed Conſiderers impartially weigh, or any awakned Conſcience ſpeak, and I doubt not but the ſwearing and ſubſcribing this Oath will be caſt and condemned. I ſhall ſay nothing of the neceſſity, or conveniency, or expediency, or formality of this Declaration; but the lawfulneſs of the matter, complexly taken, is ſo undeniable, that it cannot be renounced, without condemning many very material Principles of our Reformation: only Succeſs and Incapacity is wanting to juſtify the manner, whole procedure, formality, and all the Circumſtances of the buſineſs; if either the Declarers themſelves, or any other impowered with ſtrength, and countenanced with ſucceſs to make good the undertaking, had iſſued out ſuch a Declaration in the ſame terms, and had prevailed and proſpered in the Project, many, that have now abjured it, would approve and applaud it. But paſſing theſe things that are extrinſick to the conſideration in hand, it is the matter that they required to be abjured and condemned, it is that the enemies quarrelled at, and not the inexpediency or informalities of it: and it muſt be taken as they propound it, and abjured and renounced by Oath as they repreſent it; and therefore the iniquity of this ſubſcription will appear to be great, in two reſpects; 1*ſt*, In denying the *Truth*. 2*dly*, In ſubſcribing to, and ſwearing a *Lie*. 1. They that have taken that Oath have denied and renounced the matter of that Declaration, which is Truth and Duty, and a Teſtimony to the Cauſe of Chriſt, as it is this day ſtated and circumſtantiate in the Nation, founded upon former (among us uncontroverted) precedents and principles of defenſive Wars, diſowning Tyranny, and repreſſing the inſolency of Tyrants and their Accomplices; the whole matter being reducible to theſe two Points, Declaring a reſolved Endeavour of breaking the Tyrant's yoke from off our neck, thereby aſſerting our own and the poſterities Liberty and Freedom, from his inſupportable and entailed Slavery; and a juſt Threatning to curb and reſtrain the inſolency of Murderers, or to bring them to condign puniſhment: whereof, as the firſt is noways repugnant, but very conſonant to the *third Article*; ſo the Second is the very duty obliged unto in the

the *fourth Article* of our *Solemn League and Covenant.* But all this they have denied by taking that Oath. 2. By taking that Oath, they have ſworn and ſubſcribed to a *Lie*, taking it as they repreſent it, abjuring it *in ſo far as* it declares, *&c.* and aſſerts it is lawful to kill all employed in the ſervice of the King, in Church, State, Army, or Country; which is a manifeſt Lie, for it aſſerts no ſuch thing. Neither will any other ſenſe put upon the words *in ſo far as* ſalve the matter; for as thereby the Takers of the Oath ſhall deal deceitfully, in fruſtrating the end of the Oath, and the deſign of the Tenderers thereof; and to take an Oath *in ſo far*, will not ſatisfy, as *Voetius* judgeth. *de Pol. Eccl. p.* 213. So let them be taken which way they can, either for *ſo much*, or *even as*, or *providing*, it is either a denying the Truth, or ſubſcribing a Lie: and conſequently, theſe poor people ſuffered for Righteouſneſs that refuſed it.

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# HEAD IV.

## *The Sufferings of People for frequenting* Field Meetings *Vindicated.*

HItherto the *Negative* Heads of Sufferings have been vindicated: Now follow the *Poſitive*, founded upon Poſitive Duties, for doing, and not denying, and not promiſing and engaging to relinquiſh which, many have ſuffered ſeverely. The firſt, both in order of Nature and of Time, that which was firſt and laſt, and moſt frequently, moſt conſtantly, moſt univerſally, and moſt ſignally ſealed by Sufferings, was that which is the clearеſt of all, being in ſome reſpect the Teſtimony of all Ages, and which clears all the reſt, being the Riſe and Root, Cauſe and Occaſion of all the reſt; to wit, the neceſſary Duty of hearing the Goſpel, and following the pure and powerful faithfully diſpenſed Ordinances of Chriſt, baniſhed out of the Churches to private houſes, and perſecuted out of houſes to the *Open Fields*, and there

purſued and oppoſed, and ſought to be ſuppreſſed, by all the fury and force, rigour and rage, cruelty and craft, policy and power, that ever wicked men, madded into a monſtrous Malice againſt the Mediator Chriſt, and the Coming of his Kingdom, could contrive or exert; yet ſtill followed and frequented, owned and adhered to, by the Lovers of Chriſt, and ſerious Seekers of God, even when for the ſame they were killed all day long, and counted as ſheep for the ſlaughter, and continually oppreſſed, harraſſed, hunted, and cruelly handled, dragged to Priſons, baniſhed and ſold for Slaves, tortured, and murdered. And after, by their fraudulent Favours of enſnaring Indulgences and Indemnities, and a continued tract of Impoſitions and Exactions, and many Oaths and Bonds, they had prevailed with many, and even the moſt part both of Miniſters and Profeſſors, to abandon that neceſſary Duty; and even when it was declared *Criminal* by Act of Parliament, and interdicted under pain of Death, to be found at any *Field Meetings*; they nevertheleſs perſiſted in an undaunted Endeavour, to keep up the Standard of Chriſt, in following the Word of the Lord wherever they could have it faithfully preached, though at the greateſt of Hazards: And ſo much the more that it was proſecuted by the Rage of Enemies, and the Reproach and Obloquies of pretended Friends, that had turned their back on the Teſtimony, and preferred their own Eaſe and Intereſts to the Cauſe of Chriſt; and with the greater Fervour, that the Labourers in that Work were few, and like to faint under ſo many difficulties. What the firſt Occaſion was that conſtrained them to go to the Fields, is declared at length in the hiſtorical Deduction of the Teſtimony of the *ſixth Period*: to wit, Finding themſelves bound in duty, to teſtify their Adherence to, and Continuance in their Covenanted Profeſſion, their Abhorrence of Abjured Prelacy, and their Love and Zeal to keep Chriſt and his Goſpel in the Land; after they had undergone and endured many hazards and hardſhips, oppreſſions and perſecutions, for meeting in the houſes, where they were ſo eaſily attrapped, and with ſuch difficulty could eſcape the hands of theſe cruel Men; they were forced to take the Fields, though with the unavoid-

avoidable inconveniencies of all Weathers, without a shelter; yet proposing the advantages, both of *Conveniency* for meeting in greater Numbers, and of *Secrecy* in the remote Recesses of wild Muirs and Mountains, and of *Safety*, in betaking themselves to inaccessible natural Strengths, safest either for Flight or Resistance; and withal, having Occasion there to give a *Testimony* for the *Reformation* with greater freedom. And to this very day, though many have a pretended Liberty to meet in houses, under the security of a Man's promise, whose Principle is to *keep no faith to Hereticks*, and under the shelter and shadow of an *Antichristian Toleration*; yet there is a poor people that are out of the compass of this favour, whom all these forementioned reasons do yet oblige to keep the Fields, that is both for conveniency, secrecy, and safety; they dare not trust those who are still thirsting insatiably after their blood, nor give them such advantages as they are seeking, to prey upon them, by shutting themselves within houses; and moreover, they take themselves to be called indispensibly, in the present Circumstances, to be as publick, or more than ever, in their Testimony for the Preached Gospel, even in the open Fields. Now this would be a little cleared; and to essay the same, I would offer, 1*st*, Some *Concessions*. 2*dly*, Some *Postulata*, or supposed Grounds. 3*dly*, Some more special *Considerations*, which will conduce to clear the Case.

*First*, That we may more distinctly understand what is the Duty here pleaded for, and what is that which these people suffer for, here Vindicated; let these *Concessions* be premised,

1. Now under the Evangelical Dispensation, there is no place more sacred than another, to which the Worship of God is astricted, and which he hath chosen for his house and habitation, whither he will have his people to resort and attend, as under the legal and typical dispensation was ordered: there was a place where the Lord caused his *Name to dwell*, *Deut.* xii. 5, 11. But now, neither *in the Mountain, nor at Jerusalem, the Father will be worshipped, but every where, and any where, in Spirit and in Truth*, John iv. 21, 23, 24. And the Apostle wills that

that *Men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without Wrath and doubting*, 1 Tim. ii. 8. We abhor therefore the *Englisb* and *Popisb* Superstition of Consecrated Places, and assert that all are alike in this respect, houses or fields.

2. In the constitute Case of the Church, or when ever it can be obtained, order, decency, and conveniency doth require that there be appointed places, sequestrate and appropriate for the Meetings of the Lord's people, according to that general rule, *Let all things be done decently and in order*, 1 Cor. xiv. *last vers.* And, in that Case private *Conventicles*, set up in a Schismatical Competition with publick Churches, are not to be allowed. But even then, private Meetings for Prayer and Conference, are necessary, lawful, and laudable. But now the Church is broken by a Crew of Schismatical Intruders, who have occupied the places of publick Assemblies, and thrust out the Lord's Ministers: It is these we scare at, and not the place.

3. Suppose a Magistrate should interdict and discharge the publick place of Worship, and restrain from the Churches, but leave all other places free to meet in: or if he should prohibite the houses, but leave freedom for the fields; or discharge the fields, and give Liberty in houses; in that case we would not contend for the place out of contempt: though it were duty then to witness against such a Sacrilegious Injury done to the Church, in taking away their Meeting places; yet it were inexpedient to stickle and strive for one *Spot*, if we might have another: then when only excluded out of a place, and not included or concluded and restricted to other places, nor otherwise robbed of the Churches privileges, we might go to houses when shut out of Churches, and go to fields when shut out of houses, and back again to houses when discharged thence. But this is not our case, for we are either interdicted of all places; or if allowed any, it is under such confinements as are inconsistent with the freedom of the Gospel; and besides, we have to do with one from whom we can take no orders to determine our Meetings; nor can we acknowledge our Li-

Liberty to depend on his Authority, or favour, which we cannot own nor truſt, nor accept of any protection from him. Neither is it the place of fields or houſes that we contend for; nor is it that which he mainly oppoſes: but it is the freedom of the Goſpel faithfully preached, that we are ſeeking to promove and improve, and he is ſeeking to ſuppreſs. The conteſt betwixt him and us, is the Service of God in the Goſpel of his Son; that we profeſs, without owning him for the Liberty of its excerciſe: and therefore as an enemy to the Matter and Object of theſe religious Exerciſes, which are the eye-ſore of Antichriſt, he proſecutes with ſuch rage the Manner and Circumſtances thereof.

4. Even in this caſe, when we are perſecuted in one place, we flee unto another, as the Lord allows and directs, *Matth.* x. 23. And if occaſionally we find a houſe, either publick, or a Church, or a private dwelling-houſe that may be ſafe or convenient, or capacious of the numbers gathered, we think it indifferent to meet there, or in the Field; but, in the preſent circumſtances, it is more for the Conveniency of the people, and more congruous for the day's Teſtimony, to keep the Fields in their Meetings, even though it irritate the incenſed enemies. Which that it may appear,

*Secondly*, I ſhall offer ſome *Poſtulata* or *Hypotheſes* to be conſidered, or endeavour to make them good, and infer from them the neceſſity and expediency of *Field Meetings* at this time in theſe circumſtances: which conſequently vindicate the Sufferings that have been thereupon ſtated formerly, and are ſtill continued.

1. It is neceſſary at all times that Chriſtians ſhould *meet together*, whether they have Miniſters or not, and whether the Magiſtrate allow it or not. The authority of God, their neceſſity, duty, and Intereſt, makes it indiſpenſible in all caſes. It is neceſſary for their mutual help, *two are better than one, for if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow*, Eccleſ. iv. 9, 10. It is neceſſary for their mutual *Encouragement* in an evil day, to ſpeak often one to another, which the Lord hath promiſed to take ſpecial Notice of *Mal.* iii. 16. It is neceſſary for cheriſhing mutual *Love*, which is the new Command-

ment, and the badge of all Christ's Disciples, *John* xiii. 34, 35. a principle which they are all *taught of God*, 1 *Thess.* iv. 9. It is necessary for nourishing *Union* to communicate together, in order to their being of *one mind, and of one mouth, and that they receive one another*, Rom. xv. 5, 6, 7. 1 *Cor.* i. 10. *Standing fast in one Spirit, striving together for the faith of the Gospel*, Philip. i. 27. It is necessary for *serving one another in Love*, Gal. v. 13. *Bearing one anothers burdens, and so fulfilling the Law of Christ*, Gal. vi. 2. *Submitting to one another*, Ephes. v. 21. 1 *Pet.* v. 5. *teaching and admonishing one another*, Col. iii. 16. *comforting one another*, 1 Thess. iv. last vers. *edifying one another*, 1 Thess. v. 11. *exhorting one another*, Heb. iii. 13. It is necessary for *considering one another, and provoking unto love, and to good works*; and for this end, they must *not forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is, for that were to sin wilfully*, Heb. x. 24, 25, 26. Must these things depend on the Magistrate's allowance? Or can they be done without meeting together in private or publick? The same reasons do alike conclude for the Necessity of both. If then there must be Meetings for these ends necessary at all times, then when they cannot do it within doors, they must do it without.

2. There is a Necessity for meeting for *preaching and hearing the Gospel*; the enjoyment whereof hath always been the greatest design and desire of Saints, who could not live without it; therefore they *loved the place where the Lord's honour dwelt*, Psal. xxvi. 8. This was the *one thing they desired of the Lord*, and that they *would seek after, to behold the beauty of the Lord*, Psal. xxvii. 4. For this they *panted*, and their Soul *thirsted*, Psal. xlii. 1, 2. without which every Land is but *a thirsty Land, where there is no Water*, where they cannot see the *Power and the Glory of God*, as they have *seen it in the Sanctuary*, Psal. lxiii. 1, 2. *O how amiable are his Tabernacles? One day in his Courts is better than a thousand else where*, Psal. lxxxiv. 1, 10. No gladness to them like that of *going to the House of the Lord*, Psal. cxxii. 1. A Christian can not possibly live without Gospel Ordinances, no more than Children can want the breasts, or *the poor and needy*

*want*

want Water when their Tongue faileth for thirst; they are promised it *in high Places*, and *in the Wilderness*, when they can get it no where else, *Isa.* xli. 17, 18. There is an innate desire in the Saints after it, *as new born Babes they desire the sincere milk of the Word*, 1 Pet. ii. 2. So that any that is offended with them for this, must be offended with them for being Christians, for as such they must have the Gospel, cost what it will. It is the greatest desire of the Spouse of Christ, to know *where he feeds, and where to find the Shepherds tents*, where they may *rest at Noon*, Cant. i. 7, 8. And not only in their esteem is it necessary; but, in it self, the Church cannot bear the want of it, for *where there is no vision, the people perish*, Prov. xxix. 18. and when there is no open Vision, the Word of the Lord is then very *precious*, 1 Sam. iii. 1. No wonder then that the Lord's people make such ado for it, in a famine of it, that they go from Sea to Sea to seek it, *Amos* viii. 11, 12. and that they are content to have it at any rate, tho' with the *peril of their lives, because of the Sword of the Wilderness*, Lam. v. 9. Seeing they cannot live without it. Would Men be hindered, by Law, from seeking their natural Food? Nay, they would fight for it before they wanted it, against any that opposed them. If then they cannot get it with peace, they must have it with trouble: and if they cannot get it in houses, they must have it wherever it is to be found, with Freedom, and the Favour of God.

3. It is necessary that the Meetings be as *publick*, as they can be with Conveniency and Prudence; yea, simple hazard should no more hinder their *Publickness* and *Solemnity*, than their being at all. Especially, in an evil time, when Wickedness is encouraged and established, and Conformity thereto pressed, Truth banished, and a Witness for Christ suppressed, Corruption in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government connived at, countenanced, and advanced, the Word of God is become a reproach, and Men have no delight in it, Apostasy is become universal, and both Magistrates and Ministers generally turned promoters of it, which is the true Description of our times: then the Meetings of the Lord's people, that endeavour to keep clean Garments, should

be more frequent, publick, and avowed. The reasons are, 1. Then the Call of God, by his Word and Works, is more clamant, for publick and solemn *Humiliation*, in order to avert publick imminent Judgments, and impendent strokes from God. It is not enough to reform ourselves privately and personally, and to keep ourselves pure from such courses, by an abstraction and withdrawing from them, as is proved, *Head* 1. (where this is improved as an argument against hearing the *Curates*) Nor is it enough to admonish, exhort, reprove, and testify against such as are involved in these courses; but it is necessary, for them that would be approven, to adhere to the Truth, and serve God after the right manner, and to mourn, sigh, and cry for all the abominations of the time, so as to get the *mark of Mourners on their foreheads*, Ezek. ix. 4. and they that do so, will be found *on the Mountains like doves in the valleys, all of them mourning, every one for his Iniquity*, Ezek. vii. 16. and not only to be humbled every *family apart, but there must be a great mourning, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon*, Zech. xii. 11. to the end. That is a solemn publick mourning there promised. There must be a *gathering themselves together, though a Nation not desired, before the decree bring forth, before the day pass as the Chaff, and the fierce Anger of the Lord come upon them*, if they would have any possibility of their hiding, *Zeph.* ii. 1, 2, 3. The *Trumpet then must be blown in Zion, to sanctify a fast, to call a solemn Assembly, gather the people, sanctify the Congregation, assemble the Elders, gather the Children,*——— Joel ii. 15, 16. As was exemplified in *Ezra*'s time, when there were great Congregations of people assembled publickly, *weeping very sore*, then there was *hope in Israel.* Ezra x. 1, 2. and when that Messenger of the Lord came up from *Gilgal* to the people of *Israel*, and reproved them for their Defections and Compliance with the *Canaanites*, they had such a solemn Day of Humiliation, that the place of their Meeting got a name from it, they called the name of that place *Bochim*, that is, *weepers*, Judg. ii. 4, 5. And when the *Ark* was at *Kirjath-jearim all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord* ——— *and they gathered together at Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out before*

*before the Lord*, 1 *Sam.* vii. 2, 6. I ſhewed before, that there is reaſon to fear that the ſins of a few, eſpecially of Magiſtrates and Miniſters, will bring wrath upon the whole body of the people, as is plain from theſe Scriptures, *Lev.* x. 6. *Iſa.* xliii. 27, 28. *Lam.* iv. 13. *Micah* iii. 11. 21. ſhewing the ſins of Miniſters may procure univerſal Deſtruction. And 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 25. 2 *Kings* xxi. 11. *Jer.* xv. 4. proving the ſins of Magiſtrates may procure it: And *Numb.* iii. 14, 15. *Joſh.* xxii. 17, 18. Demonſtrating that the ſins of a party of the people, may draw wrath upon the whole. Now, the only way the Scripture points out to evite and avert ſuch publick Judgments, is to make our reſentment of theſe indignities done to our God, our Mourning over them, and our witneſs againſt them, as *publick* as the ſins are, at leaſt as publick as we can get them, by a publick *pleading for Truth*, *Iſa.* lix. 4. For the defect whereof he hides his face, and wonders that there is no man, no interceſſor, *ver.* 16. that is, none to plead with God, in behalf of his born down Truths; there muſt be in order to this, a publick *ſeeking of Truth*, which if there be any found making Conſcience of, the Lord makes a gracious overture to *pardon* the City, *Jer.* v. 1. We cannot think there were no mourners in ſecret there, but there was no publick meetings for it, and publick owning the duty of that day: There muſt be *valour for the Truth upon the earth*, *Jer.* ix. 3. a publick and reſolute owning of Truth: there muſt be a *making up the hedge, and ſtanding in the gap* for the Land, that the Lord ſhould not deſtroy it, *Ezek.* xxii. 30. a publick Teſtimony in oppoſition to defection: there muſt be a *pleading with our mother*, *Hoſ.* ii. 2. which is ſpoken to private perſons in the plural number, commanding all that would conſult their own ſafety, publickly to condemn the ſins of the whole Nation, that they may eſcape the publick puniſhment thereof, as it is expounded in *Pool's Synop. Critic. in locum.* By this means we muſt endeavour to avert the wrath and anger of God, which muſt certainly be expected to go out againſt the Land, which hath all the procuring Cauſes, all the Symptoms, Prognoſticks, and Evidences of a Land devoted to Deſtruction, that ever a Land had. If then there muſt be ſuch

publick

publick Mourning, and such solemn Gathering for it, such publick Pleading for Truth, seeking of Truth, valour for Truth, making up the Hedge, and pleading with our Mother, there must of necessity be publick Meetings for it: for these things cannot be done in private, but must be done by way of Testimony. Which I make a 2d Reason. The Nature and End of Meeting for Gospel Ordinances is for a publick *Testimony* for Christ and his Truths and Interest, against Sin and all Dishonours done to the Son of God. So that the only End, is not only to bring to Christ, and build up Souls in Christ, but it is to testify also for the Glory of Christ, whether Souls be brought in and built up or not. The preached Gospel is not only the Testimony *of Christ*, 1 *Cor.* i. 6. but a Testimony *for Christ*; in which sense, the *Testimony of Jesus* is said to be the *Spirit of Prophecy*, *Rev.* xix. 10. so called, *Durham* expounds it, for its bearing Witness to Christ; in which respect Ministers are often called *Witnesses*. It is also the Testimony of *Israel* (not only given to *Israel*, but given by *Israel*) unto which the Tribes go up, *the Tribes of the Lord*, *Psal.* cxxii. 4. Whensoever therefore, or howsoever the Testimony of the Church is contradicted, that's not a lawful Meeting of the Tribes of the Lord. It is also the Testimony of the Preachers for Christ, against them that will not receive them, *Mark* vi. 11. And a *Witness unto all Nations* to whom they preach, *Matth.* xxiv. 14. And of all the Witnesses that hold it, and suffer for it, *Rev.* vi. 9. And the same which is the Word of Christ's Testimony, is the Word of theirs, *Rev.* xii. 11. by which they overcome, and for which they love not their lives. Wherever then the Gospel is preached, it must be a Testimony; but it cannot be a Testimony except it be publick, at least as publick as can be, as we find all Christ's Witnesses were in the Old and New Testaments. 3. The motive or principle prompting the Lord's people to a frequenting of Gospel Ordinances, is a *publick Spirit*, stirring up to a publick Generation Work, whereof this is the Scope, to promote the Kingdom of Christ, and not only to obey the Lord's Command enjoining the Duty, to enjoy the Lord, the End thereof, or to edify their own Souls; but to partake in, and promote

mote this great Work of the Day, for the Glory of God, and the Church's Good. For the Gospel is not only a *Banner of Love* over his Friends, but Christ's *Standard* of War against his Enemies, *Isa.* lix. 19. under which, all that countenance it, are called to list themselves as his soldiers, *called, and chosen, and faithful:* And it is required of his soldiers that they be valiant for the Truth upon the earth, discovering a gallant Greatness and Generosity of a publick Spirit, having their Designs and Desires not limited to their own Interests, even Spiritual, but aiming at no less than Christ's publick Glory, the Church's publick Good, the Saints publick Comfort, having a publick Concern for all Christ's Interests, publick Sympathy for all Christ's Friends, and a publick declared Opposition to all Christ's Enemies: This is a publick Spirit, the true Spirit of all Christ's zealous Lovers and Votaries; which, when he is a missing, will prompt them to go *about the City*, in the *Streets*, and in the *broad Ways*, to seek *him whom their Soul loveth*, *Cant.* iii. 2. and not only in their *beds*, or secret *corners*, but they must go to the Streets, and to the Fields, and avow their seeking of Christ, even though the *Watchmen* should *smite* them, and the keepers of the walls take their Vails from them, *Cant.* v. Which obliges them not only to take him into their own Cottages, and entertain him in their hearts, and give him a Throne there, but also to endeavour to enlarge his dwelling, and propagate his courtly Residence through the World, that the Kingdoms of the Earth may become the Kingdoms of the Lord; and if they cannot get that done, yet that he may have the Throne in their Mother's house, and take up his abode in the Church, or Nation they belong to, that there his Ordinances be established in purity, peace, plenty, and power, according to his own Order; and if that cannot be, but that their Mother play the harlot, and he be provoked to give up house with her, and, by her Childrens treachery, the usurping Enemy be invited in to his place and habitation, and take violent possession of it, and enact his extrusion and expulsion by Law; yet they will endeavour to secure a place for him among the Remnant, that he may get a lodging among the *afflicted and poor people*

*people that truſt in the Name of the Lord* —— that they may *feed and ly down, and none make them afraid, Zeph.* iii. 12, 13 that the *poor of the flock that wait on him, may know that it is the Word of the Lord, Zech.* xi. 11. they will lay out themſelves to ſtrengthen their hands. This is the Work of the publick ſpirited Lovers of the Goſpel, which hath been, and yet is the great Work of this our Day, to carry the Goſpel, and follow it, and keep it up, through the Land, as the Standard of Chriſt, againſt all Oppoſition, from mountain to hill, when now *Zion* hath been labouring to bring forth as a woman in travail, and made *to go forth out of the city, and to dwell in the field, Mic.* iv. 10. Therefore, ſeeing it is the publick Work of the Day, and all its Followers muſt have ſuch a publick Spirit, it follows that the Meetings to promote it muſt be as publick as is poſſible. 4. The Intereſt and Privilege of the Goſpel, to have it in freedom, purity, power, and plenty, is the publick Concern of all the Lord's people, preferable to all other Intereſts; and therefore more publickly, peremptorily, and zealouſly to be contended for, than any other Intereſt whatſoever. It is the *Glory of the Land,* 1 *Sam.* iv. 21, without which, *Ichabod* may be the name of every thing; and every Land, though never ſo pleaſant, will be but a dry and parched land, where no water is, in the eſteem of them that have ſeen the *Lord's Glory and Power in the Sanctuary, Pſal.* lxiii. 1. Whereas its Name is *Hephzibah* and *Beulah, Iſa.* lxii. 4. and *Jehovah-Shammah, Ezek.* xlviii. *ult.* where God is enjoyed in his Goſpel Ordinances; and the want and *reproach of the Solemn Aſſemblies,* is a matter of the ſaddeſt mourning to the Lord's people, *Zeph.* iii. 18. Therefore, while the *Ark* abode in *Kirjath-jearim,* the time was thought very *long,* and *all the houſe of Iſrael lamented after the Lord,* 1 *Sam.* vii. 2. then they *heard of it at Ephratah, and found it in the fields of the wood, Pſal.* cxxxii. 6. But it hath been longer than twenty years in our fields of the woods, and therefore we ſhould be lamenting after it with greater concernedneſs; eſpecially remembring, how we were privileged with the Goſpel, which was ſometimes publickly embraced and countenanced by Authority, and enſured to us by Laws,

Statutes,

Statutes, Declarations, Proclamations, Oaths, Vows, and Covenant-engagements, whereby the Land was dedicated and devoted unto the Son of God, whose Conquest it was. And now are not all the People of God obliged to do what they can, to hinder the recalling of this dedication, and the giving up of the Land as an offering unto Satan and Antichrist? And how shall this be, but by a publick contending for this Privilege, and a resolving they shall sooner bereave us of our hearts blood, than of the Gospel in its freedom and purity? But this we cannot contend for publickly, if our Meetings be not publick. 5. The nature and business of the Gospel-ministry is such, that it obliges them that exercise it to endeavour all publickness, without which they cannot discharge the extent of their Instructions: their very names and titles do insinuate so much. They are *Witnesses* for Christ, and therefore their Testimonies should be publick, though their Lot oftentimes be to witness in *Sackcloth*. They are *Heralds*, and therefore they should proclaim their Master's will, though their Lot be often to be *a voice crying in the wilderness*, as *John* the *Baptist* was in his Field-preachings. They are *Ambassadors*, and therefore they should maintain their Master's Majesty in the publick port of his Ambassadors, and be wholly taken up about their Sovereign's business. They are *Watchmen*, and therefore they should keep and maintain their post their Masters hath placed them at. Nay, they are *Lights* and *Candles*, and therefore *cannot be hid*, Matth. v. 14, 15. The Commands and Instructions given them, infer the necessity of this. They must *cry aloud*, and *not spare*, and *lift up their voice like a trumpet, and shew the Lord's people their transgressions and sins*, Isa. lviii. 1. They are Watchmen upon *Jerusalem's* walls which must not *hold their peace day nor night, nor keep silence, nor give the Lord rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth*, Isa. lxii. 6, 7. They are Watchmen, that must command all *to hearken to the sound of the trumpet*, Jer. vi, 17. *They* must *be valiant for the Truth upon the earth*, Jer. ix, 3. They must say, *Thus saith the Lord even to a rebellious Nation, whether they will hear or forbear, and not be afraid of them*, Ezek. ii. 5, 6. They must *cause the people*

*people to know their abominations*, Ezek. 16. 2. *and the abominations of their fathers*, Ezek. xx. 4. And what their Master *tells them in darkneſs, that they muſt ſpeak in the Light, and what they hear in the ear, that they muſt preach upon the houſe-tops*, Matth. x. 27. Theſe things cannot be done in a clandeſtine way; and therefore now, when there is ſo much neceſſity, it is the duty of all faithful Miniſters, to be laying out themſelves to the utmoſt in their paſtoral Function, for the ſuppreſſing of all the evils of the time, notwithſtanding of any prohibition to the contrary, in the moſt publick manner, according to the examples of all the faithful ſervants of the Lord, both in the Old and New Teſtaments; though it be moſt impiouſly and tyrannically interdicted, yet the Laws of God ſtand unrepealed; and therefore all who have a trumpet and a mouth, ſhould ſet the trumpet to their mouth, and ſound a certain ſound; not in ſecret, for that will not alarm the people, but in the moſt publick manner they can have acceſs to; and it is the duty of all to come and hear, and obey their Warnings and Witneſſings, command who will the contrary. It was for *mocking, deſpiſing his words, and miſuſing his prophets, that the wrath of the Lord aroſe againſt his people*, the *Jews, until there was no remedy*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16. Therefore, from all that is ſaid, it muſt be concluded, that Meetings for Goſpel-ordinances muſt be as publick as can be: and if ſo, then that they ſhould be in houſes, ſafety will not permit to us; to go to the ſtreets or market-places, neither ſafety nor prudence will admit: therefore we muſt go to the fields with it, coſt what it will.

4. Seeing then there muſt be Meetings, and publick Meetings; and ſeeing we cannot, and dare not in Conſcience countenance the *Curates* Meetings, we muſt hear, own, embrace and follow ſuch faithful Miniſters, as are clothed with Chriſt's Commiſſion, Righteouſneſs and Salvation, and do keep the Words of the Lord's patience, and the Teſtimony of the Church of *Scotland* in particular. This I think will not, or dare not be denied, by any that own the Authority of Chriſt (which none can deny or inſtruct the contrary, but our Miniſters that ventured their lives in preaching in the fields, have had a certain

certain seal to their Ministry, and is sealed sensibly in the conviction of many, and confession of moe) that Christ's Ministers and Witnesses, employed about the great Gospel-message, clothed with his Authority, and under the obligation of his Commands lying upon them, must preach, and the people must hear them, notwithstanding of all Laws to the contrary. Divines grant, that the Magistrate can no more suspend from the exercise, than he can depose from the Office of the Ministry; for the one is a degree unto the other. See *Apollon. de jure Magist. circa Sacra, Part* 1. *p.* 334, &c. Rutherford's *Due Right of Presbyterians, p.* 430, &c. For *whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto men more than unto God*, the Consciences of the greatest Enemies may be appealed unto, *Acts*, iv. 19. *They* must *not cease*, wherever they have a Call and Occasion, *to teach and preach Jesus Christ*, Acts v. *last verse. Necessity is laid upon* them; *yea, woe unto* them, *if they preach not the gospel*, 1 Cor. ix 16. *In all things they must approve themselves, as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities*, &c. *by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true, as unknown, and yet well known*, —— 2 Cor. vi. 4, 8, 9. They must *preach the word, be instant in season, and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine*, 2 Tim. iv. 2. Dare any say then, that a Magistrate's or Tyrant's Laws can exauctorate a Minister? or silence him by his own proper elicite Acts, as King or Tyrant, or formally and immediately? Will mischiefs framed into a Law warrant such iniquity? or an act of a King of Clay rescind the Mandates of the King of Kings? or exempt people from obedience due thereunto? Or will the Bishops Canons, who have no power from Christ, or the censures of them, that stand condemned themselves by the Constitutions of the Church, and Acts of the General Assemblies, have any weight in the case? And yet these are all that can be alledged, except odious and invidious calumnies, the ordinary Lot of the most faithful, against the present preachers in the fields, which are sufficiently confuted in their late *informatory Vindication*, and need not here be touched. Seeing therefore they have given up them-

themſelves unto Chriſt as his ſervants, they muſt reſolve to be employed for him to the utmoſt of their power, and muſt not think of laying up their Talent in a napkin; eſpecially now when there is ſo great neceſſity, when defection is yet growing, covered, countenanced more and more, Diviſion nothing abated, but new oil caſt daily into the flames of devouring Contentions; the people generally drowned in the deluge of the times ſnares and ſins, and like to be overwhelmed in the inundation of black *Popery*, now coming in at the opened ſluice of this wicked *Toleration*, with the Congratulations of *Addreſſing Miniſters*, when now the Harveſt is great, and the Labourers are few; Great then is the neceſſity, and double muſt the woe be that abideth ſuch Miniſters, as are ſilent at ſuch a time: and great and inexcuſeable is the ſin of the people, if they do not come out, and countenance faithful Miniſters, *the Meſſengers of the Lord of hoſts*, from whom *they ſhould ſeek the law*, Mal. ii. 7, eſpecially when there are ſo many, that have palpably betrayed their Truſt, and ſo few that are faithful in the neceſſary Teſtimony of the day. Seeing then faithful Miniſters muſt preach, and people muſt hear, where can they meet with conveniency, and ſafety, and freedom, except either under the ſhelter of this wicked *Toleration*, which they dare not do, or elſe go to the fields?

5. It muſt be obtained alſo, that the Miniſters have *a right* to preach, in this *unfixed* manner, wherever they have a Call; their relation now, in this diſturbed ſtate of the Church, being to be conſidered more extenſively, than in its unſettled condition. For underſtanding which, we muſt diſtinguiſh a three or fourfold relation, that a Miniſter of the Goſpel ſtands into. Firſt, He is a *miniſter of Chriſt, and ſteward of the myſteries of God*, 1 Cor. iv. 1. having his Commiſſion from Chriſt as his Maſter: and this relation he hath univerſally, wherever he is. Secondly, He is a Miniſter of the Catholick Church, tho' not a Catholick Miniſter of it, which is his primary relation; for that is the Church, in which Miniſters are *ſet*, 1 Cor. xii. 28. and to which they are *given*, Eph. iv. 11, 12. Thirdly, He is a Miniſter of the particular Church whereof he is a Member; and ſo in *Scotland*, a Miniſter

Miniſter is a Miniſter of the Church of *Scotland*, and is obliged to lay out himſelf for the good of that Church. Fourthly, He is a Miniſter of the particular Congregation, whereunto he hath a fixed relation in a conſtitute caſe of the Church: this laſt is not eſſential to a Miniſter of Chriſt, but is ſubſervient to the former relation; but when ſeparated from ſuch a relation, or when it is impoſſible to be held, he is ſtill a Miniſter of Chriſt, and his Call to preach the Goſpel ſtands and binds. See Mr. *Durham*'s Digreſſion on this particular on *Rev. chap.* 2. *pag.* 89. *&c. in Quarto.* For though he be not a Catholick-officer, having an equal relation to all Churches, as the Apoſtles were; nevertheleſs he may exerce Miniſterial Acts authoritatively, upon occaſions warrantably calling for the ſame, in other Churches, as Heralds of one King, having authority to charge in his name whereever it be; eſpecially in a broken ſtate of the Church, when all the reſtriction his Miniſterial relation is capable of, is only a ty and call to officiate in the ſervice of that Church whereof he is a Member; and ſo he hath right to preach every where, as he is called, for the edification of that Church. The reaſons are, 1. He hath power from Chriſt the Maſter of the whole Church; and therefore, where-ever the Maſter's authority is acknowledged, the Servant's Miniſterial authority cannot be denied; at leaſt in relation to that Church, whereof he is a Member as well as a Miniſter. 2. He hath commiſſion from Chriſt, principally for the edification of Chriſt's body, as far as his Miniſtry can reach, according to the ſecond relation. 3. His relation to the whole Church is principal, that which is fixed to a part is only ſubordinate, becauſe it is a part of the whole. 4. His Commiſſion is indefinite to preach the Goſpel, which will ſuit as well in one place as in another. 5. The ſame great ends of the Church's great good and edification, which warrants fixing of a Miniſter to a particular charge in the Church's peaceable ſtate, will warrant his officiating more largely in her diſturbed ſtate. 6. Elſe it would follow, that a faithful Miniſter, ſtanding in that relation to a diſturbed and deſtroyed Church, and all his gifts and graces were uſeleſs in that caſe, which notwithſtanding

ing are given for the good of the Church. 7. Yea, by this, when his fixed relation cannot be kept, it would follow, that he ceased to be a Minister, and his commission expired; so that he should stand in no other relation to Christ, than any private person so qualified, which were absurd: for by commission he is absolutely set apart for the work of the Ministry, so long as Christ hath work for him, if he continue faithful. 8. This hath been the practice of all the Propagators of the Gospel from the beginning, and of our Reformers in particular; without which they could never have propagated it so far: and it was never accounted the Characteristick of Apostles, to preach unfixedly; because in times of persecutions, Pastors and Doctors also might have preached where-ever they came, as the Officers of the Church of *Jerusalem* did, when scattered upon the persecution of *Stephen*, *Acts* viii. 1. did go every where preaching the word, *ver.* 4. Since therefore they may and must preach, in this unfixed manner, they must in this broken state look upon all the godly in the nation, that will own and hear them, to be their congregation, and embrace them all, and consult their conveniency and universal advantage, in such a way as all equally may be admitted, and none excluded from the benefit of their Ministry. And therefore they must go to the fields with it.

6. The Lord hath so signally owned, successfully countenanced, and singularly sealed *Field Preaching* in these unfixed exercises, that both Ministers and people have been much encouraged against all opposition to prosecute them, as having experienced much of the Lord's power and presence in them, and of the breathings of the enlivening, enlarging, enlightening and strengthning influences of the Spirit of God upon them. The people are hereby called, in this case of defection, to seek after these waters that they have been so often refreshed by: for in this case of defection, God being pleased to seal with a palpable blessing on their souls, the word from Ministers adhering to their principles, they may safely look on this as a call from God to hear them, and follow after them so owned of the Lord. And it being beyond all doubt, that the Assemblies of the Lord's people to partake

take of pure ordinances, with full freedom of Conscience in the fields, hath been signally owned and blessed of the Lord, and hath proven a mean to spread the knowledge of God beyond any thing that appeared in our best times; and in despight of this signal appearance of God, and envy at the good done in these Meetings, all endeavours being used by wicked men to suppress utterly all these Rendevouzes of the Lord's Militia, both by open force and cunning *Midianitish* wiles; Ministers cannot but look upon it as their duty, and that the Lord hath been preaching from Heaven, to all who would hear and understand it, that this way of preaching, even this way, was that wherein his soul took pleasure, and to which he hath been, and is calling all who would be co-workers with him this day, to help forward the interest of his Crown and Kingdom. Many hundreds of persecuted people can witness this, and all the Martyrs have sealed it with their blood, and remembred it particularly on the scaffolds, that they found the Lord there, and that he did lead them thither, where he made them to ride upon the high places of the earth, and to eat the increase of the fields, and to suck honey out of the rock, and that in their experience, under the Spirit's pouring out from on high, they found the wilderness to be a fruitful field, and, in their esteem, their feet were beautiful upon the mountains that brought good tidings, that published peace, that brought good tidings of good, that published salvation, that said unto *Zion*, Thy God reigneth. And all the Ministers that followed this way, while they were faithful, and had but little strength, and kept his Word, and did not deny his Name, found that verified in their experience, which is said of *Philadelphia*, *Revel.* iii. 8. that they had *an open door which no man could shut.* The characters whereof, as they are expounded by Mr. *Durham*, were all verified in these Meetings: where 1. The Ministers had a door of utterance upon the one side opened to them; and the peoples ears were opened to welcome the same, in love to edification, simplicity, and diligence on the other. 2. This had real changes following, many being made humble, serious, tender, fruitful, *&c.* 3. The Devil raged and set himself

ſelf to oppoſe, traduce, and ſome way to blaſt the Miniſtry of the moſt faithful more than any others; juſt as when *Paul* had a greater door and effectual opened to him, there were *many adverſaries*, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 9. 4. Yet the Lord hath been obſerveably defeating the Devil and profanity in every place, where the Goſpel came, and made him fall like lightning from Heaven, by the preaching of the word. 5. And the moſt experimental proof of all was, that hereby ground was gained upon the kingdom of the Devil, and many priſoners brought off to Jeſus Chriſt. And therefore ſeeing it is ſo, this muſt certainly be a call to them who are yet labouring in that work, which others have left off, to endeavour to keep this door open with all diligence, and reap the corn while it is ripe, and when the ſun ſhines make hay, and with all watchfulneſs, leſt the wicked one ſow his tares, if they ſhould fall remiſs.

7. As for the circumſtance of the *place*, of this unfixed manner of celebrating the ſolemn ordinances of the Worſhip of God, in a time of perſecution: this cannot be quarrelled at by any, but ſuch as will quarrel at any thing. But even that is better warranted, than to be weakened with their quarrels. For before the Law, *Mountain-worſhip* was the firſt Worſhip of the World, as *Abram's Jehovah-jireh*, *Gen.* xxii. 14. *Jacob's Bethel*, (or Houſe of God in the open fields), *Gen.* xxviii. 17, 19. his *Peniel*, *Gen.* xxxii. 30. his *El-Elohe-Iſrael*, *Gen.* xxxiii. *ult.* do witneſs: under the law, they heard of it at *Ephratah*, *they found it in the Fields of the Wood*, *Pſal.* cxxxii. 6. After the law, Field Preaching was the firſt that we read of in the New Teſtament, both in *John* his preaching in the Wilderneſs of *Judea*, being the *voice of one crying in the wilderneſs*, and the Maſter *Uſher* of Chriſt, *Matth.* iii. 1, 3. and in his Ambaſſadors afterwards, who, on the *Sabbath*, went out to a river-ſide where prayer was wont to be made, as *Lydia* was converted at *Paul's* Field Preaching, *Acts* xvi. 13, 14. And chiefly the Prince of Preachers, Chriſt himſelf, preached many a time by the ſides of the mountains, and the ſea-ſide: that preaching, *Matth.* v. was on a mountain, *ver.* 1. And this is the more to be conſidered, that our Lord had liberty of the Synagogues

Synagogues to preach in, yet he frequently left them, and preached either in private houſes, or in the fields; becauſe of the oppoſition of his doctrine by the *Jewiſh* Teachers, who had appointed that any who owned him ſhould be excommunicate: and therefore, in the like caſe, as it is now, his ſervants may imitate their Maſter: for though all Chriſt's Actions are not imitable; ſuch as theſe of his Divine *Power*, and the Actions of his Divine *Prerogative*, (as his taking of the aſs without the Owner's liberty), and the Actings of his *Mediatory* Prerogative, which he did as Mediator; but all his gracious Actions, and moral upon moral grounds, and relative upon the grounds of relative duties, are not only imitable, but the perfect pattern of imitation. Therefore that ſuperſtitious and ridiculous cavil, that ſuch Meetings in fields or houſes are *Conventicles*, gathering ſeparate Congregations, is not worth the taking notice of: for this would reflect upon Chriſt's and his Apoſtles way of preaching, and the conſtant method of propagating the Goſpel in times of perſecution, in all ages ſince, which hath always been by that way which they call *keeping of Conventicles*. It is abſurd to ſay, It is a gathering of ſeparate Congregations, it is only a ſearching or ſeeking after the Lord's ſheep, that are made to wander through all the mountains, and upon every high hill, and his flock which is ſcattered by corrupt Shepherds, and the cruelty of the beaſts of the field, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 5, 6. and preaching to all who will come and hear the word of truth, in ſuch places where they may get it done moſt ſafely, and may be moſt free from diſtraction and trouble of their enemies, who are waiting to find them out, that they may haul them to priſons, or kill them.

8. As for the circumſtance of the *Time*, that is ſpecially alledged to be unſeaſonable, eſpecially when there is a little breathing, and ſome relaxation from the heat of perſecution, to break the peace, and awaken ſleeping dogs by ſuch irritating courſes, is thought not conſiſtent with Chriſtian prudence. This is the old pretence of them that were at eaſe, and preferred that to duty. But as we know no peace at this time, but a peace of confederacy with the enemies of God, which we deſire not to

partake of, and know of no relaxation of perſecution a-gainſt ſuch as continue to witneſs againſt them; ſo let what hath been ſaid above in the third *Hypotheſis*, of the neceſſity of publickneſs in our Meetings at ſuch a time as this is, be conſidered; and let the Scripture be conſulted, and it will appear, not only that in preaching the Goſpel, there muſt be a Witneſs and Teſtimony kept up, (as is proved above), and not only that Miniſters muſt *preach the word, and be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. But that ſuch a time, as this, is the very ſeaſon of a Teſtimony. For, in the Scripture, we find, that Teſtimonies are to be given in theſe ſeaſons eſpecially, 1. When the enemies of God, beginning to relent from their ſtiffneſs and ſeverity, would compound with his Witneſſes, and give them ſome liberty, but not total; as *Pharaoh* would let the Children of *Iſrael* go, but ſtay their flocks: and now our *Pharaoh* will give ſome liberty to ſerve God, but with a reſervation of that part of the matter of it, that nothing be ſaid to alienate the hearts of the Subjects from his arbitrary Government. But *Moſes* thought it then a ſeaſon to teſtify, (tho' the bondage of the people ſhould be thereby continued), that there ſhould not *a hoof* be left behind; for, ſays he, *We know not with what we muſt ſerve the Lord, until we come thither*, *Exod.* x. 24, 25, 26. So muſt we teſtify for every hoof of the intereſt of Chriſt this day. 2. When there is a *Toleration* of Idolatry, and Confederacy with Idolaters, and ſuſpending the execution of *penal Laws* againſt them, or pardoning of thoſe that ſhould be puniſhed: in ſuch a ſeaſon as this, that Meſſenger, that came from *Gilgal*, gave his Teſtimony at *Bochim* againſt their *Toleration* of *Idolatrous Altars*, and Confederacy with the *Canaanites*, *Judg.* ii. 1, 2. He is called an *Angel* indeed, but he was only ſuch an one as Miniſters are, who are called ſo, *Rev.* ii. 1. for heavenly Spirits have brought a heavenly meſſage to particular perſons, but never to the whole people; the Lord hath committed ſuch a treaſure to *earthen Veſſels*, 2 *Cor.* iv. 7. and this came from *Gilgal*, not from Heaven: So the Man of God teſtified againſt *Eli*, for his toleration of wicked Prieſts, though they were his own ſons, 1 *Sam.* ii. 27. *&c.* So *Samuel* witneſſed

neſſed againſt *Saul*, for his toleration and indemnity granted to *Agag*, 1 *Sam.* xv. 23. So the Prophet againſt *Ahab*, for ſparing *Benhadad*, 1 *King.* xx. 42. The Angel of *Epheſus* is commended for this, and he of *Pergamos*, and he of *Thyatira* is condemned, for omitting this Teſtimony, and allowing a *Toleration* of the *Nicolaitans* and *Jezebel*, *Rev.* ii. 2, 14, 20. In ſuch a caſe of univerſal compliance with theſe things, and the peoples indulging themſelves under the ſhadow of the protection of ſuch a Confederacy, the ſervants of the Lord that fear him muſt not ſay a *Confederacy*, though they ſhould be accounted for *ſigns and wonders in Iſrael*, *Iſa.* viii. 12, 13, 18. But now Idolatrous Maſs-Altars are ſet up, none thrown down, penal Statutes againſt *Papiſts* are *ſlopt* and *diſabled*, and the generality of Miniſters are congratulating, and ſaying a Confederacy in their *Addreſſes* for the ſame. 3. When the univerſal Apoſtaſy is come to ſuch a height, that error is prevailing, and few ſiding themſelves in an avowed oppoſition againſt it; as *Elijah* choſe that time, when the people were *halting between two opinions*, 1 *King.* xviii. 21. And generally all the Prophets and Servants of Chriſt, conſulted always the peoples neceſſity for the timing of their Teſtimonies: and was there ever greater neceſſity than now, when *Popery* is coming in like a flood? 4. When wicked men are chief in power; as when *Haman* was promoted, *Mordecai* would not give him one *bow*, though all the people of God ſhould be endangered by ſuch a provocation, *Eſther* iii. 2. And when Tyrants and Uſurpers are ſet up without the Lord's approbation, then they that have the Lord's trumpet ſhould ſet it to their mouth, *Hoſ.* viii. 1. 4. Is not this the caſe now? 5. When, upon the account of this their Teſtimony, the Lord's people are in greater danger, and enemies deſign to maſſacre them, then, if they altogether hold their peace at ſuch a time, there ſhall enlargement and deliverance ariſe another way, but *they and their father's houſe ſhall be deſtroyed*, who are ſilent then, as *Mordecai* ſaid to *Eſther*, *Eſth.* iv. 14. And who knows not the cruel deſigns of the Papiſts now? 6. When iniquity is univerſally abounding, and hypocriſy among Profeſſors,

then the Servants of the Lord muſt *cry aloud and not ſpare, Iſa.* lviii. 1. as the caſe is this day. 7. When the concern of truth, and the Glory of God, is not ſo illuſtriouſly vindicated as he gives us to expect it ſhall be; then the watchmen muſt not hold their peace, and they that make mention of the Name of the Lord muſt not *keep ſilence, Iſa.* lxii. 6, 7. eſpecially when his Name and Glory is blaſphemed, baffled, and affronted, as at this day with a Witneſs. 8. When Miniſters generally are involved in a courſe of defection, and do not give faithful warning, but daub over the peoples and their own defections; then the Prophets muſt propheſy againſt the Prophets, *Ezek.* xiii. 2, 10. *&c.* As, alas! this day there is a neceſſity for it. 9. When publick worſhip is interdicted by law, as it was by that Edict prohibiting *publick Prayer* for 30 days in *Daniel's* time: they could not interdict all prayer to God; for they could forbid nothing by that law, but that which they might hinder and puniſh for contraveening; but mental prayer at leaſt could not be ſo reſtrained. And certain it is, they intended only ſuch prayer ſhould be diſcharged, as might diſcover *Daniel:* but might not the wiſdom of *Daniel* have eluded this interdiction, by praying only ſecretly or mentally? No; whatever carnal wiſdom might dictate, his honeſty did oblige him in that *Caſe of Confeſſion*, when he knew the writing was ſigned, to go into his houſe, and to *open his windows*, and to kneel upon his knees, three times a day,----*as he did aforetime, Dan.* vi. 10. Now, what reaſon can be given for his opening his windows? Was it only to let in the air? or was it to ſee *Jeruſalem* out at theſe windows? The Temple he could look toward, as well when they were ſhut. No other reaſon can be aſſigned, but that it was neceſſary then to avouch the Teſtimony for that indiſpenſible duty then interdicted. And is not publick preaching indiſpenſible duty too? which is declared criminal, except it be confined to the mode their wicked law tolerates; which we can no more homologate, than omit the duty. 10. When it is an evil time, the evil of ſin is incumbent, and the evil of wrath is impendent over a land; then the *Lyon hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord God*

*God hath ſpoken, who can but propheſy? Amos* iii. 8. There is no contradiction here to that word, which hath been miſerably perverted in our day, to palliate ſinful ſilence of time-ſervers, *Amos* v. 13. *The prudent ſhall keep ſilence in that time, for it is an evil time:* whereby we cannot underſtand a wylie withdrawing our Witneſs againſt the times evils: for there they are commanded to beſtir themſelves actively, in ſeeking good, hating the evil, loving the good, and *eſtabliſhing Judgment in the gate*, verſ. 14, 15. but we underſtand by it a ſubmiſſive *ſilence to God*, without fretting (according to that Word, *Jer.* viii. 14. *For the Lord our God hath put us to ſilence*, ——— and *Mic.* vii. 9.) *Calvin* upon the place expounds it, 'The prudent 'ſhall be affrighted at the terrible vengeance of God; or 'they ſhall be compelled to ſilence, not willingly (for 'that were unworthy of Men of courage to be ſilent at 'ſuch Wickedneſs) but, by the force of Tyrants, giving 'them no leave to ſpeak.' Sure then this is ſuch a time, wherein it is prudence to be ſilent to God, but not to be ſilent for God, but to give publick Witneſs againſt the evils of ſin abounding, and publick warning of the evils of puniſhment imminent. 11. Then is the Seaſon of it, when worldly Wiſdom thinks it unſeaſonable, when Men cannot endure ſound Doctrine, but after their own Luſts they heap to themſelves Teachers, having itching Ears, and turn away their Ears from the Truth; then to preach the word, and *be inſtant* is indeed in it ſelf ſeaſonable, becauſe profitable and neceſſary; but it is *out of ſeaſon* as to the Preachers or Hearers external intereſt, and in the eſteem of worldly wiſelings, 2 *Tim.* iv. 2, 3, 4. See *Pool's Synopſ. Critic. in Locum.* So in our day, Men cannot endure free and faithful dealing againſt the ſins of the times, but would have ſmooth things and deceits ſpoken unto them; like thoſe, *Iſa.* xxx. 10. And nothing can be more offenſive, than to ſpeak plainly (ſo as to give every thing its *own Name*) either of the ſins of the times, or of the ſnares of the times, or of the miſeries and evils of the times, or of the duties of the times, or of the dangers, and the preſent Criſis of the times: which no faithful Miniſter can forbear. Therefore ſo much the more is it ſeaſonable, that it is generally thought

thought unseasonable. 12. In a Word, whenever the Testimony of the Church, or any part of it, is opposed and suppressed; then is the season to keep it, and contend for it, and to hold it fast, *as our Crown*, Rev. iii. 10, 11. It must be then a word spoken in due season, and good and necessary (*Prov.* xv. 23.) at this time, to give a publick Testimony against all wrongs done to our blessed Lord Jesus, all the encroachments upon his Prerogatives, all the invasions of the Churches Privileges, all the overturnings of our covenanted Reformation, and this openly designed introduction of *Popery* and *Slavery*. But now how shall this Testimony be given by us conveniently? Or how can it be given at all, at this time, in our Circumstances, so as both the matter and manner of it may be a most significant Witness-bearing to the merit of it, except we go to the Fields? Who can Witness significantly against *Popery* and *Tyranny*, and all the evils to be spoken against this day, under the protection of a Papist and Tyrant, as House-meetings under the Covert of this Toleration are stated? For if these Meetings be private and secret, then the Testimony is not known; if they be publick, then they are exposed to a Prey. Now, by all these general *Hypotheses*, it is already in some measure evident, that *Field Meetings* are very expedient. But I shall add some more particular Considerations, to inculcate the same more closly.

In the *third* Place, besides what is said, To clear the Lawfulness and Necessity of a publick Testimony against the evils of the present time, some considerations may be added to prove the Expediency of this way and manner of giving a Testimony, by maintaining *Field Meetings* in our present Circumstances,

1. The keeping of *Field-Meetings* now, is not only most convenient for testifying, but a very significant Testimony in it self, against this *Popish Toleration*; the wickedness of whose spring and original, and of its Nature and Terms, Channel and Conveyance, End and Design, is shewed in the Historical Narrative thereof, and cannot be denied by any *Presbyterian*, whose constant principle is that there should be no *Toleration* of *Popery*, Idolatry, or Heresy, in this Reformed and Covenanted Church

Church. Reaſon and Religion both will conclude, that this is to be witneſſed againſt, by all that will adhere to the Cauſe of Reformation overturned hereby, and reſolve to ſtand in the Gap againſt Popery to be introduced hereby, and that will approve themſelves as honeſt Patriots in defending the Laws and Liberties of the Country ſubverted hereby. And beſides, if it be conſidered with reſpect to the *Granter*; it is palpable his Deſign is to introduce Popery, and advance Tyranny, which can be hid from none that accept it, the effectuating whereof hath a neceſſary and inſeparable Connexion with the Acceptance of the Liberty; and is ſo far from being avertible by the Accepters, that it is chiefly promoted by their Acceptance, and the deſign of it is to lay them by from all Oppoſition thereto. If it be conſidered with Relation to the *Accepters*, it is plain it muſt be taken as it is given, and received as it is conveyed, from its Fountain of *abſolute Power*, through a Channel of an Arbitrary Law-diſabling and Religion-diſhonouring *Toleration*, which is *always evil*; and with conſent to the ſinful Impoſitions, with which it is tendered; concerning and affecting the Doctrine of Miniſters, that they ſhall preach nothing which may *alienate the Subjects from the Government*; againſt all which there is no Acceſs for a Proteſtation, conſiſtent with the improvement of the Liberty, for it is granted and accepted on theſe very Terms; that there ſhall be no Proteſtation; for if there be, that will be found an alienating of the Hearts of the Subjects from the Government, which, by that Proceſtation, will be reflected upon. If it be conſidered with reſpect to the *Addreſſers* for it, who formally ſay *a Confederacy* with, and congratulate the Tolerator for his Toleration, and all the Miſchiefs he is machinating and effectuating thereby; then ſeeing they have preſumptuouſly taken upon them to ſend it in the name of all *Presbyterians*, it concerns all honeſt Men, zealous Chriſtians, and faithful Miniſters of that perſuaſion and denomination, in Honour and Conſcience, to declare to the world by ſome publick Teſtimony, that they are not Conſenters to that ſinful, ſhameful, and ſcandalous Conſpiracy, nor of the Corporation of theſe flattering *Addreſſers*

*dreſſes* who have betrayed the cauſe; with which all will be interpreted Conſenters, that are not Contradicters. Further this *Toleration* is ſinful as is cleared above, *Period* 6. And to accept of it is contrary to our ſolemn Covenants and Engagements, where we are bound to extirpate *Popery*, preſerve the Reformation, defend our Liberties, and never to accept of a *Toleration* everſive of all theſe precious Intereſts we are ſworn to maintain. And it is heinouſly *ſcandalous*, being, in effect, a ſuccumbing at length, and yielding up the Cauſe, which hath been ſo long controverted, and ſo long contended for; at leaſt an Appearance of ceding and lying by from contending for the Intereſts of Chriſt, of condemning our former Wreſtlings for the ſame, of purchaſing a Liberty to our ſelves at the Rate of burying the Teſtimony in Bondage and Oblivion; of hardening and confirming open Adverſaries in their wicked invaſions on our Religion, Laws, and Liberties; of being weary of the Croſs of Chriſt, that we would fain have eaſe upon any Terms, and of weakning the hands, yea, condemning the Practice and Peremptorineſs of theſe that are exempted from the Benefit, or rather the Snare of it, and ſuffer when others are at eaſe. It is alſo attended with many Inconveniencies; for either ſuch as preach under the Covert of it, muſt forbear declaring ſome part of the Counſel of God, and give no Teſtimony ſeaſonable this day; or elſe if they do, they will ſoon be diſcovered, and made a prey. Hence, ſeeing there muſt be a Teſtimony againſt this *Toleration*, it is certainly moſt expedient to give it there, where the Meeting is without the reach and bounds of it, and interdicted by the ſame Proclamation that tenders it, and where the very gathering in ſuch Places is a Teſtimony againſt it: for to preach in Houſes conſtantly, and leave the Fields, would now be interpreted an homologating the *Toleration* that commands preaching to be ſo reſtricted; eſpecially when an *Addreſs* is made in name of all that accept the Benefit of it; from which *Odium* we could not vindicate ourſelves, if we ſhould ſo make uſe of it.

2. The keeping of *Field Meetings* now is a Teſtimony againſt that wicked *Law* that diſcharges them, and interdicts

dicts them as criminal; yea, in some respect a *case of confession:* for if *Daniel's* case, when publick prayer was discharged under pain of Death, was a Case of Confession, as all grant; then must also our case be, when publick Preaching is discharged under the same penalty: for it is equivalent to an universal discharge of all publick Preaching, when the manner of it is discharged, which we can only have with freedom and safety in way of publick Testimony, which can be none other in our Circumstances but in the Fields. Again, if the Law be wicked that discharges them, as certainly it is, and is demonstrated from what is said already, then it must be sin to obey it; but it were an obeying of it to quite the Fields.

3. The keeping of *Field Meetings* now is a Testimony against *Tyrrany* and Usurpation, encroaching upon our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and presuming to restrict and bound the exercise of the Ministerial Function, and discharge it altogether, except it be modified according to the Circumstances prescribed by a wicked Law, which cannot be allowed as competent to any man whose Authority is not acknowledged, for Reasons given in *Head* 2. Therefore, though there were no more, this is sufficient to call all Ministers to give Testimony against such an Usurpation, by refusing to obey any such Act, and preaching where God giveth a Call. For otherwise, to submit to it, would be an acknowledging of his Magistratical Power to discharge these Meetings, and to give forth sentences against faithful Ministers.

4. The keeping of *Field Meetings* now is a Testimony for the Honour, Headship, and Princely *Prerogative* of Jesus Christ, which hath been the great Word of his Patience in *Scotland*, and by an unparallelled Insolence encroached upon by Usurpers in our day, and, in effect, denied by such as took a new holding for the exercise of their Ministry from their usurped Power. Now, in these Meetings, there is a practical Declaration of their holding their Ministry, and the exercise thereof from Christ alone, without any dependence upon, subordination to, or licence and warrant from his usurping Enemies; and that

that they may and will preach in publick, without Authority from them. If then it be lawful and expedient to maintain the Intereſts of a King of Clay againſt an Uſurper; then much more muſt it be lawful and expedient, to maintain the quarrel of the King of Kings, when wicked men would baniſh him and his Intereſts out of the Kingdom by their tyrannical Cruelty, and cruel mercy of a deſtructive *Toleration.*

5. The keeping of *Field Meetings* now is a Teſtimony for the *Goſpel* and the *Miniſtry* thereof; which is always the deareſt and neareſt Privilege of Chriſtians, and in the preſent Circumſtances, when our lives and our all are embarked in the ſame bottom with it, and fought to be deſtroyed together with it, by a party conſpiring againſt Chriſt, it is neceſſary duty to defend both by reſiſting their unjuſt violence; eſpecially when Religion and the Goſpel is one and the chief of our fundamental *Landrights*, and the Cardinal Condition of the eſtabliſhed Policy, upon which we can only own men for Magiſtrates by the Law of the Land: And this Teſtimony, by defence of the Goſpel and of our own lives, cannot be given expediently any where but in the Fields. It is alſo a Teſtimony for the Freedom and Authority of the Goſpel Miniſtry, and for their holding their unremovable Relation to the Church of *Scotland*, which is infringed by theſe tyrannical Acts, and maintained by theſe Exerciſes; which is a privilege to be contended for, above and beyond all other that can be contended for or defended, eſpecially to be maintained againſt thoſe that have no power or authority to take it away. There will no man quit any of his goods upon a ſentence coming from an incompetent Judge; and ſhall Miniſters or people be hectored or fooled from ſuch a privilege by them that have no ſuch power?

6. The keeping of *Field Meetings* now is a Teſtimony for our *Covenants*, the owning whereof is declared criminal by that ſame Law that diſcharges theſe Meetings; in which we are ſworn to preſerve the Reformation in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, and to defend all the Church's Liberties, and to oppoſe all their Oppoſites, and endeavour their Extirpation: And in the

*Solemn*

*Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties*, we are ſworn, *Becauſe many have of late laboured to ſupplant the Liberties of the Kirk, to maintain and defend the Kirk of* Scotland, *in all her Liberties and Privileges, againſt all who ſhall oppoſe and undermine the ſame, or incroach thereupon, under any Pretext whatſoever.* Since then, the owning of theſe Meetings and the Covenants are both diſcharged together, and the owning of the Covenant does oblige to a publick Oppoſition againſt the Diſchargers, and an avowed Maintenance of the Church's Privileges, whereof this is, in a manner, the only and chief Liberty now left to be maintained, to keep Meetings where we may teſtify againſt them, without dependence on their Toleration; it muſt follow, that theſe Meetings are to be maintained, which only can be in the Fields, with conveniency.

7. To give over theſe *Field Meetings* now, would be an hardening and encouraging of theſe Enemies in their wicked deſign of baniſhing all theſe Meetings out of the Land; which manifeſtly would be defeat, by a reſolute refuſal of all to ſubmit to their diſcharging of them; and they that do ſubmit, and give them over, do evidently contribute to the effectuating that wicked deſign, which is certain does not, nor will not terminate upon a ſimple ſuppreſſion of that ſort, but further is intended to extirpate all Meetings for Goſpel Ordinances, in which there is any Teſtimony againſt them. To comply therefore with ſuch a forbearance of them at this time, would lay a ſtone of ſtumbling before them, to encourage them in theſe their deſigns; when they ſhould ſee their Contrivance ſo univerſally complied with, wherein they might boaſt that at length they had prevailed, to put quite away that eye-ſore of theirs, *Field Meetings.*

8. To give over theſe *Field Meetings* now, were a ſtumbling to the poor ignorant people; who might think, that now it appears that Work was but of men, and ſo hath come to naught; and would look upon it as an evidence of fainting, and ſuccumbing at laſt in the matter of the Teſtimony, as being quite overcome; and that indeed all have embraced and accepted this preſent *Toleration*, and were all

all alike sleeping under the shade, and eating the fruits of such a bramble.

9. Finally, To give over these *Field Meetings* now, would be very scandalous to the *Posterity*, and to *Strangers*, who shall read the History of our Church, to find, that as *Prelacy* came in without a joint Witness, and the monstrous, blasphemous, and sacrilegious *Supremacy* was erected, without a Testimony in its season; so black *Popery* itself, and *Tyranny*, was introduced by a *Toleration*, which laid them all by from a Testimony against these; who formerly had valiantly, resolutely, and faithfully contended against all lesser Corruptions; but at last, when that came, and stricter Prohibitions of all publick Meetings, but under the Covert thereof, were emitted, then all were persuaded to comply with that Course. How astonishing would it be to read, that all these Contendings, sealed with so much precious Blood, should come to such a pitiful Period! But I hasten to the Next, which is the *Second Positive Ground of Suffering*.

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# HEAD V.

## *The Principle of, and Testimony, for Defensive Arms Vindicated.*

THis Truth is of that sort, that can hardly be illustrated by demonstration; not for the darkness thereof, but for its self-evidencing clearness, being scarcely capable of any further elucidation, than what is offered to the rational understanding by its simple Proposition. As first Principles can hardly be proven, because they need no Probation, and cannot be made clearer than they are, and such as cannot consent to them, are incapable of conceiving any probation of them; so this Truth of *Self-preservation* being lawful, because it is congenite with and irradicated in every Nature, that hath a *Self* which it can preserve, can scarcely be more illustrated

ted that it *may* do so, than that it *can* do so. And therefore to all who have a true respect to their own, as well as a due concern in the Interest of Mankind, and zeal for the Interest of Christ, it might seem superfluous to make a doubt or debate of this: Were it not that a Generation of men is now prevailing, that are as great Monsters in Nature, as they are Malignant in Religion, and as great perverters of the Law of Nature, as they are subverters of municipal Laws, and everters of the Laws of God: who, for owning this principle, as well as using the practice of defensive Resistance for Self-preservation against tyrannical Violence, have set up such Monuments of rage and cruelty, in the murder of many innocent People, as was never read or heard of before. It hath been indeed the practice of all Nations in the World, and the greatest of men have maintained this principle in all ages; but the bare asserting the principle, when extorted by severe Inquisitions, was never a cause of taking the lives of any, before this was imposed on the poor sufferers in *Scotland*, to give their judgment, Whether or not such Appearances for Defence (as the Tyranny of Rulers had forced people to) were *Rebellion*, and a *Sin against God*, which they could not in Conscience assert; and therefore, though many that have suffered upon this head, have been as free of the practice of such Resistance as any; yet because they would not condemn the principle, they have been criminally processed, arraigned, and condemned to the death. And against this Truth they have been observed to have a special kind of indignation, either because the light of it, which cannot be hid, hath some heat with it to scorch them; or because they fear the impression of this in the hearts of people more than others, knowing that they deserve the practical expression of it by the hands of all. But the reason they give why they are so offended at it, is, that they look upon it as the Spring of all the errors of Presbyterians, and a notion that destroys them; which indeed will be found to have a necessary connexion with many of the Truths that they contend for this day, as it hath been the necessary method of defending them. What practices of this kind hath been, and what were the occasions inducing, or rather enforcing to these defensive Resi-

Resistances, here to be vindicated as to the principle of them, is manifested in the historical Representation, shewing, that after the whole body of the Land was engaged under the bond of a Solemn Covenant, several times renewed, to defend Religion and Liberty; and in special manner the Magistrates of all Ranks, the Supreme whereof was formally admitted to the Government upon these terms; he, with his Associates, conspiring with the Nobles, to involve the whole Land in Perjury and Apostasy, overturned the whole covenanted Work of Reformation; and thereby not only encroached upon the Interest of Christ and the Church's Privileges, but subverted the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom's Government, and pressed all to a submission unto, and compliance with that Tyranny and Apostasy, erected upon the ruines thereof: yet the godly and faithful in the Land, sensible of the indispensible obligation of these Covenants, resolved to adhere thereunto, and suffered long patiently for adherence unto the same, until being quite outwearied by a continued tract of tyrannical Oppressions, arbitrarily enacted by wicked Laws, and illegally executed against their own Laws, and cruelly prosecuted even without all colour of Law, in many unheard of Barbarities, when there could be no access for, or success in complaining or getting redress by Law, all Petitions and Remonstrances of Grievances being declared seditious and treasonable, and interdicted as such; they were forced to betake themselves to this last remedy of *defensive Resistance*, intending only the preservation of their Lives, Religion and Liberties; which many times hath been blessed with success, and therefore zealously contended for, as an inamissible Privilege, by all well affected to the Cause of Christ, and Interest of their Country, because they found it always countenanced of the Lord; until the Cause was betrayed by the Treachery, and abandoned by the Cowardice of such, as were more loyal for the King's interests, than zealous for Christ's and the Country's; for which the Lord in his holy jealousy discountenanced many repeated endeavours of this nature, cutting us off, and putting us to shame, and would not go forth with our Armies. But because the duty is not to be measured by,

by, and hath a more fixed Rule to be founded upon than Providence; therefore the godly did not only maintain the principle in their Confessions and Testimonies, but prosecute the practice in carrying arms, and making use of them in the defence of the Gospel and of themselves, at *Field-Meetings*; which were always successfully prosperous, by the power and presence of God. This Question is sufficiently discussed, by our famous and learned invincible Patrons and Champions for this excellent privilege of Mankind, the unanswerable Authors of *Lex Rex*, the *Apologetical Relation*, *Naphtali*, and *Jus populi vindicatum*. But because *it is easy to add to what is found*, I shall subjoin my mite; and their arguments being various, and voluminously prosecute, and scattered at large through their books, I shall endeavour to collect a compend of them in some order. The two first speak of a defensive war, managed in a parliamentary way: and the two last, of Resistance against the abuse of a lawful power, when there is no access to maintain Religion and Liberty any other way; which does not come up so close to our case, nor is an adequate *Antithesis* to the assertions of our Adversaries, who say, that it is *noways lawful, in any case, or upon any pretence whatsoever, to resist the sovereign Power of a Nation, in whomsoever it be resident, or which way soever it be erected.* I shall consider it more complexly and extensively, and plead both for Resistance against the abuse of a lawful Power, and against the Use and Usurpation of a tyrannical Power, and infer not only the Lawfulness of resisting Kings, when they abuse their Power (as is demonstrate unanswerably by these Authors) but the expediency and necessity of the duty of resisting this tyrannical Power, whensoever we are in a Capacity, if we would not be found treacherous Covenant-breakers, and betrayers of the Interest of God, and the Liberties of the Nation, and of our Brethren, together with the Posterity, into the hands of this *Popish* and implacable Enemy, and so bring on us the Curse of *Meroz*, and the Curse of our Brethrens blood, crying for vengeance on the heads of the shedders thereof, and upon all, who being in case, came not to their rescue; and the curse of Posterity, for not transmitting that Reformation and Liberty,

Liberty, whereof we were by the valour of our Forefathers put and left in possession. I shall not therefore restrict myself to the State of the Question, as propounded ordinarily, *to wit*, Whether or not, when a covenanted King doth really injure, oppress and invade his Subjects Civil and Religious Rights, or unavoidably threatens to deprive them of their dearest and neerest Liberties, and sends out his Emissaries with armed violence against them; and when all redress to be had, or hope by any Address or Petition is rendered void or inaccessible, yea addressing interdicted under severe Penalties, as treasonable; then, and in that case, may a Community of these Subjects defend themselves, and their Religion and Liberties, by arms, in resisting his bloody Emissaries? But, to bring it home to our present case, and answer the Laxness of the Adversaries position of the uncontroulableness of every one that wears a Crown, I shall state it thus: Whether or not is it necessary duty for a Community (whether they have the concurrence of the *Primores* or Nobles, or not) to endeavour, in the Defence of their Lives, Religion, Laws and Liberties, to resist and repress the Usurpation and Tyranny of prevailing Dominators, using or abusing their power for subverting Religion, invading the Liberties, and overturning the fundamental Laws of their Country? I hold the Affirmative, and shall essay to prove it, by the same Arguments that conclude this Question, as usually stated; which will more than evince the Justifiableness of the Sufferings upon this Head. In prosecuting of this Subject, I shall first premit some concessory Considerations to clear it. And Secondly, bring Reasons to prove it.

First, For clearing of this Truth, and taking off Mistakes, these *Concessions* may be considered,

1. The Ordinance of Magistracy, which is of God, is not to be resisted, no, not so much as by disobedience or non-obedience, nay, not so much as mentally, by *cursing in the heart*, Eccles. x. 20. but a person clothed therewith, abusing his power, may be in so far resisted. But Tyrants, or Magistrates turning Tyrants, are not God's Ordinance; and there is no hazard of damnation, for refusing to obey their unjust commands, but rather the hazard

hazard of that is in walking willingly after the Commandment, when *the Statutes of Omri are kept.* So that what is objected from *Eccles.* viii. 2——4. *I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment,* &c. is answered on *Head* 2. and is to be understood only of the lawful commands of lawful Kings.

2. *Rebellion* is a damnable sin, except where the word is taken in a lax sense, as *Israel* is said to have rebelled against *Rehoboam*, and *Hezekiah* against *Sennacherib*, which was a good Rebellion, and clear duty, being taken there for *Resistance* and *Revolt.* In that sense indeed some of our Risings in Arms might be called *Rebellion*; for it is lawful to rebel against Tyrants. But because the word is usually taken in an evil sense, therefore it would have been offensive to acknowledge that before the Inquisitors, except it had been explained. But Rebellion against lawful Magistrates is a damnable sin, exemplarily punished in *Korah* and his Company, who rebelled against *Moses*; and in *Sheba* and *Absalom*, who rebelled against *David.* For *to punish the just is not good, nor to strike princes for equity*, Prov. xvii. 26. *And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation*, Rom. xiii. 2. So that this *Objection* brought from this place, as if the Apostle were commanding there subjection without Resistance to *Nero*, and such Tyrants; as it is very impertinent, it is fully answered above, *Head* 2. Here it will be sufficient to reply, 1. He is hereby vindicating Christianity from that reproach, of casting off or refusing subjection to all Magistrates, as if Christian Liberty had destroyed that Relation, or that they were not to be subject to Heathen Magistrates; whereupon he binds this duty of subjection to Magistrates *for conscience sake* in general. And it is very considerable, what *Buchanan* says in his book *de jure regni*, that *Paul* did not write to the Kings themselves, because they were not Christians, and therefore the more might be born with from them, though they should not understand the duty of Magistrates: but imagine, that there had been some Christian King who had turned Tyrant and Apostate, 'to the scandal of Religion; what would he have written then? Sure if he 'had been like himself, he would have denied that he

'should be owned for a King, and would have interdicted all Christians Communion with him, and that 'they should account him no King, but such as they 'were to have no fellowship with, according to the Law 'of the Gospel.' 2. He speaks of lawful Rulers here, not Tyrants, but of all such as are defined and qualified here, being *Powers ordained of God, terrors to evil works, ministers of God for good.* Yea, but say Prelates, and their malignant Adherents, these are only *Motives* of subjection to all Powers, not *Qualifications* of the Powers. I answer, they are indeed Motives, but such as can be extended to none but to these Powers that are so qualified. 3. He speaks of lawful Powers indefinitely in the plural number, not specifying any kind or degree of them, as if only Kings and Emperors were here meant. It cannot be proven, that the power of the sword is only in them. Neither was there a plurality of Kings or Emperors at *Rome* to be subject to: if he meant the *Roman* Empe or, he would have designed him in the singular number. All the reasons of the Text agree to inferior Judges also, for they are *ordained of God*, they are called *Rulers* in Scripture, and *God's Ministers*, revengers by Office, who judge not for man, but for the Lord: and inferior Magistrates also are not to be resisted, when doing their duty, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. yet all will grant, when they go beyond their bounds, and turn little Tyrants, they may be withstood. 4. He does not speak of *Nero*, concerning whom it cannot be proven, that at this time he had the sovereign power, as the learned Mr. *Prin* shews: or if he had, that he was a Tyrant at this time: and if he meant him at all, it was only as he was obliged to be *by Right*, not as he was *in Deed.* All men know, and none condemns the fact of the Senate, that resisted *Nero* at length, without transgressing this precept. Yea, I should rather think, the Senate is the power that the Apostle applies this Text to, if he applied it to any in particular. 5. The subjection here required, is the same with the honour in the *fifth Command*, whereof this is an exposition, and is opposite to the *Contraordinateness* here condemned. Now, subjection takes in all the duties we owe to Magistrates, and Resistance all

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the contraries forbidden; but unlimited obedience is not here required: so neither unlimited subjection.

3. We may allow *passive Subjection* in some cases, even to Tyrants, when the Lord lays on that yoke, and in effect says, he will have us to ly under it a while, as he commanded the Jews to be subject to *Nebuchadnezzar*: of which passage, adduced to prove subjection to Tyrants universally, *Buchanan, as above*, infers, that if all Tyrants be to be subjected to, because God by his Prophet commanded his People to be subject to one Tyrant; then it must be likewise concluded, that all Tyrants ought to be killed, because *Ahab*'s house was commanded to be destroyed by *Jehu*. But passive subjection, when people are not in capacity to resist, is necessary. I do not say *passive Obedience*, which is a mere *Chimera*, invented in the brains of such Sycophants, as would make the world slaves to Tyrants. Whosoever suffereth, if he can shun it, is an enemy to his own being: for every natural thing must strive to preserve itself against what annoyeth it; and also he sins against the order of God, who in vain hath ordained so many lawful means for preservation of our being, if we must suffer it to be destroyed, having power to help it.

4. We abhor all war of subjects, professedly declared against a lawful King, as such; all war against lawful Authority, founded upon, or designed for maintaining principles inconsistent with Government, or against Policy and Piety; yea, all War without Authority. Yet, when all Authority of Magistrates, supreme and subordinate, is perverted and abused, contrary to the ends thereof, to the oppressing of the people, and overturning of their Laws and Liberties, people must not suspend their Resistance upon the concurrence of men of Authority, and forbear the duty in case of necessity, because they have not the *Peers* or *Nobles* to lead them: for if the ground be lawful, the call clear, the necessity cogent, the capacity probable, they that have the Law of Nature, the Law of God, and the fundamental Laws of the Land on their side, cannot want Authority, though they may want Parliaments to espouse their quarrel. This is cleared above, *Head* 2. yet here I shall add, 1. The peo-

ple have this privilege of Nature, to defend themselves and their Rights and Liberties, as well as *Peers*; and had it, before they erected and constituted Peers or *Nobles*. There is no distinction of quality in interests of Nature, though there be in civil Order: but self-defence is not an act of civil Order. In such Interests, people must not depend upon the priority of their Superiors, nor suspend the duties they owe to themselves and their neighbours, upon the manuduction of other mens greatness. The Law of Nature allowing self-defence, or the defence of our brethren, against unjust violence, addeth no such restriction, that it must only be done by the conduct or concurrence of the *Nobles* or Parliaments. 2. The people have as great Interest to defend their Religion as the Peers, and more, because they have more souls to care for than they, who are fewer. And to be violented in their Consciences, which are as free to them as to the Peers, is as insupportable to them: yea, both are equally concerned to maintain Truth, and rescue their Brethren suffering for it, which are the chief grounds of war; and if the ground of the defensive war be the same with them and without them, what reason can be given, making their Resistance in the one case lawful, and not in the other? Both are alike obliged to concur, and both are equally obnoxious to God's threatned Judgments, for suffering Religion to be ruined, and not relieving and rescuing Innocents. It will be but a poor excuse for people to plead, they had no Peers to head them. What if both King and Nobles turn Enemies to Religion, (as they are at this day) shall people do nothing for the defence of it then? Many times the Lord hath begun a Work of Reformation by foolish things, and hath made the *least of the flock to draw them out*, Jer. xlix. 2, and 1. 45. and did not think fit to begin with Nobles, but began it, when Powers and Peers were in opposition to it; and when he blessed it so at length, as to engage the publick Representatives to own it, what was done by private Persons before, they never condemned. 3. The people are injured without the Nobles, therefore they may resist without them, if they be able: for there can be no Argument adduced, to make it unlawful to resist without

without them, which will not equally make it unlawful to do it with them. 4 'Tis true the *Nobles* are obliged beyond others, and have Authority more than others to concur; but separately they cannot act as Representatives judicially: they have a Magistratical Power, but limited to their particular Precincts where they have Interest, and cannot extend it beyond these bounds; and so, if they should concur, they are still in the capacity of Subjects; for out of a Parliamentary Capacity they are not Representatives. 5. All the Power they can have is cumulative, not privative; for *the worse Condition of a Ruler ought not to be by procuring.* Why then shall the Representatives, betraying their Trust, wrong the Cause of the people, whose Trustees they are? Nay, if it were not lawful for people to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties without the Concurrence of Parliaments, then their Case should be worse with them than without them; for they have done it before they had them, and so they had better be without them still. 6. People may defend themselves against the Tyranny of a Parliament, or *Primores*, or Nobles: *Therefore*, they may do it without them; for if it be lawful to resist them, 'tis lawful to wave them, when they are in a Conspiracy with the King against them.

5. We disallow all war without real undeclinable *Necessity*, and great and grievous wrongs sustained: and do not maintain it is to be declared or undertaken upon supposed grounds, or pretended Causes: and so the Question is impertinently stated by our Adversaries, 'Whether or not it be lawful for Subjects, or a party of 'them, when they think themselves injured, or to be in 'a Capacity, to resist or oppose the Supreme power of a 'Nation.' For the Question is not, if when they think themselves injured they may resist? But when the Injuries are real: neither is it every Reality of Injuries will justify their Resistance, but when their dearest and nearest Liberties are invaded, especially when such an invasion is made, as threatens inelactable Subversion of them. Next, we do not say, That a parties esteeming themselves in a Capacity, or their being really in a Capacity,

pacity, doth make Resistance a duty; except, *all alike*, they have a Call as well as a Capacity, which requires real Necessity, and a right to the action, and the things contended for to be real and legal Rights, really and illegally encroached upon: their Capacity gives them only a Conveniency to go about the Duty, that is, previously lawful upon a moral ground. No man needs to say, Who shall be Judge? The Magistrate or people? For, 1. All who have eyes in their head may judge whether the Sun shine or not; and all who have common Sense may judge in this Case. For when it comes to a Necessity of Resistance, it is to be supposed, that the Grievances complained of, and sought to be redressed by Arms, are not hid, but manifest; it cannot be so with any party only pretending their suffering wrong. 2. There is no need of the Formality of a Judge, in things evident to Nature's Eye, as Grassant Tyranny undermining and overturning Religion and Liberty must be. Nature, in the acts of necessitated Resistance, in such a Case, is Judge, Party, Accuser, Witness, and all. Neither is it an Act of Judgment, for people to defend their own: Defence is no Act of Jurisdiction, but a Privilege of Nature. Hence, these common sayings, *All Laws permit Force to be repelled by Force*; and *the Law of Nature allows Self-defence: The Defence of Life is necessary, and flows from the Law of Nature.* 3. Be Judge who will, the Tyrant cannot be Judge in the Case: for, in these Tyrannical acts, that force the people to that Resistance, he cannot be acknowledged as King, and therefore no Judge: for 'tis supposed, the Judge is absent, when he is the party that does the wrong. And he that does the wrong, as such, is inferior to the innocent. 4. Let God be Judge, and all the World, taking cognizance of the evidence of their respective *Manifesto's* of the State of their Cause.

6. We condemn rising to revenge private Injuries; whereby the Land may be involved in Blood, for some petty wrongs done to some persons, great or small; and abhor revengful usurping of the Magistrate's Sword, to avenge ourselves for personal injuries. As *David's* killing of *Saul* would have been, 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 10, 12, 13.

1 *Sam.*

1 *Sam.* xxvi. 9, 10. To *object* which, in this case, were very impertinent: for it would have been an act of Offence in a remote Defence; if *Saul* had been immediately assaulting him, it could not be denied to be lawful: and it would have been an Act of private Revenge for a personal Injury, and a sinful preventing of God's promise of *David's* Succession, by a scandalous Assassination. But it is clear, then *David* was resisting him, and that is enough for us; and he supposes he might *descend into Battle, and perish*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 10. not excluding, but that he might perish in Battle against himself resisting him. We are commanded indeed *not to resist evil*, but *whosoever shall smite us on the one Cheek, to turn to him the other also*, Matth. v. 39. and to *recompense to no Man evil for evil*, Rom. xii. 17. But this doth not condemn Self-defence, or resisting Tyrants violently, endangering our Lives, Laws, Religion, and Liberties, but only Resistance by way of private Revenge and Retaliation, and enjoins patience, when the clear call and dispensation do inevitably call unto suffering; but not to give way to all Violence and Sacriledge, to the subverting of Religion and Righteousness. These Texts do no more condemn private persons retaliating the Magistrate, than Magistrates retaliating private persons, unless Magistrates be exempted from this Precept, and consequently be not among Christ's Followers: yea, they do no more forbid private persons to resist the unjust Violence of Magistrates, than to resist the unjust Violence of private Persons. That Objection from our Lord's reproving *Peter*, *Matth.* xxvi 52. *Put up thy sword, for all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*, hath no weight here: for this condemns only making use of the sword, either by way of private Revenge, or usurping the use of it without Authority (and so condemns all Tyrants) which private subjects do not want to defend themselves, their Religion and Liberty; or using it without Necessity, which was not in *Peter's* Case, *Both because Christ was able to defend himself, and because he was willing to deliver up himself. Pool's Synopf. Critic. in Locum.* Christ could easily have defended himself, but he would not; and therefore there was no Necessity for *Peter's* Rashness;

ness; it condemns also a rash precipitating and preventing the Call of God to acts of Resistance; but otherwise it is plain, it was not *Peter*'s Fault to defend his Master, but a necessary duty. The Reason our Lord gives for that inhibition at that time, was two-fold; one expressed *Matth.* xxvi. 52. *For they that take the sword*, &c. Which do not belong to *Peter*, as if *Peter* were hereby threatned; but to those that were coming to take Christ, they usurped the Sword of Tyrannical violence, and therefore are threatned with destruction by the Sword of the *Romans*: so is that Commination to be understood of Antichrist, and the Tyrants that serve him, *Rev.* xiii. 10. *He that killeth with the Sword must be killed with the sword*, which is a terrible Word against Persecuters. The other Reason is, *John* xviii. 11. ——— *The Cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink?* Which clearly refels that *Objection* of Christ's non-resistance. To which it is answered, That suffering was the end of his voluntary suscepted Humiliation, and his errand to the World, appointed by the father, and undertaken by himself; which is not the Rule of our practice: tho' it be true, that even in his sufferings he left us an *ensample that we should follow his steps*, 1 *Pet.* ii. 21. In many things, as he was a *Martyr*, his sufferings were the purest Rule and Example for us to follow, both for the matter, and frame of Spirit, Submission, Patience, Constancy, Meekness, *&c.* but not as he was our *Sponsor*, and after the same manner, for then it were unlawful for us to flee, as well as to resist, because he would not flee at that time.

7. As we are not for rising in Arms for Trifles of our own things, or small injuries done to ourselves, but in a case of Necessity for the preservation of our Lives, Religion, Laws, and Liberties, when all that are dear to us, as Men and as Christians, are in hazard: so we are not for rising up in Arms, to force the Magistrate to be of our Religion, but to defend our Religion against his force. We do not think it the way that Christ hath appointed, to propagate Religion by Arms: let Persecuters and Limbs of Antichrist take that to them; but we think it a Privilege which Christ hath allowed us, to defend and preserve our Religion by Arms: especially, when it

it hath been established by the Laws of the Land, and become a *Land-right*, and the dearest and most precious Right and Interest we have to contend for. It is true Christ saith, *John* xviii. 36. *My Kingdom is not of this world; if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my Servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews.* But this *Objection* will not conclude, that Christ's Kingdom is not to be defended and preserved even by Resistance, of all that would impiously and sacrilegiously spoil us of it in this world, because it is not of this world: for then all were obliged to suffer it to be run down, by slaves of Hell and Satan, and Antichrist's Vassals, Papists and Malignants: yea, Magistrates were not to fight for it, for they are among his Servants, if they be Christians. But the good Confession he witnesses here before *Pilate*, is, that he hath a Kingdom, which, as it is not in opposition to any *Cesarean* Majesty; so it must not be usurped upon by any King of Clay, but is specifically distinct from all the Kingdoms of the world, and subordinate to no earthly power, being of a Spiritual Nature; whereof this is a demonstration, and sufficient security for earthly Kingdoms, that his servants, as such, that is, as Christians, and as Ministers, were not appointed by him to propagate it by Arms, nor to deliver him their King at that time, because he would not suffer his glorious Design of Redemption to be any longer retarded: But this doth not say, but tho' they are not to *propagate* it as Christians, and as Ministers, by carnal weapons, yet they may *preserve* it with such weapons as men. Hence that old Saying may be vindicated, *Prayers and Tears are the Arms of the Church.* I grant they are so, the only best prevailing Arms, and without which all others would be ineffectual, and that they (together with Preaching and Church Discipline, &c.) are the only Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Arms of a Church as a Church; but the Members thereof are also *Men*, and as Men they may use the same weapons that others do, *And ye my flock, the flock of my pasture, are men, saith the Lord, Ezek.* xxxiii. 31. Yea, from this I shall take an Argument; If it be lawful for private Subjects, without the concurrence of Parliaments, to resist a Tyrant by Prayers and Tears; then it

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is lawful also to resist him by Violence; but the former is true, as our Adversaries grant by this Objection, and I have proved it to be duty to pray against Tyrants, *Head 2. Ergo* ———. The Connection is founded upon these reasons, 1. This personal Resistance by Violence, is as consistent with that Command, *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2. *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers——— whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*; as Resistance by Prayer is with that, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1, 2. *I exhort——— that ——— supplications ——— be made——— for Kings, and for all that are in authority.* If the Prince be good, the one is as unlawful as the other; and a sinful resistance of the Ordinance of God (to pray against him) no less than the other (to fight against him) Therefore when he becomes a Tyrant, and destroyer of the Lord's Inheritance, and an Apostate, as I may not pray for him except conditionally, but against him as an Enemy of Christ; so I may also fight against him as such. 2. As Adversaries themselves will grant, that Resistance by Prayers and Tears is more powerful and effectual than the other; so the Laws of the Land make the one treasonable as well as the other; and that deservedly, when the Prince is doing his duty; but when he turneth Tyrant, neither can justly be condemned.

These things being premitted, I shall come shortly to the purpose, and endeavour to prove this Truth, *That it is a necessary duty for a Community (whether they have the concurrence of the Primores, Nobles, and Representatives or not) to endeavour, in the defence of their Religion, Lives, Laws, and Liberties, to resist and repress the Usurpation and Tyranny of prevailing Dominators, using or abusing their Power, for subverting Religion, invading the Liberties, and overturning the fundamental Laws of the Country.* Wherein I shall be but short, because this Truth is sufficiently confirmed by all the Arguments of the *second Head*; yet I may only hint at many others, and prosecute them in this order. *First*, I shall produce some Arguments from the Law of Nature and Nations. *2dly*, From the common Practice of all Christian people. *3dly*, From express Scriptures.

I. The

I. The Arguments of the first Class are very multifarious: I shall reduce them to a few, as compendiously as may be, and only give the strength of them in a syllogistical form, without expatiating, save where the matter requires.

1. The greatest Antagonists of this Truth, through the clearness thereof, are forced to assert and grant such Particulars, as will by consequence justify this Plea. 1. *Barclay contra Monarchum*, is cited by the *Apol. Relat.* and *Jus Populi* asserting 'That if a King will alienate and 'subject his Kingdom, without his Subjects consent, or 'be carried with a hostile mind to the destruction of his 'people, his Kingdom is actually lost, and the people 'may not only lawfully resist, but also depose him.' *Grotius de jure belli, lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. asserts the same, and adds, 'If he but attempt to do so he may be resisted.' The *Surveyer of Naphtali* grants the same, *pag.* 23, 24. Yea, this hath been granted in open Court, by the *Council of Scotland*, That in case of the King's alienating his Kingdoms, he may be resisted. Hence, 1. If vendition or alienation of Kingdoms, or attempts of it, do annul a King's authority, then an alienation of them from Christ, to whom they are devoted by Covenant, and selling them to Antichrist, as is attempted by this King, gives the people a right to resist him; but the former is here conceded: *Ergo*———. (2) We need say no more to apply the other, That carrying a hostile mind to the destruction of the people does forfeit his Kingdom, and gives the people right to resist, than that a *Papist* is always known to carry a hostile mind to the destruction of *Protestants*, and and all the Designs declared these 27 years have been demonstrative Efforts of it. 2. Dr. *Ferne* acknowledgeth, 'That 'personal Defence is lawful against the sudden, illegal, and 'inevitable Assaults of the King's Messengers, or of him-'self, in so far as to ward off his blows, or hold his hands. 'As also, he alloweth private persons liberty to deny 'Subsidies and Tribute to the Prince, when he employ-'eth it to the destruction of the Commonwealth.' Hence, (1) If one man may defend himself against the sudden, illegal, and inevitable Assaults of the King or his Messengers; then may many men, in defence of their Lives and

and Liberties, defend themselves against the surprising Massacres, the sudden assaults, and much more the devised and deliberate assaults of a Tyrant's bloody Emissaries, which are illegal and inevitable, as all their furious and bloody onsets have been; but the former is here acknowledged: *therefore,*——— (2) If people may deny subsidies to a King when he imployeth it to the destruction of the Commonwealth; then (as this justifies the denial of the *Cess*, imposed for destruction of the Church and banishment of the Gospel, so) this gives them right to resist him, for if he be the power ordained of God not to be resisted, then for this cause tribute must be paid, for they are God's Ministers, *Rom.* xiii. 6. and if tribute must not be paid, then he is not the power ordained oi God, and so may be resisted); but the former is here allowed: *therefore,*——— 3. *Bodin de Repub. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. granteth, 'If a King turn Tyrant, he 'may lawfully, at his subjects request, be invaded, re-'sisted, condemned, or slain by a foreign Prince.' Hence, if foreign Princes may lawfully help a people oppressed by their own Sovereign; then people may resist themselves, if they be able and hold in their pains; but the former is here granted: *therefore,*——— The consequence cannot be denied, for Foreigners have no more power or authority over another Sovereign, than the people have themselves. 4. *Arnisæus de Author. Princip. c.* 2. *n.* 10 granteth, 'That if the Prince proceed 'extrajudicially, without order of law, by violence, e-'very private man hath power to resist.' So the *Surveyer of Naphtali, as above,* 'Grants so much of a wo-'man's violent resisting attempts against the honour of 'her chastity, and tending to ensnare her in sin, where-'of her non-resistance makes her guilty.' Hence, (1) If every extrajudicial violence of a Prince may be resisted; then also all contrajudicial violence against law or reason must be opposed, for that is more grievous, and all their violences, wherein they do not act as Judges, must be resisted, and that is all together, for in none of them they can act as Judges; but the former is here granted: *therefore,*———. (2) If a woman may defend her chastity against the King, lest her non-resistance make

make her guilty, (oh, if all women had been of this mind, the country would not have been pestered so with the King's bastards); then may a nation, or any part of it, resist a Tyrant's attempt upon the honour of their religion, enticing them to fornication with the mother of harlots, lest their non-resistance make them guilty; but the former is here yielded: *therefoee*,—— 5. That same *Arnisæus*, *cap.* 4. saith, 'Of the former (to wit, he 'who is called a Tyrant in title) it is determined by all 'without any difficulty, that he may be lawfuly repulsed, or if by force he be gotten into the throne, he 'may warrantably be thence removed, because he hath 'not any jot of power which is not illegitimate, and 'unto which resistance is forbidden for the fear of God 'and for conscience sake, and therefore he is no further 'to be looked at than as an enemy.' This is so pat and pertinent to the present Possessor of the Government, that no words can more particularly apply it. 6. *Grotius de jure belli*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. granteth, the law of not resisting does not bind when the danger is most weighty and certain, 'And we do not plead for it in any other 'case.' And further he says, 'The law of non-resistance 'seemeth to have flowed from them, who first combined together into Society, and from whom such as 'did command did derive their power: now, if it had 'been asked of such, whether they would choose to die, 'rather than in any case to resist the Superior with arms? 'I know not if they would have yielded thereto, unless 'with this addition, if they could not be resisted but 'with the greatest perturbation of the Commonwealth, 'and destruction of many Innocents. And afterwards 'he hath these words, *Nevertheless I scarce dare condemn 'every one or the lesser part, which may only be done at the 'utmost extremity, notwithstanding respect is to be had to the 'common good.* From which we need make no inference, the concession is so large, that it answers our case. 7. The *Surveyer of Naphtali*, in the place above cited, 'Grants le'gal self-defence against the *Sovereign*, by way of plea in 'Court, for safety of a man's person or estate,——as 'also in the case of most habited, notour and complete 'Tyranny against law, to the destruction of the body of

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'a people, and of all known legal liberties, and the be-
'ing of religion according to law.——And, in caſe of
'his not being in his natural and right wits.'——
Hence, (1), If it be lawful to reſiſt the King by a plea in law, for an eſtate, (yea the law will allow, by actual force, if he come to take poſſeſſion of it illegally); then it muſt be lawful for their lives and eſtates, liberties and religion, to reſiſt him by force, when the legal reſiſtance is not admitted; but the former is yielded here: *therefore*——. The reaſon of the connexion is, the Municipal Law permits the one, and the law of Nature and Nations (which no Municipal Law can infringe) will warrant the other: he hath no more right to be both Judge and Party in this caſe, more than in the other: and he can no more act as Sovereign in this caſe, than in the other. (2) If it be lawful to reſiſt habited, notour, and complete Tyranny againſt law, to the deſtruction of the body of a people, and of all known legal liberties, and the being of religion, according to law: then we deſire no more to conclude the duty of reſiſting this Tyranny exerced this 27 years habitually, which the deſolation of many hundred families, the baniſhment of many hundreds to ſlavery, the rivers of blood, *&c.* have made notour to all *Scotland* at leaſt, and the perverſion of all the fundamental laws, and all civil and religious liberties, yea the ſubverſion of every remaining model of our religion, as reformed and covenanted to be preſerved, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, and deſigns to introduce Popery and eſtabliſh arbitrary Government, have made complete; but the former is here granted: *therefore*——. 3. If in the caſe of his being out of his wits, he ſhould run upon an innocent man to kill him, or attempt to cut his own throat, it were then lawful to reſiſt him, yea, a ſin not to do it; then, when in a rage, or deliberately, he is ſeeking to deſtroy many hundreds of the people of God, he may be reſiſted; but the former is clear: *therefore*,——. 4. King *James* the VI. in his remonſtrance for the right of Kings, againſt the Oration of *Cardinal Perron*, hath theſe words, *The publick Laws make it lawful, and free for any private perſon, to enter-*

*priz*

*prize against an Usurper of the Kingdom.* Then shall it not be duty, to enterprize against a man, who by the laws of the land is not capable of a right to reign, who hath got into the Throne by the means of Murder, and can pretend no right but that of Succession, which I proved to be none, *Head* 2. However, we see by these Concessions of Adversaries, that the absolute subjection they talk of will not hold, nor the Prerogative be so uncontroulable in every case, as they would pretend, and that in many cases, *the Safety of the People* hath the Supremacy above it; and that also in these cases the people must be Judges, whether they may resist or not.

2. From the *Law of Nature* I may argue, 1. If God, the Fountain of all power, and Author of all right, hath given unto man both the power and the right of, and reason to manage self-defence, and hath noways interdicted it in his Word to be put forth against Tyrants; then it is duty to use it against them upon occasion; but the former is true: *therefore*,———. 2. If this power and right were restrained in man against the unjust violence of any, it would either be by policy, or grace, or some express prohibition in the word of God; but none of these can be said: *therefore*,——. Policy cannot destroy nature, but is rather cumulative to it; a man entering into a politick Incorporation, does not lose the privilege of nature: if one particular nature may defend itself against destroying violence out of Society, then must many of these natures combined in Society have the same right, and so much the more that their relative duties superadd an Obligation of mutual assistance. Grace does not restrain the right of sinless nature, tho' it restrains corruption; but self-defence is no corruption; Grace makes a man more a man than he was. And nothing can be more dishonourable to the Gospel, than that by the Law of Nature it is lawful to resist Tyrants; but we are bound by religion from withstanding their cruelty: the laws of God do not interfere one with another. 3. That law which alloweth comparative re-offending, so as to kill rather than be killed, teacheth resistance; but so the Law of Nature alloweth, except we be guilty of murder in the culpable omission of self-defence. The reason

reason is, because the love of self is nearer and greater, as to temporal life, than the love of our neighbour; that being the measure of this: therefore it obliges rather to kill than be killed, the exigence of necessity so requiring. 4. If nature put no other difference between the violence of a Tyrant than of another man; then it teaches to resist both alike: but it putteth no difference, but rather aggravates that of a Tyrant; being the violence of a man, the injustice of a Member of the Commonwealth, and the cruelty of a Tyrant. And it were absurd to say, We might defend ourselves from the lesser violence, and not from the greater. 5. If particular Nature must yield to the good of universal Nature; then must one Man, though in greatest Power, be resisted, rather than the universal Commonwealth suffer hurt; but the former is true; for that dictates the Necessity of the distracted Father to be bound by his own Sons; lest all the Family be hurt: *Therefore*, the greatest of Men or Kings, when destructive to the Commonwealth, must be resisted; for he is but one Man, and so but particular Nature. 6. That which is irrational, and reflects upon Providence, as putting Men in a worse Condition than Brutes, is absurd and contrary to the Law of Nature; but to say, That the Brutes have power to defend themselves, by resisting what annoys them, and deny this power to Men, is irrational and reflects upon Providence, as putting Men in a worse condition than Brutes: Therefore it is absurd, and contrary to the Law of Nature.

3. From the *Institution* of Government, I may argue thus: That Power and Government which is not of God may be resisted; the Tyrant's power and Government, in overturning Laws, subverting Religion, bringing in Idolatry, oppressing Subjects, is not of God: *Therefore* it may be resisted. The *Major* is clear, because that is only the Reason why he is not be resisted, because the Ordinance of God is not to be resisted, *Rom.* xiii. 2. But they that resist a man destroying all the Interests of mankind, overturning Laws, subverting Religion, *&c.* do not resist the Ordinance of God. And if it were not so, this would tend irremediless to overthrow all Policies;

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and open a gap to all disorder, Injustice, and Cruelty, and would give as great Encouragment to Tyrants to do what they list, as Thieves would be encouraged, if they knew no Body would resist them, or bring them to Punishment.

4. From the *Original Constitution* of Government by men, it may be argued thus: If people at the first erection of Government acted rationally, and did not put themselves in a worse Case than before, wherein it was lawful to defend themselves against all Injuries, but devolved their Rights upon the fiduciary Tutory of such, as should remain still in the rank of Men, that can do wrong, who had no power but by their Gift, Consent, and Choice, with whom they associated not to their detriment, but for their Advantage, and determined the form of their Government, and time of its Continuance, and in what cases they might recur to their primeve Liberty, and settled a Succession to have Course, not *by hereditary Right*, but *by Right and force of Law*, for good ends; then they did not give away their Birth-right of Self-defence, and power of Resistance, which they had before to withstand the Violence, Injuries, and Oppressions of the Men they set over them, when they pervert the Form, and convert it to Tyranny, but did retain a Power and Privilege to resist and revolt from them, and repel their Violence, when they should do Violence to the Constitution, and pervert the ends thereof; but the former is true: *Ergo*———. The *Minor* is cleared, *Head* 2. And the Connexion is confirmed from this; if the Estates of a Kingdom give the power to a King, it is their own power in the Fountain, and if they give it for their own good, they have power to judge when it is used against themselves, and for their evil; and so power to limit and resist the power that they gave.

5. From the way and *manner of erecting Governors* by Compact, the necessity whereof is proven, *Head* 2. Many Arguments might be deduced; I shall reduce them to this Form: If people must propose Conditions unto Princes, to be by them acquiesced in, and submitted unto at their Admission to the Government, which thereupon becomes the fundamental Laws of the Govern-

ment, and Securities for the Peoples Rights and Liberties, giving a Law-claim to the people to pursue the Prince, in case of failing in the main and principal thing Covenanted, as their own Covenanted *Mandatarius* who hath no *Right* or Authority of his own, but what he hath from them, and no more power but what is contained in the Conditions upon which he undertaketh the Government; then when either an Usurper will come under no such Conditions, or a Tyrant doth break all these Conditions, which he once accepted, and so become, *in strict Law*, no Prince, and the people be, *in strict Law*, liberated from Subjection to him, they may and must defend themselves, and their fundamental Rights and Privileges, Religion and Laws, and resist the Tyranny overturning them; but the former it true: *Therefore*, ———. The Connexion is clear: and the *Minor* is proved, *Head* 2. And at length demonstrated, and applied to the Government of *Charles* II. by *Jus populi. cap.* 6. See *Arg.* 4. and 5. *Head.* 2.

6. From the *Nature* of Magistracy it may be argued thus, That power which is properly neither Parental, nor Marital, nor Masterly and Despotick, over the Subjects, Persons, and goods, but only fiduciary, and by way of trust, is more to be resisted than that which is properly so; but that power which is properly so, that is parental Power, and Marital, and Masterly, may be resisted in many Cases: *Therefore*, that power which is not so properly, but only *fiduciary* is more to be resisted. That a King's power over his Subjects, is neither Parental, nor Marital, *&c.* is proven, *Head* 2. And the *Major* needs no Probation. The *Minor* is clear by Instances, 1. If Children may, in case of necessity, resist the Fury of their Father, seeking to destroy them; then must private Subjects resist the Rage and Tyranny of Princes, seeking to destroy them, and what is dearest to them; for there is no stricter Obligation moral between King and people, than between Parents and Children, nor so strict; and between Tyrants and people there is none at all; but the former cannot be denied: *Therefore*, ———. 2. If Wives may lawfully defend themselves against the unjust Violence of enraged Husbands; then

must

must private subjects have power to resist the furious assaults of enraged Tyrants, for there is not so great a tye betwixt them and people, as between Man and Wife; yea, there is none at all; but the former is true: *Ergo*, ———. 3. If Servants may defend themselves against their Masters; then must private Subjects defend themselves against a Tyrant or his Emissaries; but the former is true: *Ergo*, ———. 4. If the King's power be only *fiduciary*, and by way of *Pawn*, which he hath got to keep; then when that power is manifestly abused, to the hurt of them that entrusted him with it, he ought to be resisted by all whom he undertook to protect; but the former is true: *Therefore* the latter.

7. From the *limited Power* of Princes it may be thus argued; If Princes be limited by Laws and Contracts, and may be resisted by Pleas in Law, and have no absolute power to do and command what they will, but must be limited both by the Laws of God and Man, and cannot make what Laws they will in prejudice of the peoples Rights, nor execute the Laws made according to their pleasure, nor confer on others a lawless Licence to oppress whom they please; then when they turn Tyrants, and arrogate a lawless Absoluteness, and cross the Rules, and transgress the Bounds prescribed by God's Laws, and Man's Laws, and make their own Lusts a Law, and execute the same arbitrarily, they must be resisted by Force, when a legal Resistance cannot be had, in Defence of Religion and Liberty; but all Princes are limited, *&c. Therefore*, ———. The *Minor* is proved, *Head* 2. And the Connexion may be thus confirmed in short: That power which is not the Ordinance of God may be resisted; but an absolute illimited power, crossing the Rules, and transgressing the bounds prescribed by God's Law and Man's, is not the Ordinance of God: *Therefore* it may be resisted.

8. Further from the *Rule* of Government it may be argued several ways, 1. That power which is contrary to Law, evil and Tyrannical, can ty none to subjection, but if it oblige to any thing, it ties to resistance; but the power of a King against Law, Religion, and the Interests of the Subjects, is a power contrary to Law, evil

and Tyrannical: *Therefore*, ———. The *Major* is plain, for Wickedness can tye no man, but to resist it: That power which is contrary to Law, evil and Tyrannical is Wickedness. 2. That power, and those Acts, which neither King can exerce, nor command, nor others execute, nor any obey, must certainly be resisted; but such is the Power and Acts that oppress the Subjects, and overturn Religion and Liberty: *Therefore*, ———. The *Minor* is evident from Scriptures condemning Oppression and Violence, both in them that command, and in them that execute the same, and also them that obey such wicked Commands. The *Major* is clear from Reason; both because such Power and such Acts as cannot be commanded, cannot be executed, cannot be obeyed lawfully, are sinful and wicked; and because it cannot be a Magistratical Power, for that may always be exerced and executed lawfully. And what a man cannot command, the resisting of that he cannot punish; but acts of oppression against Law, Religion, and Liberty, a man cannot command: *Ergo*, the resisting of these he cannot punish. 3. That Government or Administration, which is not subordinate to the Law and will of God, who hath appointed it, must be resisted; but that Government or Administration, which undermines or overturns Religion and Liberty, is not subordinate to the Law and Will of God: *Therefore*——. The *Major* is clear: for nothing but what is the Ordinance of God, subordinate to his Law and Will, is irresistible, *Rom.* xiii. 2. The Assumption is undeniable.

9. From the *Ends* of Government, which must be acknowledged by all to be the Glory of God, and the Good of Mankind: yea, all that have been either wise or honest, have always held that *the Safety of the people is the supreme Law.* The Arguments may run thus, in short, 1. That Doctrine which makes the Holy One to cross his own ends in giving Governors, must be absurd and Unchristian, as well as irrational; but such is the Doctrine that makes all Kings and Tyrants irresistible upon any Pretence whatsoever: *Ergo*——. The *Minor* I prove: That Doctrine which makes God intending his own glory and the peoples good, to give Governors both

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as Fathers to preserve, and as Murderers to destroy them, must make the Holy One to cross his own ends; for these are contradictory; but the Doctrine that makes all Kings and Tyrants irresistible, *&c.* is such: for, by Office, they are Fathers to preserve, and, by Office also, they must be murderers, vested with such a power from God, *by the first act*, if they be irresistible when they do so; seeing every power that is irresistible is the ordinance of God. Hence also when a Blessing turns a Curse, it is no more the Ordinance of God, but to be resisted; but when a King turns a Tyrant, overturning Religion and Liberty, then a Blessing turns a Curse: *therefore*———. 2. Means are to be resisted, when they are not useful for, but destructive to the ends they were appointed for; but Governors overturning Religion and Liberty, are Means not useful for, but destructive to the ends for which they were appointed; seeing then they are neither for the Glory of God, nor the good of Mankind: *therefore*———. 3. If all Powers and Prerogatives of men are only means appointed for, and should vail unto the supreme Law of the Peoples safety, and all Laws be subordinate to, and corroborative of this Law, and when cross to it are *in so far* null, and no Laws, and all Law-formalities in competition with it are to be laid aside, and all Parliamentary Privileges must yield to this, and King and Parliament both conspiring have no power against it; and no sovereign Power, by virtue of any resignation from the people can comprize any Authority to act against it; then it is duty to obey this supreme Law, in resisting all Powers and Prerogatives, all Laws and Law-formalities, and all conspiracies whatsoever against this supreme Law, the safety of the people; but the former is true, as was proven *Head* 2. *Therefore*———. 4. That Power which is obliged, and appointed to command and rule justly and religiously, for the good of the people, and is only set over them on these conditions, and for that end, cannot tie them to subjection without Resistance, when the Power is abused to the destruction of Laws, Religion and People; but all Power is so obliged and appointed: therefore, whensoever it is so abused, it cannot

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tie people to subjection, but rather oblige them to rejection of it.

10. From the *Obedience* required to Government, it may be argued thus, 1. If we may flee from Tyrants, then we may resist them; but we may flee from Tyrants: *therefore* we may resist them. The Connexion I prove, (1.) If all grounds of Justice will warrant the one as well as the other, then if the one be duty, so is the other; but the former is true; for the same justice and equity that warrants declining a Tyrant's unjust violence by flight, will warrant Resistance when flight will not do it; the same Principle of self-defence, that makes flight duty, when Resistance is not possible, will also make Resistance duty, when flight is not possible; the same Principle of Charity to Wives and Children, that makes flight lawful, when by Resistance they cannot avoid Tyranny, will make Resistance duty, when by flight they cannot evite it; the same Principle of Conscience to keep Religion free, that prompts to flight, when Resistance will not save it, will also prompt to resist, when flight is not practicable. (2.) If to flee from a just power, when in justice we are obnoxious to its sword, be to resist the Ordinance of God, and so sin; then to flee from an unjust Power, must be also a resisting of the abusing of it, and so duty; for the one is Resistance as well as the other; but the difference of the Power resisted makes the one lawful, the other not. Again, if royal Power may be resisted by interposing seas and miles, why not also by interposing walls and arms? Both is Resistance, for against a lawful Magistrate that would be Resistance. (3.) If a Tyrant hath irresistible power to kill and destroy the People, he hath also irresistible power to cite and summon them before him; and if it be unlawful to resist his murders, it must be as unlawful to resist his summons. (4.) For a Church or Community of Christians, persecuted for Religion, to flee with Wives and Children, strong and weak, old and young, to escape tyrannical Violence, and leave the Land, were more unlawful than to resist; for what is not possible as a natural means of Preservation, is not a lawful mean; but this were not a possible mean: neither

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Is it warranted in Nature's Law, or God's Word, for a Community or Society of Christians, that have God's Right and man's Law to the Land, and the covenanted Privileges thereof, to leave the Country and Cause of Christ, and all in the hands of a Tyrant and *Papist*, to set up Idolatry upon the ruins of Reformation there. A private man may flee, but flight is not warranted of them as of a private single man. 2. If it be duty to disobey, 'tis duty to resist Tyrants, in defence of Religion and Liberty; but it is duty to disobey them: *Therefore* ——. The Connexion only will be stuck at, which is thus strengthened: If subjection be no more pressed in Scripture than obedience, then if non-obedience be duty, non-subjection must be so also, and consequently Resistance; but subjection is no more pressed in Scripture than obedience: for all commands of subjection to the higher Powers, as God's Ministers, under pain of damnation, do only respect lawful Magistrates, and in lawful things, and do include obedience: and non-obedience to the power so qualified is a resisting of the Ordinance of God, as well as non-subjection. If then obedience to Magistrates be duty, and non-obedience sin, and obedience to Tyrants sin, and non-obedience duty; then by parity of Reason, subjection to Magistrates is duty, and non subjection is sin, and also subjection to Tyrants is sin, and non-subjection duty.

11. From the *Resistance* allowed in all Governments, it may be argued thus: If it be duty to defend our Religion, Lives and Liberties, against an invading army of cut-throat *Papists*, *Turks* or *Tartars*, without or against the Magistrates warrant; then it must be duty to defend the same against invading home-bred Tyrants, except we would subscribe ourselves home born slaves; but the former is true: *Therefore* ——. The *Minor* cannot be doubted, because the Magistrates power cannot be privative and destructive to defence of our Religion, Lives and Liberties; nor can it take away Nature's birth-right to defend these, or make it fare the worse, than if we had no Magistrates at all. Now, if we had no Magistrates at all, we might defend these against Invaders; and whether we have Magistrates or nor, we are under moral

moral Obligations of the Law of God to endeavour the defence of these: but this needs not be insisted on. The Connexion of the Proposition is clear: If Princes be more tyrannical in invading Religion and Liberties themselves, than in suffering others to do it, or hindering them to be opposed; and if their Invasion be more tyrannical, hurtful and dangerous, than the Invasion of Strangers, then if it be duty to resist Strangers invading these Interests, it is more duty to resist home-bred Tyrants invading the same; but the former is true: therefore the latter. Resisting in the one Case is no more resisting the Ordinance of God than in the other.

12. From the *Motives* of Resistance we may draw this Argument, which might be branched out into several, but I shall reduce it to this complex one: If when we are in a capacity, we cannot acquit ourselves in the duties that we owe to our covenanted Religion, and our covenanted Brethren, and Posterity, and ourselves, nor absolve and exoner ourselves from the sin and judgment of Tyrants, who overturn Religion, oppress our Brethren, impose slavery on ourselves, and entail it upon Posterity, by a passive Subjection, Submission to and not opposing these Mischiefs; then Resistance is necessary; but the former is true: *therefore* ——. The Connexion is clear, for there cannot be a *Medium*; if we cannot discharge these duties by Subjection, Submission, and not opposing, then we must do them by non-subjection, non-submission, and opposing, since they must be done some way. The Assumption is thus confirmed, 1. The duties we owe to Religion, when it is corrupted, declined from, and overturned, are not only to reform our own hearts and ways, and keep ourselves pure from the corruptions established, and to rebuke and witness against the compliers with the same, and so by work, doing and suffering, keep and contend for the word of our Testimony; but further, when, by the Constitution of the Kingdom, Religion is become a fundamental law, and consequently the Magistrate, overturning it, is violating and everting the main grounds and ends of the Government, and turning grassant and ingrained Tyrant, especially when it is not only so authorized

thorized and confirmed by law, but corroborated by solemn vows and covenants made and sworn unto God by all ranks of people, to *maintain and defend this Religion with their lives and fortunes*,——and *resist all contrary errors and corruptions according to their vocation*; *and the utmost of that power that God puts in their hands, all the days of their lives*; *as also mutually to defend and assist one another*, (as in the National Covenant). And *sincerely, really, and constantly endeavour*——*the Preservation of the reformed Religion in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy*, &c.——*and to assist and defend all those that enter into the same bond in the maintaining thereof*,——(as in the Solemn League); then to defend and maintain that Religion, and themselves professing it; when it is sought to be razed; this must be an interest as necessary to be defended, as that of our bodies which is far inferior, and as necessay a duty, as to defend our nation and civil liberties from perpetual slavery, and as preferable thereunto, as Christ's interest is to man's, and as the end of all self-preservation is to the means of it, the preservation of religion being the end of all self-preservation; but this duty cannot be discharged without resistance, in a mere passive subjection and submission; otherwise the same might be discharged in our universal submission to *Turks* coming to destroy our religion. Certainly this passive way cannot answer the duty of *pleading for Truth, Isa.* lix. 4. *seeking the truth. Jer.* v. 1. being *valiant for* it, *Jer.* ix. 3. *making up the hedge, standing in the gap*, &c. *Ezek.* xxii. 30. which yet are necessary incumbent duties according to our capacity; therefore we cannot answer the duties we owe to religion in a mere passive way. 2. The duty we owe to our covenanted Brethren, is to assist and defend them, and relieve them when oppressed, as we are bound by our Covenants, and antecedently by the Royal law of Christ, the foundation of all righteousness among men toward each other, *Matth.* vii. 12. *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*——We would have them helping us when we are oppressed, so should we do to them when it is in the power of our hands to do it, and not forbear to deliver them for fear the Lord require their blood at our hand,

*Prov.*

*Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. But this cannot be done by mere subjection without resistance. 3. There is no way to free ourselves of the sin and judgment of Tyrants by mere passive subjection: we find in the Scriptures, people have been so involved and punished for the sins of Tyrants; as the people of *Judah* for *Manasseh*, 2 *King.* xxi. 11. *&c. Jer.* xv. 4. whose sins if they had not been committed, the judgments for them had been prevented, and if the people had hindered them they had not smarted; but being jointly included with their Rulers in the same bond of fidelity to God, and made accountable as joint principals with their Kings for that debt, by their mutual as well as several engagements to walk in his ways, they were liable to be punished for their Rebellion and Apostasy, because they did not hinder it. Hence somewhat must be done to free ourselves of their sin, and to escape their judgments; but this can be nothing else but opposition to them by resistance; or else if we make any other opposition, it will make us more a prey to their fury.

II. Secondly, This truth is confirmed from the common *Practice* of the people of God, even under persecution. Whence I shall draw an argument *from examples*, which, to condemn, were impious, and, to deny, were most impudent. And, for form's sake, it may run thus: What the people of God, under both Testaments, have frequently done, in time of persecution, for defending, vindicating, or recovering their Religion and Liberties, may and ought to be done again in the like circumstances, when these are in the like hazard; but, under both Testaments, the people of God frequently in times of persecution have defended, vindicated, or recovered their Religion and Liberties by defensive arms, resisting the Sovereign powers that sought to destroy them: *therefore* this may and ought to be done again when these religious, civil and natural privileges, are in the like hazard to be destroyed by the violent encroachments of the Sovereign powers. The proposition cannot be denied, except by them that do profess themselves enemies to the people of God, and condemn their most frequently reiterated practices most solemnly and signally owned of God, to the confusion of their enemies, to the conviction of the

the world, that the cause for which they contended was of God, and to the encouragement of all the Patrons of such a cause, to hope, that when it is at the lowest it shall have a revival and glorious issue. It is true, sometimes they did not resist, when either they were not in a capacity, or did not see a call to such an action, but were extraordinarily spirited of the Lord for passive Testimonies under a suffering dispensation: but it is as true, that many times they did resist, when the Lord capacitated, called, and spirited them for active Testimonies. And therefore, if their suffering under these circumstances may be imitated by a people so stated; then also their actions under these other circumstances may be imitated, by a people in the like case. And by an impartial scrutiny it will be found, that the examples of their endeavoured resistance will be little inferior, if not superior in number or importance, to the examples of their submissive sufferings in all ages: which will appear in the probation of the assumption, by adduction of many instances, which I shall only cursorily glean out of that plentiful harvest that histories afford.

1. I need only to glance at that known and famous History of the *Maccabees*, of undoubted verity, though not of cannonical authority. In which, according to Scripture-predictions, we have a notable account of heroick enterprizes, atchievements, and exploits, performed by them that *knew their God*, and tendered his Glory, and their Religion and Country's Liberties, above the common Catechrestick notions of uncontroulable irresistible *Royalty*, and absolute implicite *Loyalty*, that have abused the world in all ages. We have there an account of the noble and successful resistance of a party of a few godly and zealous Patriots, without the concurrence of civil authority, or countenance of the *Ephori* or *Nobles of the Kingdom*, against a King universally acknowledged and subjected unto, that *came in peaceably*, and obtained the Kingdom *by flatteries*, with whom the greatest part, and those of the greatest note took part, and *did wickedly against the Covenant* and *Nation's* interest, and were *corrupted by flatteries*: yet a few Priests, with the concurrence of some common Countrymen, did go to arms against

gainst him and them; and the Lord did wonderfully assist them for a considerable time; as was foretold by *Daniel* xi. This fell out under the persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and was happily begun by *Matthias* a godly Priest, and his five sons, who, being commanded under severe certifications to worship according to the then law, and the King's wicked lust, did valiantly resist that abomination, and went to defensive arms: which, while living, he patronized, and, when adying, did encourage his sons to it by a notable Oration, shewing what case his country was in, and what a duty and dignity it was to redeem and deliver it. This was vigorously prosecuted by *Judas Maccabeus*, expresly for the quarrel of Religion and Liberty, against that mighty Tyrant and all his Emissaries.

2. To come to the History of the Gospel Dispensation: It is true, in that time of the *Primitive Persecutions* under Heathen Emperors, this Privilege of Self-defence was not much improved or contended for by Christians, who studied more to play the *Martyrs*, than to play the *Men*, because in these Circumstances the Lord was pleased to Spirit for and call them unto, and accept off their hands *passive Testimonies*; while they were incorporate under a Civil Relation with the Heathens, in subjection to Governors who did not by open Tyranny overturn their Civil Liberties, only did endeavour to eradicate Religion, which, at that time, had never become their Right by Law; while they were scattered and out of Capacity, and never could come to a separate formed Community by joint Concurrence and Correspondence, to undertake a declared Resistance; while Religion was only a propagating through the Nations, and the Lord providentially did preclude the least appearance that might be of propagating it by any formed force, being the Gospel of Peace, designed to save, and not to destroy: yet even then, Instances are not wanting of Christians resisting their Enemies, and of rescuing their Ministers, *&c.* As these are found on Record. 1. How some inhabiting *Mareota*, with Force rescued *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, out of the hands of such as were carrying him away, about the year 235. 2. How about the year 310. the *Armenians*

*ans* waged war against *Maximus*, who was come against them with an Army, because of their Religion. 3. How about the year 342. the Citizens of *Alexandria* defended *Athanasius* their Minister, against *Gregorius* the intruded Curate, and *Syrianus* the Emperor's Captain, who came with great Force to put him in. 4. How, about the year 356. the people of *Constantinople* did in like manner stand to the defence of *Paulus*, against *Constantius* the Emperor, and killed his Captain *Hermogenes*; and afterwards, in great Multitudes, they opposed the intrusion of the Heretick *Macedonius*. 5. How, when a wicked Edict was sent forth to pull down the Churches of such as were for the Clause of *one Substance*, the Christians that maintained that Testimony resisted the bands of soldiers, that were procured at the Emperor's Command by *Macedonius*, to force the *Mantinians* to embrace the *Arian* Heresy; but the Christians at *Mantinium*, kindled with an earnest zeal towards Christian Religion, went against the soldiers with cheerful minds and valiant courage, and made a great slaughter of them. 6. How, about the year 387. the people of *Cesarea* did defend *Basil* their Minister. 7. How, for fear of the people, the Lieutenant of the Emperor *Valens* durst not execute those 80 Priests who had come to supplicate the Emperor, and were commanded to be killed by him. 8. How the inhabitants of Mount *Nitria* espoused *Cyril's* quarrel, and assaulted the Lieutenant, and forced his Guards to flee. 9. How, about the year 404. when the Emperor had banished *Chrysostom*, the people flocked together, so that the Emperor was necessitated to call him back again from his Exile. 10. How the people resisted also the Transportation of *Ambrose*, by the command of *Valentinian* the Emperor; and chused rather to lose their lives, than to suffer their Pastor to be taken away by the soldiers. 11. How the Christians, oppressed by *Baratanes* King of *Persia*, did flee to the *Romans* to seek their help. And *Theodosius*, the Emperor, is much praised for the war which he commenced against *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, upon this inducement, that that King sought to ruin and extirpate those Christians in his Dominions, that would not renounce the Gospel.

3. But

3. But when Religion was once embraced in imbodied Corporations, and established by Law, and became a peoples common Interest and Liberty, in a capacity to defend it with their lives and other liberties, and when it was propagated through the Nations; then the Lord did call for other more *active* Testimonies, in the preservation and defence of it: of which we have many Instances in Histories. About the year 894. the *Bohemian* Christians resisted *Drahomica* their Queen, who thought to have destroyed them, and reintroduced *Paganism*. About the year 1420. they maintained a long defensive war against the Government, and the *Pope's* Legates, under the management of their brave Captain *Zizca*; which was further prosecuted after him by the remaining *Thaborites*. And again in this Century, in the year 1618. they maintained a defensive war against the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. electing and erecting a new King in opposition to him, *Frederick Palatine* of the *Rhine*, in which Cause many received a Crown of Martyrdom: and this was also espoused by King *James* VI. who sent to aid his Son in Law against the Emperor.

4. If we look to the Histories of the *Waldenses*, these constant opposers of Antichrist, we will find many Instances of their Resistance. About the year 1194. very early, while *Waldo* (from whom they had their Name) was alive, they began to defend themselves by Arms, after the bloody Edict of *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*; an Edict so like to many of ours emitted this day, as it would seem our Enemies have taken the Copy of it: so it were very seemly for the people grieved with such Edicts to imitate the Copy of the *Waldenses* their practice, in opposition to them. In the year 1488. they resist by Arms *Albert de Capitaneis*, sent by *Pope Innocent* VIII. in *Pragola* and *Fraffaniere*, and throughout *Piedmont*; where, for the most part, the offspring of the old *Waldenses* had their Residence, where, very evidently, through many successions of Ages, they shewed themselves to be the true Successors of their worthy Progenitors, valiant for the Truth. That's a famous instance of their Resistance, in opposing vigorously the *Lord of Trinity*, in that same *Piedmont*, at which time they so solemnly asked their Ministers,

nisters, Whether it were not lawful to defend themselves against his Violence? Who answered affirmatively. And accordingly they did it with wonderful success at that time, and many times thereafter. Especially it is notour in the memory of this present Age, how in the year 1655. a vigorous defensive war was prosecuted against the Duke of *Savoy*, by their Captains *Gianavel*, *Jahier*, &c. which was espoused by many Protestant Princes. And no further gone than the very last year, it is known how they resisted the Arms of that *Tyger*, and the *French* that helped him, and that their simplicity in trusting *Popish* promises was their ruin.

5. If we look over the Histories of the *Albigenses*, we find many instances of their defensive resisting their oppressing Superiors. About the year 1200. they defended themselves at *Beziers* and *Carcasson*, against the *Pope*'s Legate and his Crossed Soldiers, under the conduct first of the Earl of *Beziers*, and then of the Earl of *Foix*, and Earl *Remand* of *Tholouse*, and were helped by the *English*, who then possessed *Guienne* bordering upon *Tholouse*; which resistance continued several years. Afterwards in the year 1226. they maintained a Resistance against the King of *France*.

6. In *Spain*, we find the people of *Arragon* contesting with *Alphonsus* III. and associating themselves together against him. And they tell *Pedro* III. their King, that if he would not contain himself within the limits of the Laws, they would pursue him by Arms, about the year 1283. As also other *Spaniards*, who rose in Arms several times against *Pedro* the first King of *Castile*.

7. It was this which brought the *Cantons* of *Helvetia* into this State of freedom, wherein they have continued many years: for, about the year 1260. they levied war against their oppressing Nobles. And in the year 1308. they joined in Covenant to defend themselves against the House of *Austria*; and in the year 1315. they renewed it at *Brunna*, in which, at length, the rest of the *Cantons* joined, and formed themselves into a Commonwealth.

8. If we take a glance of the *Germans*, we will find at the very Commencement of the Reformation, as soon

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as they got the name of *Protestants*, they Resisted the Emperour *Charles* V. The Duke of *Saxon*, the Land-Grave of *Hesse*, and the City of *Madgeburgh*, with advice of Lawyers, concluded. " That the Laws of the ' Empire permitted Resistance of the Emperour in ' some cases, that the times were then so dangerous, ' that the very force of Conscience did lead them to ' Arms, and to make a League to defend themselves, ' though *Cesar* or any in his name should make war ' against them ——— for since he attempteth to root ' out Religion, and subvert our Liberties, he giveth us ' cause enough to resist him with a good conscience: ' The matter standing as it doth, we may (say they) ' Resist —— as may be shewed both by sacred and prophane Histories. ——— And so they undertook and stated the war upon the account of Religion and Liberty.

9. If we but cast an eye over to the *Hollanders*, we will find how much they stand obliged to this practice of Defensive Arms; having thereby recovered both Religion and Liberty, and established themselves into a flourishing State. We find even in the time of *D. de Alva's* Persecution, they began to defend *Haerlem* and *Valenciennes* in *Hainault*, and went on till under the conduct of *William* of *Nassaw* Prince of *Orange*, they declared the King of *Spain* to have fallen from the Government of those Countries: and so effectually shook off the yoke of *Spanish* Tyrannie.

10. If we go to the *French Hugonets*, we will find many Instances among them, and many brave Heroes raised up, to maintain the principle and prosecute the practice thereof, of older and later date. The History of the Civil wars of *France* is stored with their Trophies; and the Memories of *Conde* and *Coligni* will ever be fragrant. There were many Resistances there, both before and since the *Parisian Massacre*. It is sad, that the present *Protestants* they are so far degenerate from the Spirit of their Ancestors.

11. The many practices of the *Hungarians*, Resisting the encroachments of the house of *Austria*, prove the same. And when *Matthias* denyed the free exercise of Religion unto the Protestants of *Austria*, they took

took up Arms in their own defence, and sent a Protestation unto the Estates of *Hungary*, requiring their Assistance, conform to their League. And now this present war there founded upon this plea.

12. The *Polonians* have often times levied war against their Kings: and we are furnished by *Clark* in his *Martyrol.* with a late Instance of their Resistance against the Sovereign Powers, at *Lesna* in *Poland*, in the year 1655.

13. The *Danes* and *Swedes* have not been wanting, for their parts, in taking course with their *Christierns*, Kings of that name, whom they resisted and punished. And generally, wherever the Reformation was received, we find this principle espoused and the practice of it prosecuted. Nay, there hath been no Nation in the world, but it will be found, they have either resisted or killed Tyrants.

14. The most Deserving and Celebrated Monarchs in the world have espoused the quarrel of oppressed Subjects. Not only such as *Tamerlane*, whose observable Saying is noted, when he advanced against *Bajazet*, *I go* (says he) *to chastise his Tyranny and to deliver the afflicted people.* And *Philip* and *Lewis* of *France*, who assisted the Barons of *England* against King *John*. And *Charles the Great*, who upon this ground undertook a war against the *Lombards* in *Italy*. But even *Constantine* the Great, hath it recorded for his honour, that he employed his power and force against *Licinius*, upon no other Motive but because he banished, tortured, and destroyed those Christians in his dominions, that would not abandon their Religion. And Queen *Elisabeth* is commended for assisting the *Dutch* to maintain their Religion by force, when they could not enjoy it by favour. And King *James* the VI. gave publick aid to the Protestants in *Germany* and *Bohemia* against the Emperor. Against whom also *Gustavus Adolphus* marched, that he might deliver the oppressed cities from the bondage that *Ferdinand* had brought them into. Yea, King *Charles* the I. this man's father, pretended at least to help the Protestants in *France* at *Ree* and *Rochel*: and though he himself was avowedly resisted by

the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, yet he was forced to declare, in his acts of *Oblivion* and *Pacification*, *The* Scots *late taking up Arms against him, in defence of their Religion, Laws and Privileges, to be no Treason nor Rebellion.*---- See *Apol. Relat. Sect.* 11. *pag.* 149. And though the late *Charles* the II, condemned all the risings of the people of *Scotland* for defence of Religion and Liberty, and their Lives and Privileges, which his own tyranny forced them into; yet he justified the present revolt of *Heathens* and *Mahumetan* subjects from the young King of *Bantam* in *Java Major* in the *East-Indies*, who, when he got the government in his hands by his father's Resignation, killed his subjects, and caused them to be killed without any cause, which was the reason of their revolt from him, and defending the Father against the Son: this defensive war of these subjects was justified by the said *Charles*, in his sending ammunition, *&c.* for their relief. These, and many more instances that might be adduced, are sufficient evidences of the righteousness and reason of such resistances, when the greatest of Princes have undertaken the Patrociny of them.

III. From *Scripture-Proofs*. I shall but briefly gather some of the many that might be pressed, which, being put together, to me seem impregnable. I shall reduce them to these Heads, 1. I shall adduce some practices of the Lord's people, frequently reiterated, never condemned, always approven, confirming this Point. 2. Some severe reprehensions for their omission of this duty, in the season thereof. 3. Some promises both of spiriting for the duty, and of countenancing it, when undertaken. 4. Some precepts commanding such atchievements. 5. Some prayers supplicating for them. All which put together will make a strong Argument.

*First*, For *practices* of this kind, there is nothing more common in Scripture-history.

1. I shall begin at the first war that is recorded in the world: wherein some loss fell to the godly at first, but afterwards by the virtue and valour of their Brethren they were vindicated, and the victory recovered with honour. *Lot*, and his family living in *Sodom*, was taken prisoner, by *Chedarlaomer* and his Confederates, *Gen.* xiv. 12.

12. but *Abraham* hearing of it, *armed his trained servants, and pursued them to Dan*, and rescued him, *vers.* 14 —— 16. thereby justifying that Rebellion of the Cities of the plain, by taking part and vindicating the Rebels. Hence, he that may rescue subjects from the violence of any tyrannizing domination by arms, may also rise with these subjects to oppose that violence; but here is an example of that in *Abraham*: ——*therefore*,——.

2. After the Lord's people were possessed of *Canaan*, and forgetting the Lord, did enter into affinity with these interdicted Nations, some of them were left to prove *Israel*, that the generations of the children of *Israel* might know to teach them war, *Judg.* iii. 1, 2. And when they did evil in the sight of the Lord, he sold them into the hand of *Cushan-Rishathaim* King of *Mesopotamia*, whom they served and were subject to eight years, *vers.* 8. but when they cried unto the Lord, their *Rebellion*, shaking off that yoke, was successful under the conduct of *Othniel*, *vers.* 10. And after a relapse unto the like defection, they became subject to *Eglon* King of *Moab*, whom they served eighteen years, *vers.* 14. but, attempting the same remedy by arms, under the conduct of *Ehud*, they recovered their liberty. And after his death, falling into that sin again, which procured the like misery, they became subject to *Jabin* King of *Canaan*, who twenty years mightily oppressed them, *Judg.* iv, 1---3. but by the Lord's commandment, under the conduct of *Deborah* and *Barak*, they rebelled and prevailed. Whence, if the Lord's people, serving a Sovereign domineering power, may shake off the yoke of their subjection; then it is duty to defend themselves and resist them, for there is no other way of shaking it off; but these examples prove the former: *therefore*,——. *Obj.* If any cavil that these were not their own Kings, to whom they owed allegiance, but only invading Conquerors, whom they might resist. I *answer*, (1) Yet they were the Sovereign powers for the time; and therefore, if Royalists and Loyalists grounds hold good, they ought upon no pretence whatsoever to have been resisted: and though possibly they might not be by compact their own Kings, yet by conquest they were, as much as that would make

them, and by their own consent, when they paid them King's due, *viz. tribute.* (2) No more are they our own Kings, who either intrude themselves into an arbitrary domination over us, (without any terms of a compact upon a pretence of hereditary succession), or being our covenanted Kings overturn all the conditions of their compact, and degenerate into Tyrants: to such we owe no allegiance, more than *Israel* did to these Dominators. (3) I retort that old *Colewort twice boil'd*, who should be Judge, whether they were their own lawful Kings or not? For they acted as Kings, and thought themselves their absolute Lords, and gave themselves out to be such; and yet we find an approved Rebellion against them. Mr. *Gee*, in his *Magistrate's Original*, *chap.* 8. *Sect.* 4. *Pag.* 268. improves these instances to the same purpose; and adds, 'Neither (as far as my observation 'goes) can any immediate or extraordinary command 'or word for what they so did be pretended to, or plead-'ed from the Text, for many of them, or for any, save '*Barak* or *Gideon*.'

3. Yet *Gideon*'s example, though he had an extraordinary Call, cannot be pretended as unimitable on the matter; for that was ordinary, though the Call and Manner was extraordinary. He, with the concurrence of a very few men, did break the yoke of subjection to *Midian*, *Judg.* vi. and vii. *chap.* and having called his Brethren out of all Mount *Ephraim*, into a conjunction with him in the pursuit of his victory; when he demanded supply of the Princes of *Succoth*, and of the men of *Penuel*, and they denied it, he served them as enemies. Whence, if a small party may with God's approbation deliver themselves, and the whole of their Community, from the bondage of their oppressing Dominators whom they had served several years, and may punish their Princes that do not come out to their help, in a concurrence with them, and encouragement of them in that attempt; then must it be duty to defend themselves against their Oppressors that rule over them, and all ought to concur in it; or else their would not be justice in punishing them that were defective in this work; but we see the former from this example: *therefore*, ——. *Obj.*

If

If it be said, *Gideon*, and the rest of the extraordinary raised Judges, were Magistrates, therefore they might defend and deliver their country, which a private people that are only subjects may not do. I *answer*, (1) They were subject to these Tyrants that oppressed them, who were then the Sovereign powers of that time, and yet they shook off their yoke by defensive arms. (2) They were not then Magistrates, when they first appeared for their country's defence and deliverance, neither in that did they act as such, but only as Captains of Rebels, in the esteem of them that had power over them. It is clear, *Gideon* was not Ruler, till that authority was conferred upon him after the deliverance. See *Judg*, viii. 22. *&c.* yet he did all this before.

4. When his bastard *Abimelech* usurped the Government, and was made King by the men of *Shechem*, at length God sending an evil Spirit between him and his Complices that set him up, not only was he resisted by the treacherous *Shechemites* (which was their brand and bane in the righteous judgment of God, for their aiding him at first in killing his Brethren) *Judg.* ix. 23, 24, &c. but also he was opposed by others of the men of *Israel*, as at *Thebez*, where he was slain by a woman, *vers.* 50, at the end. Whence, if an usurping Tyrant, acknowledged as King by the Generality, may be disowned by the Godly, and threatned with God's vengeance to consume both him and his Complices that comply with him; and if he may be opposed and resisted not only by those that set him up, but also by others that were in subjection to him, and at length be killed by them, without resentment of the rest of the Nation; then must it be duty for a people, who had no hand in the erection of such a Dominator, to defend themselves against his force; but the former is true by this Example: *therefore*———.

5. When *Israel* fell under the Tyranny of *Ammon*, oppressing them eighteen years, they did, by resisting these supreme Powers, shake off their yoke, under the Conduct of *Jephthah*. And being challenged sharply by the men of *Ephraim*, who it seems claimed the Prerogative of making War, and therefore came to revenge

and

and reduce *Jephthah* and his Company to order, casting herein belike a Copy to our regular *Loyalists*, who are very tenacious of this Plea of the *Ephraimites*, that at least without the *Nobles of the Kingdom*, no War is to be made; yet we find *Jephthah* did not much regard it, but stoutly defended himself, and slew of them 42,000 men, known by their *Shibboleth*, Judg. xii. If people then, when questioned for defending themselves, by them that claim a Superiority over them, and should deliver them, may defend themselves both without them and against them; then it is a People's duty and privilege; but the former is true by this Example.

6. They were then made subject to the *Philistines* 40 years, whom the men of *Judah* acknowledged for their Rulers: yet *Samson*, that rackle-handed Saint, never ceased from pelting them upon all occasions; and when challenged for it by the men of *Judah*, saying, *Knowest thou not that the Philistines are Rulers over us? What is that that thou hast done? Samson* objects nothing against their being Rulers; but notwithstanding prosecutes his purpose of vindicating himself, in defence of his Country, *As they did unto me*, says he, *so have I done unto them*, Judg. xv. 11. Hence, if Saints may avenge themselves upon them whom the Country calls Rulers, and when enabled by God, may do to them as they did to them; then must it be duty for them to defend themselves against them; but the Antecedent is true by this Example.

7. When *Saul*, in the pursuit of the *Philistines*, had charged the People with a foolish Oath (like unto many of the ensnaring Oaths that Monarchs use to impose upon people) not to eat any food until the evening, *Jonathan* his son tasted but a little honey, and *lo he must die*; which *Saul* confirmed with another peremptory Oath, *God do so to him, and more also, if he should not die.* Whereupon the people, as resolute on the other hand to save him, resisted the rage of that Ruler, and swore as peremptorily, that *not one hair of his head should fall to the ground. So the people rescued Jonathan that he died not*, 1 Sam. xiv. 44, 45. Hence, if people may covenant by Oath to resist the Commands, and rescue a man from a

Tyrant's

Tyrant's Cruelty, then it is duty to defend themselves against him: the Antecedent is true here.

8. Afterwards, when the *manner of the King*, presaged by *Samuel*, was verified in *Saul's* degeneration into many abuses of Government, this privilege of Resistance was not wholly mancipated, but maintained by *David's* defensive Appearance with his little Army, he took *Goliah's* sword, not for ornament, or only to fright *Saul*, but to defend himself with it, and was Captain first to four hundred men, 1 *Sam.* xxii. 2. had a mind to keep out *Keilah* against him with six hundred men, 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 13 and afterwards a great host came to him to *Ziklag*, while he kept himself close because of *Saul* the son of *Kish*, 1 *Chron.* xii. 1. throughout, where they left *Saul*, and came and helped *David* against him. This is proved at length by *Lex Rex*, *quest.* 32. *p.* 340.

9. The City *Abel*, whither *Sheba* the Traitor had fled, did well to resist *Joab* the King's General, coming to destroy a whole City for a Traitor's sake, and not offering peace to it (according to the Law, *Deut.* xx. 10.) and defended themselves by Gates and Walls, notwithstanding he had a Commission from the King, 2 *Sam.* 20. and after the capitulating, they are never challenged for Rebellion.

10. The *ten Tribes* revolted from the House of *David*, when *Rehoboam* claimed an *absolute Power*, and would not acquiesce to the peoples just conditions, 1 *Kings*, xii. 2 *Chron.* x. which is before justified, *Head* 2. Hence, if it be lawful for a part of the people to shake off the King, refuse subjection to him, and set up a new one, when he but resolves to play the Tyrant; then it must be duty to resist his violence, when he is tyrannizing; but the Antecedent is clear from this Example. This is vindicated at more length by *Jus pop. ch.* 3. *p.* 52.

11. The Example of *Elisha* the Prophet is considerable, 2 *Kings* vi. 32. *Elisha sat in his house, (and the elders sat with him) and the king sent a man before him; but ere the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, See how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away mine head; look when the messenger cometh, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door; is not the sound of his master's feet*

*feet behind him*? Here was violent Resistance resolved against both the Man and the Master, tho' the King of the Land for the time. And this calling him the *son of a Murderer*, and resisting him, is no more extraordinary (tho' it was an extraordinary man's Act) than it is for a plaintiff to libel a true crime against a wicked person, and for an oppressed man to close the door upon a Murderer, *Lex Rex, quest.* 32. *p.* 346. Hence, if a King or his Messenger coming to use unjust violence against an innocent Subject, be no more to be regarded than a Murderer's Emissary, but may be resisted by that innocent Subject; then must a community of such innocent Subjects defend themselves against a Tyrant or his Emissaries, coming against them on such a wicked errand: the Antecedent is here clear.

12. The City *Libnah* revolted from under *Jehoram's* Tyranny, 2 *Chron* xxi. 10. *P. Martyr* on the place saith, They revolted, because he endeavoured to compel them to Idolatry. This is justified above, *Head* 2. Hence, if it be lawful for a part of the people to revolt from a tyranical Prince, making defection from the true Religion; then it is duty to defend themselves against his force: the Antecedent is here plain.

13. When *Athaliah* usurped the Monarchy, *Jehoiada* the priest *strengthned himself, and made a covenant with the captains*, &c. to put her down, and set up *Joash*, 2 *Kings*, xi. 2 *Chron.* xxiii. and when she came and cried, *Treason, Treason*, they regarded it not, but commanded to kill her and all that help her. Whence, if those that are not Kings may lawfully kill an Usurpress, and all her helpers, then may a people resist them; but *Jehoiada*, though no Magistrate, did it.

14. The repressing and punishing *Amaziah* the son of *Joash* is an undeniable Instance, vindicated by Mr. *Knox*. See above, *Per.* 3. *p.* 54 After the time that he turned away from following the Lord, the people *made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem, and he fled to Lachish, but they sent and slew him there*, 2 Kings, xiv. 19. 2 Chron. xxv. 27. Hence, *a fortiori*, if people may conspire and concur in executing judgment upon their King turning Idolater

Idolater and Tyrant, then much more must they defend themselves against his violence.

15. The same power, of peoples resisting Princes, was exemplified in *Uzziah* or *Azariah*, when he would needs be supreme in things sacred as well as civil, 2 *King.* xv. 2 *Chron.* xxvi. Fourscore Priests, that were valiant Men, withstood him, and thrust him out of the Temple, *they troubled him*, saith *Vatablus*, *they expelled him*, saith *Ar. Mont. vid. Pool's Synopsis. in Loc.* See this vindicated by Mr. *Knox. Per.* 3. *Pag.* 48, 49. above. Hence, if private Subjects may, by Force, resist and hinder the King from transgressing the Law, then must they resist him when forcing them to transgress the Law of God.

16. After the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, when the *Jews* were setting about the Work of building the *Temple*, which they would do by themselves, and not admit of any Association with Malignants (upon their sinister misinformation, and sycophantick Accusation, that they were building the rebellious and bad City, and would refuse to pay the King toll, tribute, and custom) they were straitly discharged by *Artaxerxes* to proceed in their Work, and the Inhibition was execute by Force and Power, *Ezra.* iv. But by the encouragement of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, countermanding the King's decree, they would not be hindered, the Eye of their God being upon them, though *Tatnai* the Governor of those Parts, *Shetharboznai*, and their Companions, would have boasted them from it, with the usual Arguments of Malignants, *who hath commanded you to do so and so?* Ezra. v. 3. —— 5. And yet this was before the decree of *Darius* was obtained in their favours, *Ezra.* vi. Hence, if people may prosecute a duty without and against a King's Command, and before an Allowance by Law can be obtained; then may a people resist their Commands and Force used to execute them; but here the Antecedent is manifest.

17. When *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, and invited the *Jews* to build up the Walls of the City, they strengthned their hands for that good work against very much opposition: and when challenged by *Sanballat* the *Horonite*, *Tobiah* the Servant, the *Ammonite*, and *Geshem* the *Arabian*

*Arabian.* Great Kings-men all of them, who despised and boasted them, *What is this that ye do? Will ye rebel against the King?* Say they. He would not plead Authority, though, in the general, he had the King's Warrant for it: Yet he would not give them any other satisfaction, than to intimate, whether they had that or not, having the call of God to the Work, they would go on in the duty, and God would prosper them against their opposition, *Nehem.* ii. 19, 20. And accordingly, notwithstanding of all Scoffs, and Plots, and Conspiracies, to hinder the building, yet they went on, and were encouraged to remember the Lord, and fight for their Brethren, &c. and to build with Weapons in their hands, *Neh.* iv. and brought it to an end, notwithstanding of all their Practices to fright them from it, *chap.* 6. Hence, If neither Challenges of Rebellion, nor Practices of Malignant Enemies who pretend Authority, nor any Discouragements whatsoever, should deter people from a Duty which they have a Call and Capacity from God to prosecute, and if they may promove it against all opposition by defensive Arms; then, when a people are oppressed and treated as Rebels, for a necessary Duty, they may and must defend themselves, and maintain their duty, notwithstanding of all Pretences of Authority against them.

18. I shall add one Instance more, which is vindicated by *Jus Populi*, from the History of *Esther.* Because *Mordecai* refused to do homage to a Hangman, (*Haman* I should say) a cruel Edict was procured from *Ahasuerus* to destroy all the *Jews*, written and sealed with the King's ring, according to the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, becoming a Law irrevocable and irreversible, *Esther.* iii. 12, 13. Yet the Lord's Providence, always propitious to his people, brought it about so, that *Haman* being hanged, and *Mordecai* advanced, the *Jews* were called and capacitated, as well as necessitated, to resist that armed Authority that decreed to massacre them, and that by the King's own Allowance, *Esther* ix. When his former decree drew near to be put in Execution, in the day that the Enemies of the *Jews* hoped to have power over them, it was turned to the contrary, that

that no Man could withstand them. Here they had the Allowance of Authority to resist Authority: and this was not a Gift of a new right by that Grant, which they had not before; only it was corroborative of their radical right to defend themselves, which is not the Donative of Princes, and which they had power to exerce and use without this, tho' may be not the same Capacity; for the King's Warrant could not make it lawful in point of Conscience, if it had not been so before. Hence, If people may have the Allowance of well advised Authority, to resist the decree and force of unlawful Authority; then may a people maintain right Authority, in defending themselves against the Injuries of pretended Authority; but by this Instance we see, the *Jews* had *Ahasuerus* his Allowance to resist the decree and force of his own ill-advised Authority, tho' irreversible. And hence we see, that Distinction, in this Point, is not groundless, between resisting the Authority of Supreme Powers, and the abuses of the same.

*Secondly*, We have in the Scripture both tacite and expres *Reproofs*, for lying by from this duty in the season thereof,

1. In *Jacob's* Swan-Song or Prophetical Testament, wherein he foretells what should be the Fate and future Condition of each of the Tribes, and what should be remarked in their carriage influencing their after Lot in their Generations, for which they should be commended or discommended, approved or reproved; coming to *Issachar*, he prophetically exprobates his future Ass-like Stupidity, that indulging himself in his lazy Ease, and lukewarm Security, he should mancipate himself and his Interests into a servile subjection unto his Oppressors Impositions, even when he should be in a Capacity to shake them off, and free himself by Resistance, *Gen.* xlix. 14, 15. *Issachar is a strong Ass couching down between two burdens.* This is set down by the Holy Ghost, as the brand and bane, not of the person of *Issachar Jacob's* Son, but of the Tribe, to be inured upon them, when they should be in such a Condition by their own Silliness: Hence I argue, If the Holy Ghost exprobrate a People for their stupid Subjection to prevailing Tyranny,

ny, when they do not improve their Ability, Capacity, and Right to maintain and defend their Liberties and Privileges; then this implies a commanded Duty to defend them, according to their Capacity, from all unjust Invasion; but the former is true here: Therefore also the later.

2. In *Deborah's* Song after their victorious Resistance, the People are severely upbraided for not concurring in that Expedition, *Judg.* v. 16, 17, 23. and *Meroz* is particularly cursed for not coming *to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the Mighty.* This is recorded as a resting Reproof, against all that will withdraw their helping hand from the Lord's people, when necessitate to appear in defensive Arms for the Preservation of their Lives and Liberties. On the other hand, *Zebulon* and *Naphtali* are commended for jeoparding their Lives in the high Places of the Fields, and are approved in that Practice of fighting against the King of *Canaan*, that then ruled over them, *verf.* 18, 19. Hence, if people be reproved and cursed for staying at home to look to their own Interests, when others jeopard their Lives for their Countries Defence and Freedom from Tyranny and Oppression; then this implies 'tis a duty to concur in so venturing; but here, *Reuben*, *Dan*, *Asher*, and *Meroz*, are reproved and cursed for staying at home, when *Zebulon* and *Naphtali* jeoparded their Lives, *&c. Ergo*,

*Thirdly*, We have in the Scriptures many *promises* of the Lord's approving and countenancing the duty of Defensive Arms, even against their oppressing Rulers.

1. In that forecited Testament of the Patriarch *Jacob*, in that part of it which concerns *Gad*, he propheſies that Tribe should have a Lot in the world answering his Name, and be engaged in many Conflicts with oppressing Dominators, who at first should prevail over him, but at length God should so bless his endeavours, to free himself from their oppressions, that he should overcome. There is an excellent Elegancy in the Original, answering to the Etymology of the Name *Gad*, which signifies a *Troop*, reading thus in the *Hebrew*, *Gad, a Troop shall overtroop him, but he shall overtroop them at the last*, *Gen.* xlix. 19. And *Moses* homologating the same Testimony,

in

in his blessing the Tribes before his death, shows, that he should make a very forcible and successful Resistance, and should execute the Justice of the Lord over his Oppressors, *Deut.* xxxiii. 20, 21. Wherein is implied a promise of Resistance to be made against oppressing Conquerors, who should acquire the supreme Rule over them for a time: and the success of that Resistance for overcoming, necessarily supposes Resistance. Hence, where there is a promise of success at last to a peoples Conflicts against prevailing Tyranny, there is implied an Approbation of the duty, and also a promise of its performance wrapped up in that promise; but here is a promise, *&c. Ergo* ———.

2. In that Threatning against Tyrants, shewing how they shall be *thrust away* and burnt up with fire, there is couched a promise, and also an implied precept of resisting them, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 6. *The sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away—— with hands fenced with iron, &c.* which clearly implies Resistance, and more than that, Rejection and Repression. Hence, if it be threatned as a Curse against Rulers of *Belial*, and promised as a Blessing, that they shall be so roughly handled; then this implies a duty to resist them, who cannot be otherways taken; but here this is threatned, *&c.*

3. When the Lord shall have mercy on *Jacob*, and chuse *Israel*, it is promised, *Isa.* xiv. 2, 3. that *they shall take them captives whose captives they were. And they shall rule over their oppressors* ——— This necessarily implies and infers a promise of Resistance against these oppressing Rulers, in the time of their domineering, as well as revenge after their yoke should be broken; and something of mens Action, as well as God's Judgment in breaking that yoke; for they could not take them captives, nor rule over them, except first they had resisted them whose captives they were: There is resisting of the supreme Power, subjection whereunto was the bondage wherein they were made to serve. Hence, if it be promised, that a captivated and subjugated people shall break the yoke, and free themselves of the bondage of them that had them in subjection; then it is promised in that case, they

they must resist the supreme Powers; for such were they whose captives they were: the Antecedent is here express.

4. There are promises that the Lord's people, when those that rule over them are incensed against the holy Covenant, and when many of their brethren that should concur with them shall be frighted from their duty by fear, or corrupted with flattery, shall be made *strong to do exploits*, tho' in such enterprizes they may want success for some time, and *fall by the sword and flame, and by captivity, and spoil, many days*, *Dan.* xi. 30——34. Which is very near parallel to the case of the Covenanted people of *Scotland*, their appearing in defensive Exploits against their Covenant-breaking Rulers these many years bygone. This was very eminently fulfilled in the History of the *Maccabees*, before rehearsed. Hence, if it be promised, that a people shall be strong to do exploits, in resisting the Arms of their Rulers, opposing their Covenant, and overturning their Religion and Liberties; then it must be approven that such resistance is lawful, even tho' it want success: but this is here promised. To the same purpose it is promised, that after the Lord's people have been long kept as prisoners under the bondage of oppressing Rulers, they shall, by a vigorous Resistance, be saved from their Tyranny, *Zech.* ix. 13---17. *When the Lord shall bend Judah for him, and raise up Zion's sons against the sons of Greece*——— So it was in their Resistances and Victories against the Successors of *Alexander*, who had the rule over them for a time. And so it may be again, when the Lord shall so bend his people for him. Hence, if the Lord promises to fit and spirit his people for Action against their oppressing Rulers, and to crown their Atchievements, when so fitted and spirited, with glorious Success; then it is their duty, and also their honour, to resist them; but here that is plainly promised.

5. There are promises of the Lord's making use of his people, and strengthening them to break in pieces the power of his and their Enemies, and his defending and maintaining them against all their power and projects, when they think most to prevail over them. As is promised

mised in the threatened *Catastrophe* of the *Babylonian* Usurpation, *Jer.* li. 20---24--- *Thou art* (says he to *Israel*, of whom he speaks as the rod of his Inheritance in the preceeding verse) *my battle-ax and weapons of war, and with thee will I break in pieces*, &c. Whensoever this hath been, or shall be accomplished, (as it may relate to the vengeance to be execute upon the New Testament *Babylon*) it clearly implies their breaking in pieces Powers that were supreme over them. Hence, if the Lord will make use of his people's vindictive Arms against *Babylon* ruling over them, then he will justify their defensive Arms against *Babylon* oppressing them. Here it is promised, &c. So *Micah* iv. 11. *to the End.* Many Nations shall be gathered to defile and look upon *Zion*, and then the Lord shall give Allowance and Commission to his people *to arise and thresh*, &c. What time the accomplishment of this is referred to, is not my concern to enquire: It seems to look to the New Testament times, wherein the Lord's people shall be first in great straits, and then enlarged; but to restrict it to the spiritual Conquest over the Nations by the Ministry of the Word (tho' I will not deny but that may be included) seems too great a straitning of the Scope, and not so apposite to the Expressions, which certainly seem to import some forcible action of men, and more than the peaceable Propagation of the Gospel. It is usually referred to the latter days of that Dispensation, when both the *Jewish* and *Gentile Zion* shall be totally and finally delivered from *Babylon*, or Antichristian Tyranny; before, or about which Period, the Enemies of Christ and of his People shall attempt their *outmost Power* to destroy the Church, groaning under their bondage; but when they are all well mustered in a general Rendezvous, the Lord's people shall have a gallant Game at the Chase. But whensoever the time be of fulfilling the Promise, it ensures to the people of God the Success of their defensive Arms against them that pretended a Domination over them. And it looks to a time, when they should have no Rulers of their own, but them under whose subjection they had been long groaning, and now brought to a very low pass; yet here they should not only resist, but thresh them.

Hence,

Hence, if in the latter days the people of God are to be honoured, and acted forth with such a Spirit and Capacity to thresh and beat down these Powers under which they have been long groaning; then, when the Lord puts them in such Capacity to attempt it, they should be ambitious of such a honour; But here it is promised, *&c.* The same may be inferred from the Prophet's Vision, *Zech.* i. 19, 20. He sees *four Carpenters* resisting the *four Horns:* the horns scattered *Judah*, so that no man did lift up his head; but the *Carpenters* came to fray them, to cast out the horns of the *Gentiles*, which lifted up their horn over the Land of *Judah*. These *horns* had the Supreme power over *Judah* for a time, while they were in no Capacity to resist them; but as soon as the Lord furnishes them with Capacity and Instruments impowered to resist them, they do it effectually. The *Carpenters* are certainly the Lords people themselves; for here they are opposite to the Gentiles, which all were except the Lords people. Hence, If the Lord promises, when reconciled to his people, to furnish them with Instruments to fray and scatter the power of Tyrants, who have long born down their head; then when they are so furnished, they may resist them: But the Lord here promises that &c. This is more plainly promised also, *Zech.* x. 5. &c. *Then they shall be as mighty men which shall tread down their Enemies.--------And the pride of Assyria shall be brought down.*------Hence, if the Lord, when He shall have mercy on his people, will bless their Resistance so, as to bring down the pride and Scepter of them that had the Supreme power over them; Then, in hope of such a blessing, they may attempt such a duty, when the Call is clear.

*Fourthly*, we have also *Precepts*, from whence we may consequentially conclude the approven duty of Defensive Arms against oppressing Rulers.

1 The Children of *Israel* are Commanded to *vex the Midianites and smite them*, for saith the Lord, *they vex you with their Wyles*, *Numb.* xxv. 17, 18. And to *avenge themselves*, *Numb.* xxx. 2. Which did not only oblige the people, when they had *Moses* for their Magistrate

giſtrate to lead them forth; but in the Days of *Gideon*, when they were under their rule whom they were to avenge themſelves upon. Hence, if people muſt vex their Enemies, and avenge themſelves of them, by a war offenſive, when enſnared by their Craftineſs; much more may they reſiſt them by a war Defenſive, when invaded by their Cruelty. 2. There is a Command to puniſh every City or party making Apoſtaſy unto Idolatry, *Deut.* xiii. 12,-15. Upon this moral Ground was *Iſrael's* war againſt *Benjamin*, *Judg.* xx. And their bringing *Amaziah* unto condign puniſhment; which is vindicated by Mr. *Knox.* See above, *Per.* 3. *pag.* 56, 57. Hence, if people are to bring to condign puniſhment Idolatrous Apoſtates ſeeking to intice them; then much more ought they to reſiſt ſuch Tyrants ſeeking to inforce them to ſuch Apoſtaſy.

3. There is a precept, not only to defend, but alſo to reſcue and deliver our Brethren when in hazard, *Prov.* xxiv. 11. 12. We muſt not *forbear to deliver them, when drawn to death:* Which will at leaſt infer the duty of aſſiſting them when forced to defend themſelves; for, if it be a duty to reſcue them from any prevailing power that would take their lives unjuſtly, much more is it duty to defend them and our ſelves both againſt their Murdering violence; but it is duty to reſcue them, *&c.*

4. All that would learn to do well, are commanded, *Iſa.* i. 17. to *relieve the Oppreſſed:* Which is not ſpoken to Magiſtrates only, many of whom were the oppreſſors, the *Princes were rebellious, and Companions of thieves, verſ.* 23. So alſo, *Iſa.* lviii. 6. It is required of a people that would be accepted of God in their humiliations; *to let the oppreſſed go free, and to break every yoke.* Hence, if it be duty to relieve the Oppreſſed by breaking the yoke of them that oppreſs them; then it is duty to defend them and our ſelves both againſt them that would oppreſs us more; but the former is here commanded: Therefore, *&c.*

5. There is a command for a ſpoiled oppreſſed people, when the Lord is reconciled to them, and ſympathiſes with them, to deliver themſelves from their Rulers ſervitude, *Zech.* ii. 7. *Deliver thy ſelf, O Zion, which*

*dwellest with the daughter of Babylon.* Which comprehends all the ordinary Active means of peoples delivering themselves, from oppressing powers that rule over them: And consequently defensive Resistance; for it cannot only be restricted to *flight* included (*vers.* 6.) the promise annexed (*vers.* 9.) imports more, when they that spoiled them shall be a spoil to their servants: Whereby it is insinuated, they were so to deliver themselves, as not only to free themselves from their Servitude, but to bring their Masters under Subjection. Hence, If the Lord's people, being subject to Tyrants ruling over them for the time, may deliver themselves from their oppressing Masters, then may they resist them, and defend themselves: The Antecedent is expres here in the Command.

6. There is a Command given by Christ to his Disciples, to provide themselves with defensive Weapons, necessary for their Defence against them that would pursue after their Lives; as well as with other things necessary for their Sustenance, *Luk.* xxii. 36. —— *Now he that hath a Purse let him take it, and likewise his Scrip, and he that hath no Sword, let him sell his Garment and buy one.* Before, when he had sent them out upon an extraordinary Commission, as it were to serve their Apprenticeship in the Work of the Gospel, he did not allow them such sollicitous Care to provide themselves, because he would give them a Proof of his Sufficiency to sustain and protect them, without the ordinary means of their own Diligence. But now, when he was about to withdraw his bodily Presence from them, and would warn them of the Discouragements they were to expect in the Prosecution of their more continued Work, which they had a Commission for not to be retracted, he would not have them to expect Provision and Protection by a Course of Miracles, but to provide themselves with means for their Sustenance, and also for their Defence against the Violence of Men; which chiefly was to be expected from their Rulers, who would persecute them under the Notion of Transgressors of the Laws of their Kingdoms and Countries. He was not indeed to make much use of them, at that time, for himself; who was then to finish the

the Work of Redemption by suffering: only, that what was written might be accomplished in him, he would make so much use of them, as voluntarily to be involved under the censure and reproach of Rebellion, being taken among Men in Arms, that he might be reckoned among Transgressors, *vers.* 37. Therefore when they told him, they had *two Swords*, he said, *It is enough*, vers. 38. I need not stand upon that Impertinency of a Conceit, that these were *spiritual Swords:* Which deserves no Confutation, being fitter to be put among *Quakers* delirious Distractions, than to be numbered among the Notions of Men of understanding: for then the *Purse* and the *Scrip* must be spiritual too; and these spiritual things must be bought by *sellings of Garments*; and yet they would be such spiritual tools, as would have a sharp edge for cutting off of Carnal *ears*, and such as would be both visible and sensible; and two of them would be enough. They were then ordinary material Swords, which the Lord commands his Followers to provide themselves with, for their defence as Men, in cases of Necessity, and, when they should be in a Capacity to improve them against their murdering Persecuters, against whom he gives his Royal Grant of Resistance; that the world may know his Subjects, tho' they have more Privileges spiritual, yet they have no less human Privileges than other Men: albeit, at that Period of his determined Suffering, he would not allow the present use of them. Hence, If the Lord's people should provide themselves with Arms of Defence, tho' they should be reputed Transgressors for so doing; then may they use these Arms of Defence, against them that persecute them under that Notion; but the Antecedent is clear: Therefore, *&c.*

*Fifthly*, We may infer the same Truth from some of the *Prayers* of the Saints, wherein they glory in the confident expectation of the Lord's strengthening them, and favouring and approving their helpers, and in the experience of the Lord assisting them, while in the mean time constitute in a formed Appearance of Resistance. I shall only hint these,

1. In that Prayer, *Psal.* xliv. 5. They glory, in hope, that through the Lord they will *push down their enemies*, &c. yet now they were under the power of Tyrannizing Dominators which they were resisting: for, *vers.* 9. they complain they were *put to shame*, because the Lord went not forth with their Armies, and they which hated them spoiled them, ———. And for his Sake were killed all day long: Hence they plead, That the Lord would awake, ——— and not forget their Affliction and Oppression. Whereby it is evident, they were under the Yoke of Tyrannizing Powers, and resisting according to their might. Which, by whomsoever, or upon what occasion soever the Psalm was compiled, shews, that no want of Success in resisting Tyrants, can mar the Saints Faith in pleading for the Lord's Assistance and Approbation of the Duty. Hence, they that, in faith, may pray for, and boast of their treading down their Tyrannizing Powers that rise up against them, may also, in Faith, attempt the resisting of them in their own defence; but here the Lord's people did the former.

2. We find *David* under *Saul's* Persecution, while he had a party of 600 Men to defend himself against his rage, in the Psalms which he composed upon that Occasion, not only complaining of Oppressors, but encouraging himself in the Faith that God would be with them that assisted him, in his essay of defending himself, and imprecating destruction to *Saul* and his Complices; that the Lord would *cut them off in his Truth*, and let him *see his desire upon them*, *Psal.* liv. 4, 5. *last vers.* And *Psal.* lvii. 4. And *Psal.* lvii. *throughout.* And *Psal* cxl. 7, 9. He imprecates against the *head of them that compassed him about*, and consequently against *Saul*. Whence I argue, 1. If the Lord's people, conflicting with, and encompassed with oppressing Rulers as so many *Lions* and *Dogs*, may pray and praise for the help of those that assist them, in their endeavours of Self-preservation from them; then may they make use of their help for their Defence, for which they pray and praise; but here we see the Lord's people did the former: Therefore they may do the latter. 2. If we may pray against Kings, and for Preservation from them; then may we defend ourselves against them,

and

and endeavour the means of that preservation for which we pray. The Connexion is before cleared: yet here I add; That which will give a Dispensation from our duty of praying for them, will also dispense from the duty of being passively subject to their Will; and consequently will allow defending ourselves from their Violence; but here we see Tyranny and Treachery, and designed Mischief will give a Dispensation from our duty of praying for them, though that be duty as indispensible as Subjection. Again, if any thing demur us from resisting of Princes, it must be respect to their Majesty, and the Character of the Lord's anointing upon them; but we see, no respect to that will demur a Believer from praying in Faith against them: Therefore no such respect will hinder, but that he may defend himself against his Violence. And indeed, if we consider it right, if the Impression of any Majesty God hath put upon Princes should bind up our hands from any Resistance, it will restrain from prayer-resistance: for, if that impression have any force at any time, it must be when a man is most solemnly stated before God, and speaking to God as a Christian, rather than when he is acting as a man with a Man like himself: and as Prayer-Resistance is the more formidable and forcible Resistance than any other (as this *Saul*, and many other Kings, have found by their woful experience) so it is more restricted than other Resistance; for, we may defend ourselves against many whom we must not pray against, to wit, our private Enemies, for whom we are commanded to pray; yet no body will deny but we may resist their Violence: And likewise, we are commanded to pray for Kings, when invested with God's Authority; but when their degeneration looses us from that Obligation to pray for them, and allows us to pray against them when they turn Enemies to God (as we see in the Prayers of the Psalmist) then also we may more warrantably resist them by defensive Arms.

3. Among the *Hallelujahs*, in the end of Psalms, there is one calculate for the prevailing time of the Church, when the Lord shall take pleasure in his People. In that time of the Saints being joyful in Glory, when they may

may glory in the rest and security the Lord will vouchsafe upon them, they are Prophetically and very Pathetically excited to praise Prayer-wise, *Psal.* cxlix. 6. to the end. *Let the high praises of God be in their Mouth, and a two edged sword in their hand,* ——— *to bind their Kings with chains,* ——— *to execute upon them the Judgment written; this honour have all the Saints, Hallelujah.* This was their Praise and Honour, when they were brought in to execute Vengeance upon the Kings and Nobles of *Canaan.* This also, in *David*'s time, was the Ambition, and also the Attainment of the Saints, in their Triumphant Victories over many of their Oppressors round about them. But it looks to a further and more famous Execution of Vengeance upon the Tyrants of the Earth, when they shall have long kept under the Church of God, and at length the Lord shall give his People a Capacity to break their yoke: which, when ever it shall be, shall be their honour. Hence, If it be the honour of the Saints, when the Lord puts them in Capacity, to execute Vengeance upon their Enemies, though they be Kings that oppress them; then it may be their Ambition to seek it, at least they may resist them. Thus from several Scripture Practices, Reproofs, Promises, Precepts, and Prayers, this Truth may be proven. From which Scriptures, tho' other precious Truths are more natively deduced, yet this Truth by unstrained and unconstrained Consequence may be also clearly inferred.

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## HEAD VI.

*The Suffering of some, upon the account of extraordinary executing of Judgment upon notorious Incendiaries, and murdering publick Enemies by private Persons in the Circumstances wherein they were stated, vindicated.*

SUrely (saith *Solomon*) *Oppression maketh a wise Man mad,* as on the other hand, *a gift destroyeth the heart.* Which,

Which, whensoever there is a Concurrence and Verification of both together, makes it very incident, and noways to be admired, that either some Actions of the Oppressed be censurable; or, that there be found many to censure them, either out of Ignorance, or Prejudice, at a far off Glance, which a nearer and narrower Inspection of Circumstances, through a Prospect of Charity, would not so readily condemn. When the Oppression of Tyrants comes to such a height and pinch of Extremity, that it not only threatens a Community with desolation, but induces a necessity of unavoidable dissolution, and reduces a people to such a paroxism of Desperation and Consternation (in respect of human deliberation bringing them to their *Wits end*) that either they must succumb as slaves, and mancipate Consciences, Persons, Liberties, Properties, and all they are or have, to the lust of raging Tyrants, and their revenging Emissaries; or surrender themselves, and their posterity, and, which is dearer, the Interest of Religion, to be destroyed: then it is no wonder, that they be sometimes necessitated in such an Extremity, *to apply extreme Remedies to extremity of Evils*, and forced to fall upon such expedients to prevent their utter Extermination, as at other times common Order, and ordinary Justice would make extravagant. Yet it is no marvail, tho' they fall into several real Extravagancies, which are not to be justified nor extenuated; but rather it is to be acknowledged, as a Miracle of the Lord's Mercy, that in such a case they are restrained from more scandalous Excesses of that nature. Yet even then, such as live at ease, free of Oppression, who are blinded with prejudice at the Oppressed, and bribed with the Indulgence and Lenity of the Oppressors towards themselves, will look upon these Actions as Transports of Madness, and Effects of extravagant Zeal, while they weigh them only in the scales of ordinary Justice, and do not ponderate them in the balance of necessitated Virtue; nor perpend the circumstances which made those extraordinary acts of Judgment, which materially are lawful at all times to be executed by some, to be then necessary acts of Justice to be inflicted by them in such a case. But if either the Oppressors themselves,

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or such who are blinded and bribed with their gifts, and killed with their kindness, not only into an omission of concurring, but into a condemning of such extraordinary Attempts of taking off those Destroyers; or, if On-lookers at a distance, would seriously consider, and ingenuously declare their opinion, in a particular application of the case to themselves, what they would do in such circumstances: I doubt not, but as Charity should oblige them to be sparing of their Censures, in a case whereof they have no experience; so Justice, in resolving this point for themselves, would constrain them to justify such extraordinary necessitated Practices for self-preservation, in preventing perishing, by destroying their Destroyers, and move them rather to admire their Patience, who have suffered so much and so long those beasts of prey to devour them, than to censure their precipitancies, in being constrained to endeavour to deliver themselves at last from, and put an end to, their Cruelty who did most annoy them. 'Yea (as *Naphtali* says very well) 'It were impossible that rational men, after the feeling 'of so sore grievances, and the teaching of so many and 'sad experiences, should still couch under the burden, 'and submit themselves to the yoke of such vile apostate 'Upstarts and bloody Villains, and not rather acquit 'themselves like men, by pulling off these vizards, under 'which they mask their Villanies and clock their Vio-'lence; and plucking them out of that Sanctuary of Loy-'alty, and Refuge of Authority, which they do not 'more pretend than profane by all their horrid Rebelli-'ons against God, and cruel Murders executed upon the 'Lord's people, to the effect that in the righteous and 'deserved punishment of these wicked men, both the sin 'of the Land might be sifted, and the fierce Anger of 'the Lord averted, *Naph. first Edit. pag.* 134.' Nevertheless such lawful, and (as one would think) laudable Attempts, for cutting off such Monsters of Nature, *beasts of prey*, burdens to the earth, as well as enemies to the Commonwealth, are not only condemned as Murders and horrid Assassinations, but criminally and capitally punished as such. And upon this account, the Sufferings of such, as have left a Conviction upon the Consciences

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of all that knew them, of their honesty, integrity, soundness in the principles, and seriousness of the practice of Religion, have been several, singular, and signally severe, and owned of the Lord, to the admiration of all spectators; some being cruelly tortured and executed to the death, for essaying such execution of Judgment, as Mr. *Mitchel*; others for accomplishing it, as Mr. *Hackston* of *Rathillet*, and others, who avowed their accession to the cutting off that Arch-traitor *Sharp*, Prelate of *St. Andrews*; and others, for not condemning that and the like acts of Justice, tho' they were as innocent of the facts as the Child unborn. The foregoing historical Representation of the matters of fact, doth clear the circumstances of the actions: which, if ever any of that nature performed by private men without publick Authority, could be justified, will at least demur the condemning of them. For, the men, or rather monsters, thus removed, had not only *been* perjured Apostates from, and conjured Enemies against God, in a Conspiracy with the Devil, to destroy the Reformation, and the Remnant that professed it, affronted Blasphemers, perfidious Betrayers of the Country, and Enemies to the Commonwealth, malignant Incendiaries, and habitual Murderers of many of the Lord's people, who, for many notorious Crimes, had forfeited their lives to Justice; but *were* insolently *prosecuting* their murdering designs, informing the Council, and *instigating* them against innocent people to destroy them utterly, *procuring* from them bloody Orders to spare none, but cut off all who might fall into their hands, and vigorously and vigilantly with all violence *pursuing* their murdering Mandates, both in their own persons, and by Villains, whom they hounded out as *Intelligencers* to get, and to give notice where any of those people might be detected, whom they vowed (and avowed a design) to destroy, when in the heat and height of their Rage they were cut off. The Actors were noways *subject* to them, nor any other way related, than declared and independent *Enemies* are to one another, having renounced all relation to them and their Masters, as Magistrates and their Superiors; and were in no terms of *peace* with them, but maintaining an hostile opposition, and

and carrying, without ceſſation, *Arms* to reſiſt them; and when they got that advantage over them, that theſe Enemies were ſeeking againſt them, they declared ſolemnly to them, and died, declaring it to the world, that they were not moved out of *private revenge* for perſonal injuries they had done againſt themſelves; but being touched with the zeal of God, love to their Country, reſpect to Juſtice trampled upon by Tyrants, and for ſaving themſelves, reſcuing their Brethren, and preventing their murdering them, becauſe there were none that would or could execute Juſtice upon them legally: therefore they were forced to put forth their hands againſt them as Enemies, with whoſe preſervation their own could not conſiſt. Their Circumſtances were ſuch, that they were redacted to the greateſt of Extremities, precluding all other human poſſibility of preſerving themſelves and their Brethren from the deſtruction intended, and declaredly reſolved, and reſtleſly ſought and proſecuted, by theſe Murderers, being perſecuted to the death by them, daily chaſed, hunted, way-laid, turned out of their own habitations, intercommuned, diſcharged and denied all harbour in any houſe, under the hazard of the ſame pains that themſelves were liable to, which was *death* by the preſent Law, and ſo forced to hide in Caves and Dens; out of which they durſt not come forth, if it were but to ſeek bread for themſelves, without eminent danger of their lives; the Country raiſing the *hue and cry* after them, whenſoever they were ſeen, whereby many were killed as ſoon as they were apprehended: Hence they could neither eſcape in the Land, nor by flight out of the Land, all paſſages by ſea and land being ſtopt, and none ſuffered to go any where, without ſtrict examination what they were, which was impoſſible for them to elude: And many other ſpecialities of miſery and danger were ingredients in their circumſtances, that no words can repreſent to them that are altogether ſtrangers to them. Wherefore, in ſuch a ſtrait and pinch of Perplexity, when they could not otherwiſe eſcape the Fury of theſe Firebrands, nor demur and deter the reſt of them from an uncontrouled purſuit after the Lives of Innocents, nor otherwiſe avert the Wrath of God againſt the Land for the impu-

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nity of such Vermine; and seeing there was no access to address themselves to Magistrates, who by Office are obliged to bring such villains to condign punishment; and none were found in publick Authority, but such as patronized and authorized them; whom in Conscience they could not acknowledge, and in prudence durst not make application to them for fear of their lives; What could they do? what was left them to deliberate, but to fall upon this extraordinary Course, wherein if they have stumbled into some extravagancies, as to the manner, who can think it strange, considering the Case? But as that is not the debate; so as for such Acts of vengeance as are peccant in the matter, and were not circumstantiate, as above rehearsed, being disowned in their publick *Declarations*, and the Actors excluded from their Communion, for whom I plead; it were iniquous to impute the scandal of them to that suffering People. It is only the so circumstantiate, necessitated, extraordinary execution of judgment, upon notoriously gross and grassant Incendiaries, Tyrants, and terrible murdering Enemies, when there is no living for them, that I vindicate. And though the handling of this tender and quick-scented subject may seem odious to some, and my discourse upon it as pregnant with an oblique design to obviate such unmerited surmises, I must say, it is only the wiping off of such Reproaches as reflect on Religion; the vindication of preterite extraordinary practices of this nature; the investigation of present duty with respect to future Emergencies; and the restraining all Extravagancies incident on this Head, that I intend. However this may be exploded by this generation, as odious and uncouth Doctrine; yet, in former periods of this Church, it hath been maintained with courage, and asserted with confidence. How the ancient *Scots*, even after they received the Christian Faith, served their Tyrants and Oppressors, how in the beginning of the Reformation, the killing of the *Cardinal*, and of *David Rizio*, were and are generally to this day justified, and what was the judgment and pleading of our Reformers for practising this principle against Idolaters, *&c.* needs not be here repeated? Mr. *Knox's* Judgment in particular

lar is before declared, and will be further discovered, if we consider how he resented his slackness, in putting people to execute judgment in these words, insert in *Second Part of the Cloud of Witnesses, p.* 60. 'For God (said 'he) had not only given me knowledge, and a tongue to 'make known the impiety of the Idol, but had given 'me Credit with many, who would have put in execu-'tion Gods Judgments, if I would only have consen-'ted thereto: but so careful was I of the common Tran-'quility, and loath was I to offend some, that in secret 'conference with zealous men, I travelled rather to 'slacken that fervency God had kindled in them, than 'to animate and encourage them to put their hands to 'God's Work; wherein I acknowledge myself to have 'done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart 'I do ask God pardon, that I did not what in me lay 'to have suppressed that Idol from the beginning.' But the preceeding historical Representation doth abundantly demonstrate this is no Novelty, to assert, That when the ruin of the Country, suppression of Religion, destruction of the Remnant professing and suffering for it, and the Wrath of God is threatned in, and for the impunity of Idolaters and Murderers, that by the Law of God and Man should die the death; and supposing always such as are in publick Office not only decline their duty, but encourage those destroyers, yea authorize them themselves, we may not only maintain defensive Resistance according to our Capacity, but endeavour also vindictive and punitive force in executing judgment upon them in cases of necessity, as before circumstantiate. And I am the more confident to assert it, that what I say cannot be condemned, till first what our Reformers have proven be confuted. However, to endeavour to make it somewhat clear, I shall first premit some Assertions, to clear the state of the Question; and then give some Reasons for it, when clearly stated.

*First.* It will be needful for clearing our way, to shew what length we may warrantably go in this matter of executing judgment, in our private capacity, in extraordinary cases of necessity, by setting down some propositions

cions negative and positive, signifying what we disown and what we own in this point.

I. What we disown, may appear in these Assertions,

1. No Necessity nor Circumstance supposible whatsoever, can justify the Murder of the *Righteous* or *Innocent*, or vindicate the unlawful taking away of their Lives directly, or indirectly, immediately, or mediately, which in thought as well as deed we must abhor, as a horrid breach of the *Sixth Command.* The guilt whereof may be incurred several ways; as by killing them *immediately*, as *Cain* did his Brother *Abel*; or *commanding* them to be killed, as *Saul* commanded *Doeg* to kill the Lord's Priests; or *contriving* their Murder, as *David* did *Uriahs*, and *Jezabel Naboths*; or *counselling* thereunto, as the people advised the Princes to the Murder of *Jeremiah*, and all that cried *Crucify Jesus* were Murderers of Christ; or by *procuring* it, as *Haman* was guilty of the intended Murder of the *Jews*; or concurring therein, as *Joab* was guilty of *Uriah*'s death as well as *David*, and *Judas* of Christ's by betraying him; or by the *Patrociny* thereof, defending and sparing the Murderers, when called, by Office, to punish them, as *David* was guilty in not punishing *Joab*, *Ahab* in patronizing the Murder of *Naboth*; or by *consenting* thereunto, as *Saul* consented to the death of *Stephen*; or by *knowing* and *permitting*, and conniving at it, as is condemned, *Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. Whether this be done under of colour of Law, as *Pilate* murdered our Lord, *Herod* killed *James*; or without all colour, by *absolute Power*, as *Herod* the *Ascalonite* murdered the infants; or whether it be done by purpose, as *Joab* murdered *Abner* and *Amasa*; or without previous purpose, yet with knowledge of the Action in the perpetrating of it, as men may do in passion, when provoked beside their purpose, or in a Tumult, without intending it beforehand; yet that is Murder; *Barabbas* committed Murder in the Insurrection. For, as for *casual killing*, contrary to intention, without knowledge, that's no breach of the Command. And, whatever may be said of necessitated delivering up the Innocent, pursued by a potent Enemy, to deliver the City from his fury; or of preferring our own life to our innocent neighbour,

bour, in a case when both cannot be preserved, and by preserving the one lawfully, the other happens to lose his life; I do not meddle with these Cases. But since this is taken for granted by Casuists, I infer, If it be lawful that an innocent man die in case of necessity, that others may be preserved; then much more is it lawful, that the nocent, who are guilty of murdering the Righteous all these ways above-specified, and actually prosecuting their murdering designs by these methods, should rather be made to die, than the Righteous be destroyed. But of this sort of Murder, taking away the life of the Righteous, none hath the impudence to accuse that reproached People.

2. Tho' a man kill an innocent unwittingly and unwillingly, besides his knowledge and against his will; yet he may be guilty of sinful homicide, if he was obliged to know that he was in hazard of it, and *neglected* to consider, lest a man might be killed by what he was doing: as if a man should shoot at random, when he doth not know but some may be killed thereby; or if one were hewing with an ax, which he either knew or might have known to be loose, and the head not well fastened to the helve, did not advertise those about him of it; if by flying off it happened to kill any person, he were not innocent, but if he knew not without any inadvertency, then he were guiltless, *Deut.* xix. 5. See, *Durham on 6. Com.* So if a man built a house without *battlements*, he should bring blood upon his house, if any man fell from thence, *Deut.* xxii. 8. But of this the question is not.

3. Though a person be not altogether innocent, nor to be reckoned among the Righteous; but suppose him wicked and profane, and engaged in an evil course, dishonourable to God, prejudicial to the Church and Kingdom, and very injurious to us; yet it may be murder to kill him, if he be not guilty of *Crimes* that deserve death by the Law of God: for the life of man is not subjected to the arbitrement of any, but his who is the Author of life and death; it is necessary to all to obey the Law, *Thou shalt not kill*, without exception, but such killing as is approven by the Author of the Law, as saith *Ames.*

*De*

*De Conscientia, cap.* 31. *quest.* 2, Hence, this people so much reproached with extravagant actions, do abundantly clear themselves of that imputation of being of the mind to kill all that differ from them, which was the impudent forgery of the father of lies, in their *Informatory Vindication, Head* 3. *pag.* 544. 'We positively disown '(say they) as horrid murder, the killing of any because 'of a different persuasion or opinion from us, albeit 'some have invidiously cast this odious calumny upon 'us.' And it is as clear, they that took the *Oath of Abjuration* swore a lie, when they abjured the *Apologetical Declaration, in so far as* it asserted it was lawful to kill all imployed in the King's service, when it asserted no such thing, as is shewed above *Head* 3. To think so much, let be to declare it, far more to practise such a thing against all that served the King, or any merely, because they served him, or because they are in a wicked course, or because they have oppressed us, were abominable: for these things simply do not make men guilty of death, to be punished capitally by men according to the Law of God. But when they are stated in such opposition to us, and serve the Tyrant's murdering Mandates by all those ways above specified; then we may, by the Law of God and Nature and Nations, destroy, slay, and cause to perish, and avenge ourselves on them that would assault us, and are seeking our destruction: as it was lawful for the *Jews* to do with *Haman*'s Emissaries, *Esth.* viii. 11, 13. and ix. 1, 2, 5. This charge then cannot reach the case.

4. Though Murderers, and such as are guilty of death by the Law of God, must be punished by death; for *he that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed:* yet it may be murder for a man to kill another, because he *thought* him so criminal, and because he thought it his duty, being moved by a pretended *Enthusiastical Impulse*, in imitation of the extraordinary actions of such as were really moved by the Spirit of God. As when *James* and *John* would have commanded fire to come down to consume the *Samaritans*, the Lord rebuked them, saying, *Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Son of Man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.*

*Luke*

*Luke* ix. 54——56. Such impulſes had need to be well examined, for ordinarily they will be found not conſiſtent with a Goſpel-ſpirit, which is always averſe from acts of cruelty. Blind zeal ſometimes may incite men to fearful work: yea the Perſecuters have often moſt of that ſpirit, as our Lord foretels, *The time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you ſhall think that he doth God ſervice*, *John* xvi. 2. *Paul*, in his *Phariſaical* zeal, breathed out ſlaughter againſt the Diſciples. And *Satan* can drive men under ſeveral colours, to act ſuch things, as he did the *Boors* in *Germany*, and *John of Leyden* and his Followers, whoſe practices are deſervedly deteſted by all that have any ſpark of Chriſtianity or Humanity: for if this were eſpouſed as a principle, there would be no ſecurity for mens lives. But hence it cannot be concluded, that God may not animate ſome to ſome rare enterprizes, for the cutting off of Tyrants and their bloody Emiſſaries, Incendiaries, Deſtroyers of innocent people, and putting an end to, and ſtopping the career of their Murders, in a time of real extreme neceſſity, the matter of the action being unqueſtionably lawful, their ends and intentions really good and commendable, their being alſo a deficiency of others to do the work, and themſelves in ſome probable capacity for it. See *Jus Popul. cap.* 20. *pag.* 410. Neither can it be denied, but true zeal may ſometimes incite people to ſuch exploits for the preſervation of Religion and Liberty, their own lives and Brethren, all like to be deſtroyed by the impunity of beaſts of prey. This will be found very conſiſtent with a Goſpel-ſpirit: and though this principle be aſſerted, and alſo put in practice; all perſons, notwithſtanding thereof would have ſufficient ſecurity for their lives, except ſuch as have really forfeited their lives by all law of God and man. Thoſe that are led by impulſes, may pretend the imitation of extraordinary examples, and abuſe them; yet hence it will not follow, that in no caſe theſe extraordinary examples may be imitated. Shall the examples of good Magiſtrates, executing juſtice on Idolaters and Murderers, be altogether unimitable, becauſe Tyrants abuſe them in perſecuting the innocent? If this arguing were good, it would make all virtuous

actions

actions in the world unimitable; for these may be abused by Pretenders. See *Jus Popul. ubi supra, pag.* 412. But it cannot be charged upon the Sufferers upon this head, that they had nothing to give as the reasons of their actions, but pretexts of Enthusiasms.

5. Though a man be really so criminal, as that he deserves death by the Law of God and man; yet it may be murder to kill him, if we do not *certainly know* it, and can prove it, and convict him of it upon trial: for no man must be killed *not indicted* or *the cause unknown.* Thus even Magistrates may murder Murderers, when they proceed against them without probation or cognition according to law, far more private persons. Thus the *Abiezrites* would have murdered *Gideon*, not only unjustly, for his duty of throwing down the Altar of *Baal*, but illegally; because they would had him brought out that he might die without any further trial, *Judg.* vi. 29, 30. So likewise the *Jews* that banded and bound themselves under a curse to kill *Paul* before he was tried, would have murdered him, not only unjustly for his duty, but illegally before he was tried, *Acts* xxiii. 12. But this doth not condemn the actions of those Sufferers, in maintaining the necessary execution of judgment, upon persons who are notorious Murderers, yea, professing a trade and prosecuting habitually a tract of continued murdering the people of the Lord.

6. Tho' it should be certainly known, and sufficiently proven, that a man is a Murderer, *&c.* yet it were Murder for an Inferior, under a *relation of subjection* to him, to kill him, as long as that subjection were acknowledged: for, whensoever the common and mutual right or relation, either Natural, Moral, Civil, or Religious, to the prejudice or scandal of the Church, or State, or particular persons, is broken by killing any person, that is Murder, tho' the person killed deserve to die. As if a Subject should kill an acknowledged King, a Son by Nature or in Law should kill his natural or legal Father, a Servant should kill his Master, breaking these relations, while their right and tie were acknowledged, (as some of them must still be acknowledged as long as the Correlates continue in being, to wit, that of a Father is not

broken by his becoming a Murderer) and to the danger, detriment, and scandal of the Church and State; that were properly *Assassination:* for *Assassines* are they, who being subject to others, either out of their own head, for their own ends, or by command of their Superiors, kill their Superiors, or such as they command them to kill, as *Alstedius* describes them, *Theol. Cas. cap.* 18. *de homicid. reg.* 55. Therefore *David* would not kill *Saul*, because he acknowledged him to be the *Lord's Anointed*, to whom he was under a relation of subjection, and because he was his Master and Father in Law, and because it would have tended to the hurt of the Kingdom, and involved it in combustions and contentions about the Succession, and prejudged his own right, as well as to the scandal of the people of God, tho' *Saul* deserved otherwise to be capitally punished. So *Ishbosheth* was killed by *Baanah* and *Rechab*, 2 *Sam.* iv. 7. so *Jozachar* and *Jehozabad*, who killed *Joash*, 2 *Kings* xii. 21. were punished as Murderers, *cap.* xiv. 6. because they were his servants, and did assassinate him to whom they were subject: so the servants of *Amon* were punished by the people, as Conspirators against their King and Master, 2 *Kings* xxi. 23, 24. though *Amon* deserved to have been punished as well as *Amaziah* was. Hence generally it is observed by some, that tho' right be given to equals or superiors, to bring their nearest relations to condign punishment, when they turn enticers to Idolatry, *Deut.* xiii. 6. Yet no *Right* or *Law*, upon any cause or occasion whatsoever, is given to inferiors, as Children, *&c.* to punish their Fathers. See *Pool. Synop. Critic. in locum.* However it be, this cannot condemn the taking off of notorious Murderers, by the hand of such as were no way subject nor related to them; but as enemies, who, in extreme necessity, executed righteous Judgment upon them, without prejudice of the true, necessary, and chief good of the Church and Commonwealth, or of any particular person's just right and security, as *Naphtali* qualifies it, *pag.* 22, 23. *first Edition.*

7 Tho' the matter of the Action were just, and the Murderer such a person as we might punish, without any breach of relative Obligations or Duties; yet the *man-*

*ner*

*ner* may aggravate it to some degree of Murder; if it be done secretly, when it may be execute publickly, or suddenly and precipitantly, when it may be done deliberately, without rushing upon such an Action, or hurrying the Murderer to Eternity; as this also might have had some weight with *David* not to murder *Saul* secretly and suddenly in the Cave, or when he was *sleeping*; so *Ishbosheth*, and *Joash*, and *Amon* were murdered; or if it be done subtilly, when it may be performed in more plain and fair dealing; or treacherously, under colour of friendship; or cruelly without regard to humanity; and especially when the Actors are *at peace* with the person, whose blood they shed, as *Joab shed the blood of war in peace*, 1 *Kings* ii. 5. in killing *Abner* and *Amasa* so craftily and cruelly; and *Absalom* made his servants assassinate *Amnon*, 2 *Sam.* xiii. 28, 29. But this cannot be charged upon them who executed righteous Judgment, as publickly, deliberately, and calmly, as the extraordinary exigence of pressing necessity, in extremity of danger, could allow, upon notorious Murderers, with whom they were in open and avowed terms of hostility.

8. Tho' the manner also be inculpable; yet if the *principle* and *motive* of killing, even those that deserve to die, be out of malice, hatred, rage, or revenge, for private or personal injuries, it is Murder. For the affection and intention doth make one and the same action of taking away the life, homicide or no homicide as *Lex Rex* saith *Quest.* 31. *Pag.* 338. If a man out of hatred deliberately take away another mans life, he is *in so far* a Murderer; but if that same man had taken away the others life, by the flying off of his ax head, he neither hating him before, nor intending to hurt him, he is no Murderer by God's express Law, allowing Cities of refuge for the one, and not for the other, *Deut.* iv. 42. *Deut.* xix. 4. &c. private revenge is indignity to God, whose it is to take vengeance, *Deut.* xxxii. 35. *Rom.* xii. 19. *Dearly beloved avenge not yourselves, for vengeance is the Lords.* For which cause *Jacob* curses *Simeon* and *Levi* their Murder of the *Shechemites*; *for in their anger they slew a man*, *Gen.* xlix. 6. 7. So *David* would not put forth his hand against *Saul*, for his own

private and personal quarrel. So *Joab* killed *Abner*, and *Absalom Amon*. But this doth not make the execution of Judgment, out of zeal for God, respect to Righteousness, love to the Nations Interest, and care to preserve the persecuted people of God from imminent destruction, upon publick Enemies, Incendiaries, that are trampling upon all these precious Interests, and threatning the utter ruin of them, and in a particular manner their destruction who thus prevent them.

9. Tho' the Motive or Cause were upon a publick account, yet it may be murder to have a wrong *end* in it: as either to intend simply the Destruction of the person on whom they execute Judgment, as the end to which all their Action is directed, or to make their own Advantage or Honour the end of the Action. Thus *David* would not kill *Saul*, because it might have been thought he did it to obtain the Kingdom, of which he was rightful Successor: and deservedly he punished the *Amalekite*, that brought news of his killing *Saul*; and *Baanah* and *Rechab*, for their killing *Ishbosheth*, thinking thereby to advance themselves at *David's* Court. So also *Joab* murdered *Amasa* to secure himself in the General's Place. And *Jehu*, though upon the Matter he executed righteous Judgment, his end was only himself, it is condemned as Murder. But when the Execution of righteous Judgment is both formally intended by the Actors, and natively and really doth conduce to the Glory of God, the Preservation of the Remnant threatned to be destroyed by these Murderers, the suppressing of Impiety, doing of Justice, turning away Wrath, and removing of present, and preventing of future judgments, then it may be duty, *Naphtali, Pag.* 23. *first edition.*

10. Tho' the end also were not culpable; yet it may be murder to kill Criminals by transgressing the Sphere of our *Vocation*, and usurping upon the Magistrate's Sword: for he, by Office, is a Revenger, to execute Wrath upon him that doth evil, *Rom.* xiii. 4. none must make use of the sword of vindictive Justice, but he to whom the Lord giveth it; therefore they that came to take Christ are condemned and threatned for this, *Matth.* xxvi. 52. *All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.*

*sword.* The God of Order hath assigned to every Man his Station and Calling, within the bounds whereof he should keep, without transgressing by defect or excess, *let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called*, 1 Cor. vii. 20. and *study to be quiet, and do his own Business*, 1 *Thess.* iv. 11. Therefore *David* would not kill *Saul*, because he would have done it beside his calling. And therefore the killing of *Joash* and *Amon* was Murder, because the Assassines did transgress their Vocation. But when notorious Incendiaries do not only transgress their Vocation, but the Limits of human Society, and turn open Enemies to God and Man, destroying the innocent, making havock of the Lord's heritage, and vaunting of their Villanies, and boasting of their Wickedness, and thereby bringing Wrath upon the Land if such Effrontries of Insolence should pass unpunished, and when there is no Magistrate to do that work of Justice, but all in that Place are airt and part with them, Patrons and Defenders of them; yea, no Magistrate that can be acknowledged as a Minister of God to be applied unto; in that Case, it is not a transgression of our Vocation, nor an Usurpation upon the Magistrates, where there is none, to endeavour to avert Wrath, by executing righteous Judgment. Otherwise, if for fear, or Suspicion of the accidental hazard of private Mens usurping the Office, or doing of the duty of publick Persons, every virtuous action which may be abused shall be utterly neglected, Impiety shall quickly gain universal Empire, to the extermination of all Goodness, *Naphtali*, *Pag.* 24. *first edition.* To clear this, it must be considered, that a Man's calling is two-fold; his particular calling, whereunto in the ordinary Course of things he is regularly confined; and his general calling, not circumscribed by particular Rules, which from the common Obligation of the end for which all callings are institute, in the clear exigence of an extraordinary emergent, according to the general Rules of Righteousness, bind to an agreeable Practice: Therefore Circumstances may sometimes so diversify actions, that what in the ordinary and undisturbed State of things would be accounted an excess of our particular calling, and an Usurpation, in an extraordinary Occurrence

rence may become a neceſſary Duty of our general calling.

11. Tho' it were no Uſurpation beyond our calling; yet it may be murder, to kill any without the *Call of God* in a caſe of neceſſity, either *in the immediate Defence of Life*, or though it be *in the remote* when the hazard is unavoidable. Every thing muſt have God's Call in its ſeaſon to make it duty, ſo alſo the *time of killing*, Eccleſ. iii. 3. For want of this, *David* would not kill *Saul*. *Lex Rex* ſaith excellently to this *Queſt.* 31. *pag.* 329, 330. 'David might have killed *Saul* when he was ſleeping, 'and when he cut off the lap of his Garment, but it was 'unlawful for him to kill the Lord's anointed, as it is 'unlawful to kill a Man becauſe *he is the Image of God*, 'Gen. ix. 6. except in caſe of neceſſity,—— *David* having 'Saul in his hand, was in a remote poſture of Defence, 'the unjuſt Invaſion then was not actual, nor unavoidable, nor a neceſſary mean in human Prudence for ſelf-preſervation; for King *Saul* was not in an actual purſuit of the whole Princes, Elders, Community of *Iſrael*; *Saul* did but ſeek the Life of one Man *David*, 'and that not for Religion, or a National pretended 'Offence, and therefore he could not, in conſcience, put 'hands on the Lord's anointed; but if *Saul* had actually 'invaded *David* for his Life, *David* might, in that Caſe, 'make uſe of *Goliath*'s ſword, (for he took not that weapon as a cypher to boaſt *Saul*) and rather kill than be 'killed:' Thus he. By a Call here, we do not mean an expreſs or immediate Call from God, ſuch as the Prophets might have to their extraordinary Executions of Judgments, as *Samuel* and *Elijah* had to kill *Agag* and *Baals* Prophets; but either the Allowance of man, then there is no queſtion about it; or if that cannot be had, as in the caſe circumſtantiate it cannot, then the providential and moral Call of extreme Neceſſity, for Preſervation of our Lives, and preventing the Murder of our Brethren, may warrant an extraordinary executing of righteous Judgment upon the Murderers. Men may have a Call to a neceſſary duty, neither every way mediate nor immediate, as the Call of running together to quench a fire in a City, when Magiſtrates through Wickedneſs

kedneſs or Negligence, will not, or do not, call people forth unto that work; they have not Man's call, nor an immediate call from Heaven, yet they have a lawful Call from God: ſo they do not intrude upon the Magiſtrate's Office, nor want they a call to this Execution of Judgment, who do materially that Work for that exigent which Magiſtrates, by Office, were bound to do, being called thereto by God, by Nature, and the call of inevitable Neceſſity, which knoweth no human Law, and to which ſome Divine poſitive Laws will cede. *Jus populi. chap* 20. *pag.* 423.

12. Tho' this be a Principle of reaſon and natural Juſtice, when all the fore-mentioned Circumſtances are clear, that it is lawful for private perſons to execute righteous Judgment, upon notorious Incendiaries, and murdering publick Enemies, in Caſes of Neceſſity; yet it might be a ſinful Breach of the Sixth Command, to draw extraordinary Examples of it to an ordinary Practice in killing all who might be found Criminal, and would deſerve Death by the Law, as all that have ſerved under a Banner of Tyranny and Violence, diſplayed againſt God and his People, to the ruin of the Reformation, waſting of the Country, Oppreſſion of many honeſt Families, and Deſtruction of many innocent People, are and would be found guilty of murder; as the chief Captain would have truly alledged *Paul* to have been a murderer, if he had been the *Egyptian* which made an Uproar, and let out four thouſand men that were murderers, *Act.* xxi. 38. As for the vulgar and ordinary ſort of thoſe Vermine of Varlets, it is of no Advantage for oppreſſed people to foul their fingers upon them, when their ſlaughter would not put a ſtop to, but rather increaſe, the deſtruction of the people of God; and were unlawful to prevent and anticipate the due and legal execution of juſtice, where there is any proſpect or expectation of its running in its right channel. But for the chief and principal Ring-leaders, and common publick and habitual Incendiaries, and Maſters of the trade of murdering the Lord's people, when there is no other way of being rid of their rage, and preſerving ourſelves, and preventing the deſtruction of our Brethren, we may in

that

that case of necessity make publick examples of them, in an extraordinary procedure against them, that may be most answerable to the Rules of the ordinary procedure of justice, and in imitation of the heroick actions recorded and justified in the word of God, in the like extraordinary cases; which are imitable, when the matter of their actions is ordinary, that is, neither preternatural nor supernatural, though the occasion was singular, just and necessary, both by Divine precept, and as a mean to good and necessary ends, and when there is no other to do the work, nor any prospect of access to justice in its ordinary and orderly course, nor possibility of suspending it till that can be obtained. We need not then any other call than a spirit of holy zeal for God, and for our own and our Brethrens preservation, in that pinch of extremity. We do not hold these extraordinary actions for regular and ordinary precedents, for all times and persons universally: which if people should fancy, and heed more the glory and fame of the action, than the sound and solid rule of the Scriptures, they may be tempted and carried to fearful extravagancies. But they may be warrants for private persons in their doing of these things, in an extreme necessity, to which at other times they are not called. And when the Lord, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, doth breathe upon his people, more or fewer, to the exciting of more than ordinary zeal, for the execution of justice upon such Adversaries, we should rather ascribe Glory and Praise to him, whose hand is not shortened, but many times chooseth the weak and foolish things of the world to confound the mighty and the wise, than condemn his instruments for doing such things, *Naph. pag.* 24, 25. *prior Edit.*

All these cases, which are all I can think on at present, comprehending all that may any way] infer the guilt of murder, I have collected; to the end I may conclude this one argument, and leave it to be considered: If this extraordinary executing of judgment, upon notorious Incendiaries and murdering publick enemies, by private persons, in the circumstances above declared, cannot be reduced to any case that can infer the guilt of murder; then

then it cannot be condemned, but justified: but this extraordinary executing of judgment, &c. cannot be reduced to any case that can infer the guilt of murder, (as will apear by the induction of all of them): *therefore*, this extraordinary executing of judgment, &c. cannot be condemned, but justified.

II. In the next place, What we own may be done warrantably in taking away the life of men without breach of the Sixth Command, will appear by these propositions and assertions, which will bring the matter to the present circumstantiate case.

1. It is certain, though the command be indefinitely expressed, it doth not prohibite all killing, but only that which is condemned in other explicatory commands. Our Lord Jesus, repeating this Command, explains it by expressing it thus, *Matth.* xix. 18. ——— *Thou shalt not murder.* And if any be lawful, it is granted by all, that is, which is unavoidable by the invincible necessity of Providence, when a man following his duty doth that which beside and contrary his intention, and without any previous neglect or oversight in him, proveth the hurt and death of another, in which case he was allowed to flee to the city of refuge by the Law of God. Whence, if that physical necessity did justify that kind of killing, shall not a moral necessity every way invincibly unavoidable (except we suffer ourselves and our Brethren to be destroyed by beasts of prey) vindicate this kind, in an extraordinary extremity, when the Murderers are protected under the sconce of pretended authority? In which case the Law of God would allow deliberate Murderers should be pursued by the Avenger of blood, and not to have liberty to flee to these subterfuges and pretexts of authority, (mere tyranny), but to be taken from the horns of such altars, and be put to death, as Mr. *Mitchel* says in vindicating his own action, in a *Letter* dated *Feb.* 1674.

2. It is lawful to take the life of known and convicted Murderers by publick justice: yea, it is indispensibly necessary by the Law of God, and no mercy nor pardon of the Magistrate may interpose to spare them; for, *Whoso killeth any person, the Murderer shall be put to death by the*

*the mouth of Witneſſes———. Ye ſhall take no ſatisfaction for the life of a Murderer———; but he ſhall ſurely be put to death*, he was not to be admitted to the benefit of any refuge: and the reaſon is, *Blood defiles the Land, and the Land cannot be cleanſed of the blood that is ſhed therein, but by the blood of him that ſhed it*, *Numb.* xxxv. 30, 31, 32, 33. Hence, if it be ſo neceſſary to cleanſe the land, then when the Magiſtrate is not only negligent in his duty, but turns a Patron and Protector of ſuch Murderers, and imploys them as his Emiſſaries to murder and deſtroy, it cannot be expected he ſhould cleanſe the land, for then he ſhould free it of the burden of himſelf, and begin with himſelf: therefore then there muſt be more incumbent upon private perſons, touched with the zeal of God, than at another time. And as Mr. *Knox*, in his conference with Queen *Mary*, ſays, 'They that 'in the fear of God execute judgment, where God hath 'commanded, offend not God, though Kings do it not; and adduces the examples of *Samuel* killing *Agag*, *Elias* killing the Prophets of *Baal*, and of *Phineas* killing *Zimri* and *Cozbi*.

3. It is lawful for private perſons to kill their unjuſt Aſſaulters, in defending themſelves againſt their violence, and that both in the immediate defence of our life againſt an immediate aſſault, in the inſtant of the aſſault, and alſo in a remote defence of ourſelves, when that is as neceſſary as the firſt; and there is no other way of eſcaping the deſtruction intended by Murderers, either by flight or reſiſtance; then it is lawful to preſerve ourſelves by taking advantages to cut them off.

4. It is lawful in a juſt war to kill the enemy; yea in the defenſive war of private ſubjects, or a part of the Commonwealth, againſt their oppreſſing Tyrants, as is proven, *Head* 5. Where ſeveral of the Arguments uſed to evince that Truth will confirm this; as namely, thoſe Arguments taken from the peoples power in Reformation, and thoſe taken from the hazard of partaking of others ſin and judgment: For, if all the Magiſtrates, ſupreme and ſubordinate, turn principal patrons and patterns of all abominations, and perſecutors and deſtroyers of the people for not complying with them, then the people are not

not only under an obligation to resist them; but seeing otherwise they would be liable to their sin, in suffering them thus to trample on Religion, and the Interests of God as well as their own, in order to turn away the Wrath of God, it is incumbent upon them to vindicate Religion, and reform the Land from these Corruptions, in an endeavour to bring those malignant enemies of God, and destroyers of the people, to condign punishment, that *the heads of the people being hanged up before the Lord against the sun, the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from the Land, Numb.* xxv. 4. In this case, as *Buchanan* says of a Tyrant, *De jure regni*, 'A lawful War being 'once undertaken with such an enemy as a Tyrant is, e-'very one out of the whole multitude of mankind may 'assault, with all the calamities of war, a Tyrant, who 'is a publick Enemy, with whom all good men have a 'perpetual warfare.' And tho' the war be not always actually prosecute in a hostile manner, yet, as long as peace is not concluded and the war ceased, they that have the just side of the quarrel may take advantages, in removing and taking off, (not every single soldier of the contrary side, for that would contribute nothing to their prevailing in the end) but the principal Instruments and Promoters of the war, by whose fall the offending side would suffer great loss, and the defending would be great gainers. So *Jael* killing *Sisera*, *Jabin*'s Captain-General, is greatly commended. Now this was the case of the Sufferers upon this head, as Mr. *Mitchel*, one of them, represents it, in his fore-cited Letter, 'I being (says he) a 'soldier, not having laid down my arms, but still upon 'my own defence, having no other end nor quarrel at any 'man——— besides the prosecution of the ends of the 'Covenant, particularly the overthrow of *Prelates* and '*Prelacy*; and I being a declared enemy to him (that is '*Sharp*) on that account, and he to me in like manner, 'I never found myself obliged —— to set a Centinel at 'his door for his safety; but as he was always to take 'his advantage, as it appeareth, so I of him to take any 'opportunity offered: Moreover, we being in no terms 'of Capitulation, but on the contrary, I, by his Instiga-

'tion,

'tion, being excluded from all Grace and Favour, thought 'it my duty to purſue him at all occaſions.'

5. It is lawful to kill enemies in the *reſcue* of our Brethren, when they are keeping them in bondage, and reſerving them for a ſacrifice to the fury of Tyrants, or leading them forth to the ſlaughter, or in the time of acting their murdering Violence upon them: Then, to break Priſons, beat up Garriſons, ſurpriſe the Murderers, and kill them in the reſcue of our innocent Brethren, is very lawful, according to that Command, *Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. and the practice of *Moſes*, who ſeeing one of his brethren ſuffering wrong, he defended him, and avenged him that was oppreſſed, and ſlew the *Egyptian*, *Acts* vii. 24. For that is a certain Truth, which *Grotius* ſaith *in locum*, *The Law of Nature gives a Right to an Innocent, and to the Defender of an innocent Perſon, againſt the guilty Offender.* Hence, it cannot but be lawful alſo, in a caſe of neceſſity, when both ourſelves and our brethren are purſued inceſſantly by deſtroying Murderers, to avenge ourſelves on them, and ſlay them, when there is no other way to be rid of their violence.

6. It is lawful to *prevent* the Murder of ourſelves or our brethren, when no other way is left, by killing the Murderers before they accompliſh their wicked deſign, if they be habitually proſecuting it, and have many times accompliſhed it before. This followeth upon the other; and upon this account it had been duty for *Gedaliah* to have ſuffered *Johanan* to ſlay *Iſhmael*, and ſo prevent the Governor's murder, if it had been certainly known that *Iſhmael* was ſent by the King of *Ammon* to aſſaſſinate him, *Jer.* xl. 14, 15. for nothing is there objected againſt the lawfulneſs of the thing, but only it was alledged that he ſpoke falſly. *Alſtedius* aſſerts this, *Theol. Caſ. de homicid. reg.* 6. *pag.* 331. *It is lawful to prevent him that would aſſault us, and by preventing to kill him before his invaſion, if it be ſo neceſſary, to prevent him, that our life cannot be otherwiſe defended but by preventing.* And hence he juſtifies that ſaying, *It is lawful to kill him that lieth in wait to murder, ibid.* This is all the length that the reproached Sufferers, whom I am vindicating, go, in aſſerting this Principle, as may be ſeen in their *Informatory Vindication.*

*cation. Head* 3. *page* 544. where they say, 'We maintain 'it as both righteous and rational, in defence of our 'Lives, Liberties, and Religion, after an orderly and 'Christian manner, to endeavour, by all means lawful 'and possible, to defend ourselves, rescue our Brethren, 'and prevent their murder, in a martial opposition a-'gainst wicked Persecutors, who are seeking to destroy 'them and us, and imbrue their hands in our blood, ac-'cording to the true import of the *Apologetical Declara-'tion.*' Which is very rational; especially considering,

7. These Murderers, who are thus to be prevented, are such whom the Law of God commands to be put to death, and no where allows to be spared, being publick Enemies to God and good men, open Blasphemers, avowed Idolaters, affronted Adulterers, notorious Murderers, habitual Tyrants, suppressing Religion, oppressing the Innocent, and professing a trade of destroying the Lord's People. Surely, if God hath expresly in his Laws provided, that Blasphemers, Idolaters, Murderers *&c.* should not be suffered to live, he never intended men daily guilty, yea, making profession of these Crimes, should be allowed impunity, either by virtue of their Office, or because there is none in Office to execute judgment upon them; but in a case of extreme necessity, these Laws will not only allow, but oblige people, daily murdered by them, for their own preservation, for vindication of Religion, for purging the Land of such wickedness, for turning away the wrath of God, to prevent their prosecuting their murdering Designs any further, and put a stop to their Persecution, by putting an end to their wicked lives: Seeing, as *Buchanan* says *De Jure Regni*, it is expresly commanded, 'to cut off 'wickedness and wicked men, without any exception of 'Rank or Degree; and yet in no place of sacred Scri-'ture are Tyrants more spared than private Persons.' Much less their bloody Emissaries.

Now, seeing all these Cases of *Killing* I have collected, are justifiable in Scripture, and none of the Sufferers upon this Head, whom I am vindicating, have exceeded in principle or practice the amount of these

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Assertions, what is said already may have some weight to demur a censorious condemnation of them. But as the *True Non-conformist* well observes, in answer to *Dial. 7. p.* 391: Seeing the consideration resulting from the concurrence of all circumstances, whereupon the right dignoscing of such deeds, when actually existent, doth mostly depend, doth more contribute to the clearing and passing a judgment on a case of this nature, when the whole contexture is exposed to certain examination, than to set down general Rules directive of such Practices (which yet will all justify this in question) therefore to clear the case further, all may be resolved into this state of the Question.

'Whether or not private persons, incessantly pursued 'unto death, and threatned with ineluctable destruction 'by Tyrants and their Emissaries, may, to save them-'selves from their Violence, in case of extreme necessity, 'put forth their hand to execute righteous judgment up-'on the chief and principal Ringleaders, Instruments and 'Promoters of all these destructive Mischiefs and Miseries, 'who are open and avowed Enemies to God, Apostates, 'Blasphemers, Idolaters, Tyrants, Traitors, notorious 'Incendiaries, atrocious Murderers, and known and con-'vict to be publick Enemies, prosecuting their mur-'dering Designs notourly and habitually, and therefore 'guilty of death by all Laws of God and Man; and in 'such an extraordinary case, put them to death, who 'have *by Law* forfeited their lives to Justice, when there 'is no access to publick Justice, nor prospect of obtaining 'it in an orderly way, nor any probability of escaping 'their intended destruction, either by flight or resistance, 'if they be past longer unpunished; and so deliver them-'selves from their murdering Tyranny, while they are 'under no acknowledged subjection to them, nor at 'peace with them, but maintaining a defensive resistance 'against them; and in this extraordinary execution of 'Justice, being not chargeable with ignorance of matters 'of fact so manifest, nor mistake of circumstances so pal-'pable, nor with malice, rage or revenge against their 'persons for private and particular injuries, nor with 'Enthusiastick Impulses pretended as their Rule, nor

'with

'with Deceit or Treachery in the manner, nor with any 'breach of relation or obligation, nor Usurpation upon 'or prejudice to any lawful Right whatsoever in the 'matter, nor with any selfish or sinistrous ends in the de-'sign; but forced to perform this Work of Judgment, 'when there is none other to do it, out of zeal for the 'Glory of God, care of the Country's Good, Love to 'their Brethren, sense of their own Danger, and respect 'to Justice; to the end, that by the removal of these wic-'ked Destroyers, their war against the prevailing faction 'of their malignant Enemies may be more successfully 'maintained, their Religion, Lives, Laws and Liber-'ties more securely defended, their Brethren rescued, 'their Murder prevented, Impiety suppressed, the Land 'cleansed from blood, and the wrath of God averted. That this is the true state of the Question, the preceeding Assertions, all comprehended here, do make it evident. To which I answer in the Affirmative, and shall come to give my Reasons.

*Secondly*, Then I shall offer some Reasons for this, first from some grounds and *Hypotheses* of Reason: then more expresly from Scripture-proofs.

I. There may be some Arguments offered from the Dictates of *natural Reason*, which I shall but only glance at.

1. I premit the Consideration of the *Practice of all Nations*, even such from whom Patterns have been taken for Government, and who have had the most polite and purest Policy, and have been the severest Animadverters upon all Extravagants and Transgressors of their vocation: yet even among them, for private persons to destroy and rid the Commonwealth of such burdens, and vile vermine so pernicious to it, was thought a virtue meriting rather Commendation, than a thing to be condemned. I shall not here instance the laudable practices recorded in Scripture; these may be seen in their own place. Neither do I speak of ruder nations, among whom this is a relict of Reason, not of Ruderness, as the *Oriental Indians* have a Custom, whenever any person *runs a-muck*, that is, in a revengeful fury, takes such a quantity of *Opium*, as distracts them into such a rage of mad ani-

animosity, that they fear not to assault (which is the common operation of that potion there) and go through destroying whom they can find in their way: then every man's arms against him: and is ambitious of the honour of first killing him, which is very rational; for otherwise no Man could be safe; and it seems to be as rational, to take the same Course with our mad Malignant *mucks*, who are drunk with hellish Fury, and are running in a rage to destroy the People of God whom they can meet with. But all the Nations, where the best Policy was established, have been of this mind. In *Greece* publick rewards were enacted to be given, and honours appointed by several Cities, to those that should kill Tyrants, from the mightiest of them to the meanest; with whom they thought there was no bond of Humanity to be kept. Hence, *Thebe* is usually commended for killing her husband, *Timoleon* for killing his brother, because they were pernicious and destructive to the Commonwealth: which, tho' it seem not justifiable, because of the Breach of Relation of natural Subjection, yet it shews what Sentiments the most politick Nations have had of this Practice. As also among the *Romans*, *Cassius* is commended for killing his son, and *Fulvius* for killing his own Son going to *Catiline*, and *Brutus* for killing his Kinsmen having understood they had conspired to introduce tyranny again. *Servilius Ahala* is commended for killing even in the Court *Sp. Melius*, turning his back and refusing to compear in judgment, and for this was never judged guilty of bloodshed, but thought nobilitate by the slaughter of a Tyrant, and all posterity did affirm the same. *Cicero*, speaking of the slaughter of *Cesar*, stiles it a famous and divine fact, and *put to imitation*. *Sulpitius Asper*, being asked, why he had combined with others against *Nero*, and thought to have killed him? made this bold reply, that he *knew not any other way to put a stop to his villanies, and redeem the world from the infection of his example, and the evils which it groaned under by reason of his crimes*. On the contrary, *Domitius Corbulo* is reprehended by all, for neglecting the safety of mankind, in not puting an end to *Nero*'s Cruelty, when he might very easily have done it:

it: And not only was he by the Romans reprehended, but by *Tyridates* the *Persian* King, being not at all afraid left it ſhould afterward befall an example unto himſelf. When the Miniſters of *Caius Caligula*, a moſt cruel Tyrant, were, with the like cruelty, tumultuating for the ſlaughter of their Maſter, requiring them that killed him to be puniſhed, *Valerius Aſiaticus* the Senator cried out aloud, *I wiſh I had killed him*, and thereby both compoſed their Clamour, and ſtopt their Rage. 'For there is ſo great Force in an honeſt deed, (ſaith 'Buchanan *de jure Regni*, relating this Paſſage) that the 'very lighteſt ſhew thereof, being preſented to the minds 'of Men, the moſt furious Aſſaults are allayed, and Fu-'ry will languiſh, and Madneſs it ſelf muſt acknow-'ledge the ſovereignty of reaſon.' The Senate of *Rome* did often approve the Fact, though done without their order oftentimes by private hands: as upon the ſlaughter of *Commodus*, inſtead of revenging it, they decreed that his Carcaſe ſhould be expoſed and torn in pieces. Sometimes they ordered before hand to have it done; as when they condemned *Didimus Julianus*, they ſent a Tribune to ſlay him in the Palace: Nay, they have gone ſo far, as in ſome caſes to appoint reward for ſuch as ſhould kill thoſe Tyrants that trampled upon their Laws, and murdered virtuous and innocent People; as that Sentence of the Senate againſt the two *Maximini* doth witneſs, *Whoſoever killeth them deſerves a Reward. Buchanan, as above*, rehearſing many Inſtances of this nature, gives reaſons of their approvableneſs; and theſe I find here and there ſcattered, in his book, *de jure Regni*, 1. They that make a prey of the Commonwealth, are not joined to us by any civil bond or tye of humanity, but ſhould be accounted the moſt Capital enemies of God and of all men. 2. They are not to be counted as within human ſociety, but tranſgreſſors of the limits thereof; which whoſo will not enter into, and contain himſelf within, ſhould be taken and treated as wolves, or other kinds of noiſome beaſts; which whoſoever ſpares, he preſerves them to his own deſtruction, and of others; and whoſoever killeth, doth not only good to himſelf, but to all others; and there-

fore doth merit rather reward than to be condemned for it. For if any man, diveſted of humanity, ſhould degenerate into ſuch Cruelty, as he would not meet with other men but for their deſtruction (as the Monſters I am ſpeaking of, could meet with none of the party here treated on, but to this effect) he is not to be called a man, no more than Satyres, Apes, or Bears. 3. It is expreſly Commanded to cut off wickedneſs and wicked man, without any exception of Rank or Degree: and, if Kings would abandon the Counſels of wicked men, and meaſure their greatneſs rather by duties of virtue, than by the impunity of evil deeds, they would not be grieved for the puniſhment of Tyrants, nor think that Royal Majeſty is leſſened by their deſtruction, but rather be glad that it is purged from ſuch a ſtain of wickedneſs. 4. What is here to be reprehended? is it the cauſe of their puniſhment? That is palpable. Is it the Law which adjudges them to puniſhment? All Laws were deſired as neceſſary for repreſſing Tyrants; whoſoever doth condemn this, muſt likewiſe condemn all the Laws of Nations. Is it the perſon executing the Laws? Where will any other be found to do it in ſuch circumſtances? 5. A lawful war being once undertaken with an Enemy for a juſt Cauſe, it is lawful not only for the whole people to kill that Enemy, but for every one of them: every one therefore may kill a Tyrant, who is a publick Enemy, with whom all good men have a perpetual warfare; meaning, if he be habitually tyrannical, and deſtructive to the people, ſo that there is no living for good people for him; otherwiſe, though a man by force or fraud acquire Sovereignty, no ſuch violence is to be done to him, providing he uſe a moderate way in his Government, ſuch as *Veſpaſian* among the *Romans*, *Hiero* in *Syracuſe*. 6. Treaſon cannot be committed againſt one who deſtroys all Laws and Liberties of the people, and is a pernicious plague to the Commonwealth.

2. Such is the force of this Truth in the caſe circumſtantiate, that it extorts the acknowledgment of the greateſt Authors, ancient and modern, domeſtick and foreign, and even of all rational Royaliſts (as Mr *Mitchel* ſays in his *Poſtſcript* to the forecited Letter) 'That it is 'lawful

'lawful for any private person to kill a Tyrant *without* 'a Title, and to kill *Tories* or open Murderers, as devour-'ing beasts, because the good of his Action doth not on-'ly redound to the person himself, but to the whole 'Commonwealth, and the person acting incurs the dan-'ger himself alone.' *Tertullian*, though a man loyal to excess, says, *Every Man is a Soldier inrolled to bear Arms against all Traitors and publick Enemies.* The ancient Ecclesiastical Historian, *Sozomen*, relating the death of *Julian*, and intimating that he was supposed to have been slain by a Christian Soldier, adds, *Let none be so rash as to condemn the person that did it, considering he was thus couragious in behalf of God and Religion, Sozom. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 2. Barclaius*, a great Royalist, saith, *All Antiquity agrees, that Tyrants, as publick Enemies, may, most justly, be attacked and slain, not only by the Community, but also by every individual person thereof. Grotius de jure belli, lib. 1. cap. 4.* saith, *If any Person grasp at Dominion by unjust War, or hath no Title thereto by consent of the Community, and no Paction is made with him, nor Allegiance granted, but retains Possession by Violence only, the Right of War remains; and therefore 'tis lawful to attack him as an Enemy, who may be killed by any Man, and that lawfully.* Yea, King *James* VI. in his *Remonstrance for the Right of Kings*, says, *The publick Laws make it lawful and free for any private Persons to enterprize against an Usurper.* Divines say the same. *Chamier, Tom. 2. lib. 15. cap. 12. Sect. 19. All Subjects have Right to attack Tyrants. Alsted. Theolog. Gas. cap. 17. reg. 9. p. 321. Any private Man may and ought to cut off a Tyrant, who is an Invader, without a Title; because in a hostile manner he invades his native Country.* And, *cap. 18. reg. 14. p. 332. 'Tis lawful for every private Man to kill a Tyrant, who unjustly invades the Government.* But Dr. *Ames concerning Conscience, Book 5. Chap. 31, concerning Manslaughter*, asserts all that is here pleaded for *in express Terms, Quest 4. Whether or no is it lawful for a Man to kill another by his own private Authority? Answ. Sometimes it is lawful to kill, no publick Precognition preceeding; but then only, when the Cause evidently requires that it should be done, and publick Authority cannot be got: For in that Case, a private Man is pu-*

*blickly constitute the Minister of Justice, as well by the Permission of God, as the Consent of all Men.* These propositions carry such evidence in them, that the Authors thought it superfluous to confirm them, and sufficient to affirm them. And from any reason that can be adduced to prove any of these Assertions, it will be as evident that this Truth I plead for, is thereby confirmed, as that itself is thereby strengthned: For it will follow natively, if Tyrants, and Tyrants *without a Title*, be to be thus dealt with; then the Monsters, of whom the question is, those notorious Incendiaries and murdering publick Enemies, are also to be so served: For either these Authors assaert the Lawfulness of so treating Tyrants *without a Title*, because they are Tyrants, or because they want a title. If the first be said, then all Tyrants are to be so served; and reason would say, and Royalists will subscribe, if Tyrants that call themselves Kings may be so animadverted upon, because of their perniciousness to the Commonwealth by their usurped Authority, then the subordinate firebrands that are the immediate instruments of that destruction, the inferior Emissaries that act it, and actually accomplish it, in murdering innocent people, may be so treated; for their persons are not more sacred than the other, nor more unpunishable. If the second be said, it is lawful to kill them, because they want a title; then it is either because they want a pretended title, or because they want a real and lawful one. The latter is as good as none, and it is proved, *Head* 2. *Arg.* 7. that no Tyrants can have any. The former cannot be said, for all Tyrants will pretend some, at least before they be killed.

3. But tho' some of these great Authors neither give their reasons for what they assert, nor do they extend it to all Tyrants that tyrannize by virtue of their pretended Authority, yet it will not be difficult to prove, that all, great and small, that murder, destroy, and tyrannize over poor people, are to be punished, tho' they pretend Authority for what they do. And hence, if all Tyrants, Murderers and Destroyers of Mankind ought to be punished; then when it cannot be done by publick Authority, it may be done by private; but all Tyrants,

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Murderers and Deſtroyers of Mankind ought to be puniſhed: *Therefore*———. The *Minor* is manifeſt from the general Commands of *ſhedding the blood of every man that ſheds it*, Gen. ix. 6. of *putting to death whoſoever killeth any perſon*, Numb. xxxv. 30, 31. of *reſpecting no mans perſon in judgment*, Deut. i. 17. And univerſally all penal Laws are general without exception of any; for under that reduplication of criminal tranſgreſſing thoſe Laws, under that general Sanction, they are to be judged; which admits of no partial reſpect: for if the greateſt of men be Murderers, they are not to be conſidered as great, but as Murderers; juſt as the meaneſt are not to be conſidered as mean or poor, but as Murderers. But I need not inſiſt on this, being ſufficiently proved *Head* 2. *Arg.* 9. and throughout that Head, proving that Tyrants can have no Authority: and, if they have no Authority, then Authority (which they have not) cannot exempt them from puniſhment. The Connexion of the *major* Propoſition may be thus urged: When this Judgment cannot be executed by publick Authority, either it muſt be done by private Authority, in caſe of extreme neceſſity, or not at all: for there is no *Medium*, but either to do it by publick Authority, or private: if not at all, then *the land* muſt remain ſtill *defiled with bloed, and cannot be cleanſed*, *Numb.* xxxv. 33. Then the fierce anger of the Lord cannot be averted, *Numb* xxv. 4. for without this executing of Judgment, he will not turn it away, *Jer.* v. 1. Then muſt Murderers be encouraged, by their impunity, to make havoek of all according to their Luſt, beſides that poor Handful who cannot eſcape being their prey, as their caſe is circumſtantiate. Beſides, this is point blank contrary to theſe general Commands, which ſay peremptorily, *The Murderer ſhall be put to death*; but this ſuppoſed caſe, when publick Authority will not or cannot put them to death, ſays, *They ſhall not be put to death.* In this caſe then I demand, whether their impunity is neceſſary, becauſe they muſt not be put to death? or beçauſe they cannot be put to death? To ſay the latter, were an untruth; for private perſons can do it, when they get acceſs, which is poſſible: if the former, then it is clearly contradictory to the Commands, which ſay,

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*They must be put to death*, excepting no case, but when they cannot be put to death. If it be said, They must not be put to death, because the Law obliges only publick Authority to execute Judgment: To this I reply, 1. I trust to make the contrary appear from Scripture by and by. 2. If the Law obliges none but those in publick Authority to execute Judgment, then when there is no Judgment execute, it must be the sin of none but those in publick Authority; and if it be only their sin, how comes others to be threatned and punished for this, that Judgment is not executed? If they must only stand by, and be spectators of their omissions unconcerned, what shall they do to evite this wrath? shall they exhort them, or witness against them? But that more than all this is required, is proved before several times, where this Argument of peoples being punished for the sin of their Rulers hath been touched. 3. Then when there is no Authority, it must be no sin at all that Judgment is not executed, because it is the sin of none; it cannot be sin, except it be the sin of some. 4. What if those in publick Authority be the Murderers? Who shall put them to death? By what Authority shall Judgment be execute upon them? Whether publick or private? publick it cannot be; for there is no formal publick Authority above the Supreme, who are supposed the party to be punished; if it be by the radical Authority of the People, which is the thing we plead for, then it is but private, as that of one party against another: The people are the party grieved, and so cannot be Judges: at best then, this will be extrajudicial executing of Judgment. And if the people may do it upon the greatest of Tyrants, then a part of them who are in greatest hazard may save themselves from those of lesser Note, by putting them to death: for if all the people have right to punish universal Tyrants, because they are destroyers of all; then a part hath right to punish particular Tyrants, because they are destroyers of them, when they cannot have access to publick Authority, nor the concurrence of the whole body.

4. Let these Murderers and Incendiaries be considered, either as a part of the Community with them whom they murder and destroy, or not; if they be a part, and

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do belong to the same Community (which is not granted in this case, yet let it be given) then when the safety of the whole, or better part, cannot consist with the sparing or preserving of a single man, especially such an one as prejudges all, and destroys that better part; he is rather to be cut off, than the whole or the better part be endangered: for the cutting off of a contagious Member that destroys the rest of the body, is well warranted by Nature, because the safety of the whole is to be preferred to the safety of a part, especially a destructive part: But now, who shall cut it off? since it must be cut off, otherwise a greater part of the body will be presently consumed, and the whole endangered. It is sure the Physicians duty; but what if he will not, or cannot, or there be no Physician? then any that can may and must; yea, one member may, in that case, cut off another. So, when either the Magistrate will not, or dare not, or does not, or there is none to do this necessary work of Justice, for the preservation of the Community; any member of it may rather prevent the destruction of the whole, or a greater part, by destroying the murdering and destructive Member, than suffer himself and others to be unavoidably destroyed by his being spared. If they be not within, or belonging to that Society, then they may be dealt with and carried towards as publick Enemies and Strangers, and all advantages may be taken of them in cases of necessity, as men would do, if invaded by *Turks* or *Tartars*.

5. Let it be considered, what men might have done in such a case before Government was erected, if there had been some publick and notour Murderers still preying upon some sort of men. Certainly then private persons (as all are in that case) might kill them, to prevent further destruction. Hence, if this was lawful before Government was established, it cannot be unlawful when people cannot have the benefit of the Government; when the Government that is, instead of giving redress to the grieved and oppressed, does allow and impower them to destroy them: otherwise people might be better without Government than with it; for then they might prevent their Murderers by cutting them off. But so it is that

that this was lawful before Government was eſtabliſhed; for let it be adverted, that the Scripture ſeems to inſinuate ſuch a caſe before the Flood. *Cain*, after he murdered his brother, feared that *every man that found him ſhould ſlay him*, *Gen.* iv. 14. If he had reaſon to fear this, as certainly he had, if the Lord had not removed that, by prorogueing the execution of vengeance upon him, for his greater puniſhment, and the world's more laſting inſtruction, and by ſetting a Mark upon him, and inhibiting, under a ſevere threatning, any to touch him; then every man that ſhould have killed him was the Magiſtrate, (which were ridiculous) or every man was every and any private perſon univerſally, which might have killed him, if this inhibition had not paſt upon it. *Ainſworth* upon the place ſaith, 'That among the ancient 'Romans, every one might kill without a challenge, any 'man that was curſed for ſome publick Crime.' And cites *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. l.* 2. And ſo *Cain* ſpoke this from a dictate of Nature and a guilty Conſcience.

6. At the Erection of Government, tho' the people reſign the formal power of Life and Death, and puniſhing Criminals, over to the Governor conſtitute by them; yet, as they retain the radical power and right virtually, ſo when either the Magiſtrates neglect their duty of vindicating the innocent, and puniſhing their deſtroyers, or impowers Murderers to prey upon them; in that caſe, they may reſume the exerciſe of it, to deſtroy their deſtroyers, when there is no other way of preventing or eſcaping their deſtructions; becauſe *extreme Remedies ought to be applied to extreme Diſeaſes.* In an extraordinary exigent, when *Ahab* and *Jezebel* did undo the Church of God, *Elias*, with the peoples help, killed all *Baal's* Prieſts, againſt and without the King's will; in this caſe, it is evident the people reſumed their power, as *Lex Rex* ſaith, *Queſt.* 9. *p.* 63. There muſt be a Court of neceſſity, no leſs than a Court of Juſtice, when it is in this extremity, as if they had no Ruler, as that ſame learned Author ſaith, *Queſt.* 24. *pag.* 213. If then the people may reſume that power in caſes of neceſſity, which they reſigned to the Magiſtrate; then a part may reſume it, when a part only is in that neceſſity, and all may claim an intereſt

tereſt in the Reſumption, that had an intereſt in the Reſignation.

7. Eſpecially upon the diſſolution of a Government, when people are under a neceſſity to revolt from it, and ſo are reduced to their primitive Liberty, they may then reſume all that power they had before the reſignation, and exert it in extraordinary exigents of neceſſity. If then a people that have no Magiſtrates at all may take order with their deſtroyers, then muſt they have the ſame power under a lawful Revolt. As the ten Tribes, if they had not exceeded in ſeverity againſt *Adoram*, *Rehoboam's Collector*, had juſt cauſe to take order with that Uſurper's Emiſſary, if he came to oppreſs them; but if he had come to murder them, then certainly it was duty to put him to death, and could not be cenſured at all, as it is not in the Hiſtory, 1 *King.* xii. 18. But ſo it is that the people purſued by theſe Murderers, ſome of which in their extreme Exigencies they put to death; have for theſe ſeveral years maintained a declared Revolt from the preſent Government, and have denied all Subjection to it upon the grounds vindicated, *Head* 2. And therefore they muſt be conſidered as reduced to their primeve Liberty, and their Purſuers as their publick Enemies, to whom they are no otherwiſe related than if they were *Turks*, whom none will deny it lawful to kill, if they invade the Land to deſtroy the inhabitants.

8. Hence, ſeeing they are no other than publick Enemies, unjuſtly invading, purſuing, and ſeeking them to deſtroy them; what Arguments will prove the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance, and the neceſſity of Self-defence, *in the immediate defence of Life, as well as remote*, will alſo prove the Lawfulneſs of taking all Advantages upon them: for if it be lawful to kill an Enemy in his immediate Aſſault, to prevent his killing of them, when there is no other way of perſerving themſelves from his Fury; then it muſt be lawful alſo in his remote, but ſtill inceſſant Purſuit, to prevent his murdering them by killing him, when there is no other way to eſcape in a Caſe of extreme Neceſſity. But that this was the Caſe of that poor People, Witneſſes can beſt prove it; and I dare appeal

peal to two Sorts of them that know it beſt, that is, all the Purſuers, and all the purſued.

9. This is founded, and follows upon the 4th *Article* of the *Solemn League and Covenant:* Where we are bound with all Faithfulneſs to endeavour the *diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments,—— that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Puniſhment.* Now, as this obliges to the orderly and ordinary way of proſecuting them, when there is Acceſs to publick Judicatories: ſo when there is none, either this Article obliges to no endeavour at all; (which cannot be, for it is moral duty to endeavour the Puniſhment of ſuch) or elſe it muſt oblige to this extraordinary Action and Execution of Judgment, if to any at all. Eſpecially conſidering, how, in the ſenſe of the ſhort comings of this Duty, it is renewed in the *ſolemn Acknowledgment of ſins, and engagement to duties, That we ſhall be ſo far from conniving at Malignity, Injuſtice,* &c. *that we ſhall——take a more effectual Courſe, than heretofore, in our reſpective Places and Callings, for puniſhing and ſuppreſſing theſe evils.* —— Certainly we were called to one way of proſecuting this Obligation then, when it was firſt engaged into, and to another now, when our Capacity and Circumſtances are ſo materially and formally altered: if the effectual Courſe then was by publick Authority; then now when that is wanting, there muſt be ſome Obligation to take ſome effectual Courſe ſtill, that may ſuit our places and callings, which will certainly comprehend this extraordinary way of ſuppreſſing thoſe evils, by preventing their growth in curbing the inſtruments, and executing judgment upon them, in a Caſe of extreme Neceſſity, which will ſuit with all Places, and all Callings.

II. From the Scriptures, theſe Arguments are offered,

*Firſt*, Some approven *Examples*, and imitable in the like Circumſtances, will clear and confirm the Lawfulneſs of this extraordinary Work of Judgment executed by private Perſons, upon notorious Incendiaries, Firebrands, and Murderers, guilty of Death by the Law of God,

1. *Moſes*

1. *Moſes ſpied an Egyptian ſmiting an Hebrew, one of his Brethren; and he looked this way, and that way, and when he ſaw that there was no man, he ſlew the Egyptian, and hid him in the Sand,* Exod. ii. 11, 12. Here's an uncondemned Example: whereof the Actor who was the Relater did not condemn himſelf, tho' he condemns himſelf for Faults that ſeem leſs odious; yea, in effect, he is rather commended by *Stephen* the Martyr, *Act.* vii And tho' it be extraordinary, in that it was done by private Authority, not by a Judge, as it was objected to him *the ſecond day:* yet it was not unimitable; becauſe that Action, though Heroical, whereof the ground was ordinary, the Rule moral, the Circumſtances commonly incident, the Management directed by human Prudence, cannot be unimitable; but ſuch was this Action, though Heroical. The Ground was ordinary, ſpying his Brother in hazard, whoſe murder he would have prevented. The Rule was moral, being according to that moral Precept of reſcuing our Brother in hazard, *Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. The Circumſtances were incident in a Caſe of extreme Neceſſity, which he managed very prudently, looking this Way, and that Way, and hiding him in the Sand. Therefore it may be imitated in the like Caſe. It ſignifies nothing to ſay that he was moved by the Spirit of God thereto: for unto every righteous Performance the motion of the Spirit of God is requiſite. This impulſe that *Moſes* had, and others after-mentioned, was nothing but a greater meaſure of that aſſiſting Grace, which the Extraordinarineſs of the Caſe, and the difficulties therein occurring did call for; but the interveening of ſuch motions, do not alter the Rule, ſo as to make the Action unimitable. Impulſes are not the Rule of Duty, either under an ordinary or extraordinary exigence; but when they are ſubſequent and ſubſervient both to the Rule of Duty, and to a man's call in his preſent Circumſtances, they clearly determine to the *Species* of an heroick Enterpriſe; in ſo much that it is not only the particular Deed that we are to heed for our Imitation, but we are to emulate the Grace and Principle of Zeal which produced it, and is thereby ſo conſpicuouſly relucent for our upſtirring to acts in like manner, as God may give Opportunity

tunity, as is obſerved by the *True Non-conformiſt, Dial.* 7. *Pag.* 392. &c.

2. When *Iſrael* joined himſelf unto *Baal-Peor*, the Lord ſaid unto *Moſes*, *Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the Lord againſt the Sun, that the fierce Anger of the Lord may be turned away from Iſrael.* And *Moſes* ſaid unto the Judges, *Slay every one his Men that were joined unto Baal-Peor.* And when *Zimri* brought the *Midianitiſh Cozbi in the ſight of Moſes, and in the ſight of all the Congregation, who were weeping before the Door of the Tabernacle; and when Phinehas ſaw it, he roſe up,* ——— *and took a javelin in his hand, and he went after the Man of Iſrael into the Tent, and thruſt both of them through,* ——— *So the Plague was ſtayed.* ——— *And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, ſaying, Phinehas hath turned my Wrath away from the Children of Iſrael, while he was zealous for my ſake among them,* ———. *I give unto him my Covenant of Peace,* ——— *becauſe he was zealous for his God, and made an Atonement for the Children of Iſrael,* Numb. xxv. 3,——— 13. This Action is here much commended, and recorded to his Commendation, *Pſal.* cvi. 30, 31. *Then ſtood up Phinehas, and executed Judgment, and ſo the Plague was ſtayed; and that was counted unto him for righteouſneſs, unto all Generations*; That is,——— *Into Juſtice of the Deed before Men, who otherwiſe might have put a bad Conſtruction upon it, as raſh, out of ſeaſon, committed againſt a Magiſtrate by a private Perſon, too cruel by cutting them off from Repentance; but God eſteem'd it as extraordinary juſt. Pool's Synopſ. Critic. in Locum.* It is certain, this Action was ſome way extraordinary; becauſe *Phinehas* was not a Magiſtrate, nor one of the Judges whom *Moſes* commanded to ſlay every one his Men, *verſ.* 5. Otherwiſe, if this had been only an ordinary Execution of Judgment by the Authority of *Moſes*, *Phinehas* his Action would not have been ſo much taken Notice of, nor ſo ſignally rewarded; but here it is noted as a ſingular act of *Zeal*, which it could not have been, if it was only an ordinary Execution of the Magiſtrate's command: yet, tho' this Action was ſignally Heroical, proceeding from a Principle of pure Zeal for God, and prompted by a powerful motion of the Spirit of God to that

that Extraordinary Execution of Judgment: It is notwithstanding imitable in the like Circumstances. For, the matter is ordinary, being neither preternatural, nor supernatural, but just and necessary. The end was ordinary, to turn away the Wrath of God, which all were obliged to endeavour. The principle was ordinary, (tho' at the time he had an extraordinary measure of it) being zealous for the Lord, as all were obliged to be. The rule was ordinary, to wit, the Command of slaying every Man that was joined to *Baal-Peor*, *vers.* 5. Only this was extraordinary, that the Zeal of God called him to this Heroical Action, tho' he was not a Magistrate, in this extraordinary Exigent, to avert the Wrath of God; which was neither by *Moses* his command, nor by the Judges their obedience, turned away, only by *Phinehas*'s act of another nature, and his zeal appearing therein, and prompting him thereto, the Lord was appeased, and the Plague stayed. In which fervour of zeal, transporting him to the omission of the ordinary solemnities of Judgment, the Spirit of the Lord places the Righteousness and Praise of the Action. Yet the same Call and Motion of Zeal might have impowered others to do the like: The Text speaks of no other Call he had, but that of *Zeal*, *ver.* 11, 12, 13. Yea, another was obliged to do the same, upon the ground of that moral Command, *Deut.* 13, 6, ——9. having the ground of God's ordinary Judgment, which commandeth the Idolater to die the death; and therefore to be imitate of all that prefer the true honour and glory of God to the Affection of flesh and wicked Princes, as Mr. *Knox* affirmeth in his Conference with *Lethingtoun*, rehearsed before, *Per.* 3. Further, let it be enquired, What makes it unimitable? Certainly it was not so, because he had the motion and direction of God's Spirit; for men have that to all Duties. It was not, because he was raised and stirred up of God to do it; for God may raise up Spirits to imitable actions. It was not, because he had an extraordinary Call, for Men have an extraordinary Call to imitable Actions, as the Apostles had to preach. We grant these Actions are extraordinary and unimitable; which, first, do deviate from the rule of common virtue, and transcend all rules

of

of common Reason and divine Word; but this was not such, but an heroick Act of Zeal and Fortitude: Next these Actions, which are contrary to a moral ordinary Command are unimitable, as the *Israelites* robbing the *Egyptians*, borrowing, and not paying again, *Abraham*'s offering his son *Isaac*; but this was not such: Next those Actions, which are done upon some special Mandate of God, and are not within the compass of ordinary obedience to the ordinary rule, are unimitable; but this is not such: as also miraculous Actions, and such as are done by the extraordinary Inspiration of the Spirit of God, as *Elias* his killing the Captains with their fifties by Fire from Heaven; but none can reckon this among these. See *Jus Populi* at length discussing this point, and pleading for the Imitableness of this Action, *cap.* 20. If therefore the Lord did not only raise up this *Phinehas* to that particular act of Justice, but also warrant and accept him therein, and reward him therefore, upon the account of his zeal, when there was a godly and zealous Magistrate, able, and whom we cannot without breach of charity presume, but also willing to execute Justice; how much more may it be pleaded, that the Lord, who is the same yesterday, to day and for ever, will not only pour out of that same Spirit upon others; but also when he gives it, both allow them, though they be but private persons, and also call them, being otherwise in a physical and probable capacity, to do these things in an extremely necessitous, and otherwise irrecoverable state of the Church, to which in a more intire condition he doth not call them? And particularly, when there is not only the like or worse provocations, the like necessity of execution of Justice and of Reformation, for the turning away of wrath, and removing of Judgments, that was in *Phinehas*'s case; but also, when the supreme Civil Magistrate, the *Nobles of the Kingdom*, and other inferior Rulers are not only unwilling to do their duty, but so far corrupted and perverted, that they are become the Authors and Patronizers of these abominations, *Naph. prior Edit. p.* 23.

3. When the Children of *Israel* served *Eglon* the King *Moab*, and they cried unto the Lord, he raised them up

up a Deliverer, *Ehud* the ſon of *Gera*, who made a dagger, and brought a preſent unto *Eglon*, *and put forth his left hand, and took the dagger from his right thigh, and thruſt it into his belly*, Judg. iii. 21. That this Action was approven will not be doubted, ſince the Lord raiſed him up as a Deliverer, who by this heroical Action commented it; and ſince it was a Meſſage from God, and that it was extraordinary, were ridiculous to deny: for ſure this was not the judicial Action of a Magiſtrate, neither was *Ehud* a Magiſtrate at this time, but only the Meſſenger of the people ſent with a preſent. Yet it is imitable in the like caſe, as from hence many grave Authors concluded the Lawfulneſs of killing a Tyrant without a Title.

4. When the Lord diſcomfited the hoſt of *Jabin*, and *Siſera* his Captain fled into the houſe of *Heber* the *Kenite*, *Jael Hebers wife took a nail of the tent, and went ſoftly unto him, and ſmote the nail into his temples*, Judg. iv. 21. of which the Propheteſs *Deborah* ſays, chap. v. 24. *Bleſſed above women ſhall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be, bleſſed ſhall ſhe be above women in the tent.* Yet not only was *Jael* no Magiſtrate, but in ſubjection to and at peace with *Jabin*, though ſhe killed his Captain. *But there was no Injuſtice here, when he was declared a publick Enemy, the War was juſt, he was an Oppreſſor of the People of God, it became Jael, as a Member of the Commonwealth, to betray and cut off the common Enemy. Therefore Jael had ſinned, if ſhe had not killed him. Martyr and others cited* in Pool. Synopſ. Critic. *upon the place*, albeit that Author himſelf, in his *Engliſh Annotations*, does cut the knot, inſtead of looſing it, in denying *Deborah*'s Song to be Divinely inſpired in its firſt compoſure, but only recorded as a Hiſtory by Divine Inſpiration, as other hiſtorical Paſſages not approven, only becauſe this heroick Fact of *Jael* is there commended; which is too bold an attempt upon this part of the holy Canon of the Scripture: whence we ſee, what inconveniencies they are driven to, that deny this principle of natural Juſtice, the Lawfulneſs of cutting off publick Enemies, to procure the Deliverance of the Lord's people. Hence, if it be lawful for private perſons, under ſubjection to, and at peace

peace with the publick Enemies of the Lord's people, to take all advantages to break their yoke, and deliver the oppreſſed from their bondage, by killing their Oppreſſors; it muſt be much more lawful, for ſuch as acknowledge no ſuch ſubjection nor agreement, to attempt the ſame in extreme neceſſity; but the former is true: therefore the latter.

5. When *Samſon* married the *Timnite*, and obliged himſelf by compact, to *give them thirty ſheets and thirty change of garments*, upon their ſolving his *riddle*, *the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he went down to Aſkelon, and ſlew thirty men of them, and took their ſpoil*, Judg. xiv. 19. And afterwards, when he loſt his wife by the cruelty and treachery of thoſe *Philiſtines*, he *ſaid unto them, Though you have done this, yet will I be avenged of you, and after that I will ceaſe. And he ſmote them hip and thigh with a great ſlaughter*, ch. xv. 7, 8. And when the *Jews*, who acknowledged the *Philiſtines* for Rulers, came to *Etam* to expoſtulate with him, all the ſatisfaction he gave them was to avouch, that *as they did unto him; ſo he had done unto them*, and to kill a thouſand more of them, *verſ.* 11. &c. Theſe were extraordinary Heroick facts, not only becauſe they flowed from an extraordinary power wherewith he was endued, and from an extraordinary Motion and Call; but becauſe of his avenging his own private injuries for the publick good, in a way both of fortitude and prudence, without a declared war, provoking the enemies againſt himſelf, and diverting from the people, and converting againſt himſelf all their fury, in which alſo he acted as a Type of Chriſt; and alſo becauſe he acted not as a Magiſtrate at this time, for by whom was he called or counted a Magiſtrate? not by the *Philiſtines*, nor by the men of *Judah*, for they tell him that the *Philiſtines* were their Lords, and they bound him and delivered him up to them: Yet in his private Capacity, in that extraordinary exigence, he avenged himſelf and his Country againſt his publick enemies, by a Clandeſtine war, which is imitable in the like caſe, when a prevailing faction of Murdering enemies domineer over and deſtroy the people of God, and there is no other way to be delivered from them: for his ground was moral;

Moral, becauſe they were publick enemies, to whom he might do as they did to him. Hence, if Saints, ſometimes, in caſes of neceſſity, may do unto their publick enemies as they have done unto them, in proſecuting a war not declared againſt them; then much more may they do ſo in caſes of neceſſity, to deliver themſelves from their murdering violence, when a war is declared; but here is an example of the former: *Ergo* —.

6. When theſe ſame *Philiſtines* again invaded and overran the Land in the time of *Saul*, *Jonathan* his ſon, and his Armour-bearer, fell upon the Garriſon of theſe uncircumciſed, and killed them, 1 *Sam.* xiv. 6, 13. This was an heroick Action, without publick Authority; for he told not his father, *ver.* 1. And ſingular indeed, in reſpect of the effect, and were a tempting of the Lord, for ſo few to aſſault ſuch a multitude, as it were to imitate *Samſon* in his Exploits; but in this reſpect, theſe actions are only unimitable in conſideration of Prudence, not of Conſcience, or as to the lawfulneſs of the thing: their ground was Moral, to cut off publick Enemies. Hence, if it be lawful to fall upon a Garriſon of publick Enemies, oppreſſing the Country, then it muſt be lawful to fall upon one or two, that are the Ring-leaders of publick Enemies, and main Promoters of their deſtruction, that are as pernicious, and have no more right or power, than the *Philiſtines*; but ſuch is the caſe of thoſe about whom the queſtion is.

7. When *David* dwelt in the country of the *Philiſtines*, he and his men went up and invaded the *Geſhurites*, and the *Gezrites*, and the *Amalekites*; and *David* ſmote the Land, and left neither man nor woman alive, 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 8, 9. This was without publick Authority, having none from *Saul*, none from *Achiſh*, in whoſe Country he dwelt, and none of his own, being no Magiſtrate. We deny not the Divine Motion, but plead, that it is imitable from its Moral ground, which was that Command to cut off the *Amalekites*, *Exod.* xvii. and the *Amorites*, whoſe relicts theſe Nations were; the ſame ground that *Saul* the Magiſtrate had to deſtroy them. Whence it is lawful ſometimes for others than Magiſtrates to do that which is incumbent to Magiſtrates, when they ne-

glect their duty. All I plead for from it is, If it be lawful for private persons, upon the Call of God, to cut off their publick enemies, when they are obliged by the command of God to destroy them, tho' they be living quietly and peaceably in the Country; then may it be lawful, in cases of necessity, for private persons to cut off their publick enemies, whom they are obliged, by the Covenant of God, to bring to condign punishment, and to extirpate them, (as the Covenant obliges in reference to malignant Incendiaries) when they are ravening like Lions for their prey.

8. In the days of *Ahab* and *Jezebel's* Tyranny, whereby the idolatrous Prophets of *Baal* were not punished according to the Law, *Elijah* said unto the people, *Take the Prophets of Baal, let none of them escape; and they took them to the brook Kishon, and slew them there*, 1 *Kings* xviii. 40. How Mr. *Knox* improved this passage we heard before, in the historical Representation, *Per.* 3. and *Jus pop.* vindicates it, that in some cases private persons may execute Judgment on Malefactors, after the example of *Elias* here. Which fact, *Peter Martyr, in locum.* defendeth thus: [ I 'say it was done by the Law of God; for, *Deut.* xviii. '20. God decerned that the false Prophet should die; 'and *chap.* xvii. the same is said of private men and wo-'men, who would worship Idols: But, *chap.* xiii. not 'only is death threatned against a seducing Prophet, but 'a Command is added, That no man should spare his 'brethren ——— . 3*dly*, It is commanded, that the whole 'City, when it becometh idolatrous, should be cut off 'by fire and sword: And, *Lev.* xxiv. 14---16. it is statute, that the Blasphemer should not live; to which we 'may add the Law or Equity of *Taliation*: for these 'Prophets of *Baal* caused *Jezebel* and *Ahab* kill the Ser-'vants of the Lord.' See *Jus pop. cap.* 20. *pag.* 425. Upon this also Mr. *Mitchel* defends his fact, as above ---- 'Also *Elijah*, by virtue of that precept, (*Deut.* xiii.) gave 'commandment to the people to destroy *Baal's* Priests, 'contrary to the command of the seducing Magistrate, 'who was not only remiss and negligent in executing Ju-'stice, but became a Protector and Defender of the Sedu-

'cers;

'cers; then and in that case, I suppose the Christians du-'ty not to be very dark.'

9. This idolatrous and tyrannical house was afterwards condignly punished by *Jehu*, 2 *Kings* ix, x. chap. who destroyed all the Idolaters, who were before encouraged and protected by that Court, *chap.* x. 25. This extraordinary fact was not justified by his Magistratical Authority; for that was as extraordinary as the fact it self, and conferred as a mean to accomplish the fact. He had no Authority by the peoples suffrages, nor was he acknowledged as such by the Court or Body of the people, only the Lord gave it extraordinarily. But it is not the imitation of his assumption of Authority that is here pleaded for, but the imitation of his fact in extraordinary cases, when not only Tyrants and Idolaters pass unpunished, but their insolency in murdering the Innocent is intolerable. Mr. *Knox* vindicates this at length, *as before*, and shews, that it had the ground of God's ordinary Judgment, which commands the Idolater to die the death; and that tho' we must not indeed follow extraordinary examples, if the example repugn to the Law, but where it agrees with and is the execution of the Law, an example uncondemned stands for a Command; for God is constant, and will not condemn in Ages subsequent what he hath approved in his Servants before. See the Testimony of *Period* 3. above, and *Jus pop cap.* 20. *pag.* 418.

10. When *Athaliah*, the Mother of *Ahaziah*, had tyrannized six years, at length *Jehoiada*, with others, made a Conspiracy against her, to depose her, and make *Joash* King; which when it was discovered, she cried *Treason*, *Treason*, as indeed it would have been so, if she had been the lawful Magistrate; for it was an attempt of Subjects against her that had the possession of the sovereign Power. But *Jehoiada* commanded the Captains to heave her forth without the ranges, and *him that followeth her kill with the sword*; and they laid hands on her, and she was *slain*, 2 *Kings* xi. 14,--16. That this is imitable in the punishment of Tyrants, is cleared above. If therefore it be lawful for Subjects to kill usurping Tyrants, and such as follow them to help them,

under whom nevertheleſs people might have a life; then it muſt be lawful for private perſons to put forth their hand againſt their Cut-throat Emiſſaries, in a caſe of neceſſity, when there is no living for them.

11. When *Amaziah* turned Idolater and Tyrant, after the time that he turned away from following the Lord, they made a Conſpiracy againſt him in *Jeruſalem*, and *he fled to Lachiſh; but they ſent to Lachiſh after him, and ſlew him there* 2 *Chron.* xxv. 27. This fact is before vindicated by Mr. *Knox*, *Period* 3. afterward *Head* 2. and *Head* 5.

12. When *Eſther* made ſuit to reverſe *Haman*'s Letters, the King granted the *Jews* in every City, not only to gather themſelves together, and to ſtand for their lives, but alſo to *deſtroy, to ſlay, and to cauſe to periſh*, all the power of the People and Province that would aſſault them, both little ones and women,——— and to avenge themſelves on their Enemies. And accordingly in the day that their Enemies hoped to have power over them, the *Jews* gathered themſelves to *lay hand on ſuch as ſought their hurt, and ſmote all their enemies with the ſtroke of the ſword, Eſther* viii. 11, 13. *chap.* ix. 1---5, *&c.* They had indeed that Law of Nature fortified by the King's acceſſory Authority, as *Valentinian*, by his Edict, granted the like Liberty, to reſiſt any unjuſt Invader to depopulate the Lands of his Subjects, *That he might be forthwith liable to a deſerved Puniſhment, and ſuffer that Death which he threatned*———. And the like of *Arcadius* is extant, in the *Juſtinian Cod. Tit. How it may be lawful for every Man to vindicate himſelf and the Publick, without the Concurrence of a Judge.* But that doth not exclude the lawfulneſs of ſuch Reſiſtances in caſe of neceſſity, without publick Authority; ſo here, it was not the King's commandment that made the *Jews* avenging themſelves lawful, if it had not been lawful before and without it; it gave them only liberty to improve that privilege, which they had from God and Nature. Surely their power of reſiſting did not depend on the King's Commandment, as is proven *Head* 5. *Ergo*, neither their power of avenging themſelves, to prevent their Murder by their enemies, which they could and were obliged to do, if there had

had been no such Authority: *Ergo*, it was not only suspended upon the King's Authority. And as for *Haman's* sons and adherents, being *Agagites*, they were obliged, by a prior Command, to avenge themselves on them, on all occasions, by that Command to destroy *Amalek*: Therefore it must be lawful, even without publick Authority, in some cases of necessity, to prevent the Murder of pnblick enemies, by laying hands on them that seek the hurt of all the people of God.

*Secondly*, There are some *Precepts* from which the same may be concluded.

1. There is a Command, and the first penal Statute against Murderers, we read, *Gen.* ix. 6. *Whoso sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* Here the Command is given in general to punish capitally all Murderers; but there may be some that no Magistrate can punish, who are not here exempted, to wit, they that are in supreme Authority, and turn Murderers, as was said above. Again, the Command is given in general to *Man*, involving all the Community (where the Murderer is) in guilt, if his blood be not shed; as we find in the Scripture, all the people were threatned and punished because Judgment was not executed; and when it was executed even by these that were no Magistrates, the Wrath of God was turned away, whereof there are many Examples above. Further, if the Command to shed the blood of Murderers be given before the Institution of Magistracy, then, in case of necessity, to stop the course of Murderers, it may be obeyed, when there is no Magistrate to execute it: But here it is given before the Institution of Magistracy, when now there was no Government in the world, but Family-government, as *Grotius* on the place saith, *When this Law was given, publick Judgment was not yet constitute, therefore the natural Right and Law of Taliation is here held forth, which, when Mankind was increased and divided into several Nations, was justly permitted only to Judges, some Cases excepted, in which that primeve Right did remain.* And if in any, then in this case in question. Hence, *Lex rex* answereth the *P. Prelate*, essaying to prove, that a Magistracy is established in the Text, denies that *Ba Adam, by Man*, must signify

signify a Magistrate, for then there was but Family-government, and cites *Calvin*, of the same mind, that the Magistrate is not spoken of here. Though this Command afterwards was given to the Magistrate, *Num.* xxxv. 30. yet, in a case of necessity, we must recur to the original Command.

2. This same Command of punishing murdering Enemies is even, after the Institution of Magistrates, in several cases not astricted to them, but permitted to the people, yea enjoined to them. As, (1) Not only Magistrates, but the people, are commanded to avenge themselves on their publick Enemies, as the *Israelites*, after their being insnared in the matter of *Peor*, are commanded to *vex the Midianites, and smite them*, because they beguiled them, and brought a Plague upon them, *Numb.* xxv. 17, 18. and *Numb.* xxxi. 2. to *avenge themselves on them*, and for this end to arm themselves, and go against them, and *avenge the Lord of Midian:* which they executed with the slaughter of all the males. So likewise are they commanded to destroy *Amalek*. It is true these Commands are given primarily and principally to Magistrates, as there to *Moses*, and afterwards to *Saul:* yet afterwards we find other than Magistrates, upon this Moral Ground, having the Call of God, did execute Judgment upon them, as *Gideon* and *David*, before they were Magistrates, did avenge themselves and the Lord upon them, as is before cleared. It is also true, that there was some holy severity then to be extended against particular Nations as such, peculiar to that Dispensation, which is not pleaded as imitable: but the ground was moral, and the right of a peoples saving themselves by the destruction of their enemies; when there is no other way for it, is Natural. And this is all we plead for here. If people may vex their enemies, and avenge themselves against them, even without publick Authority, when ensnared by their Craftiness; much more may they put a stop to their insolency, by cutting off their principle and most pernicious Instruments, in case of necessity, when invaded by their Cruelty; but here a people is Commanded to vex their enemies, and avenge themselves on them, and accordingly *Gideon*, and *David*,

*David*, did so, without publick Authority, and that upon a ground-which is moral and Natural: *Ergo*———. (2.) The execution of the punishment of Murderers is committed to the people: *The revenger of blood, himself shall slay the Murderer, when he meeteth him, he shall slay him*, *Numb.* xxxv. 19, 21. So that if he met him before he got into any City of Refuge, he might Lawfully slay him, and if he did flee to any, he was to be rendered up to the avengers hands, *Deut.* xix. 12. *that the guilt of innocent blood may be put away from Israel, vers.* 23. This revenger of blood was not the Magistrate: for he was the party pursuing *Numb.* xxxv. 24. Between whom and the Murderer the Congregation was to judge: He was only the next in blood or kindred. In the Original he is called *Goel*, the redeemer, or he to whom the right of redemption belongs, and very properly so called, both because he seeks redemption and compensation for the blood of his Brother, and because he redeems the Land from blood guiltiness, in which otherwise it would be involved. I do not plead that this is always to be imitated, as neither it was always practised in *Israel:* but if a private man, in a hot pursuit of his Brothers Murderer, might be his avenger, before he could be brought to Judgment, then much more may this power be assumed, in a case of necessity, when there is no Judgment to be expected by Law, and when not only our Brethren have been murdered by them that profess a trade of it, but others also and ourselves are dayly in hazard of it, which may be prevented in cutting them off. I do not see what is here meerly *Judicial*, so as to be rejected as *Judaical:* for sure Murderers must be slain now as well as then, and there is the same hazard of their escaping now as then: Murder involves the Land in guilt now as well as then, and in this case of necessity especially, that Law that gives a man right to preserve himself, gives him also right to be his own avenger, if he cannot otherwise defend himself. (3.) Not only the execution, the decision of matters of life and death, is committed to them; as in the case of Blasphemy and cursing, *All that heard were to lay their hands upon his head, and all the congregation was to stone him*, Levit. xxiv. 14, 16. *The man-slayer was to stand before the congregation*

*gregation in judgment. Then the congregation shall judge between the slayer and the avenger of blood*, Numb. xxxv. 12, 24. The people claimed the power of life and death, in seeking to execute judgment upon those that had spoken Treason against *Saul*, *Bring the men* (say they) *that we may put them to death*, 1 Sam. xi. 12. Especially in the case of punishing Tyrants, as they did with *Amaziah*. Certainly this is not so *Judicial* or *Judaical*, as that in no case it may be imitated: for, that can never be abrogated altogether, which in many cases is absolutely necessary; but that the people, without publick Authority, should take the power of life and death, and of putting a stop to the insolency of Destroyers, by putting them to death, is in many cases absolutely necessary; for without this they cannot preserve themselves against grassant Tyrants, nor the fury of publick Enemies or Firebrands within themselves, in case they have no publick Authority, or none but such as are on their destroyers side. (4.) Not only the power of purging the Land, by Divine Precept, is incumbent on the people, that it may not ly under bloodguiltiness; but also the power of reforming the Courts of Kings, by taking course with their wicked Abetters and evil Instruments, is committed to them, with a promise, that if this be done, it shall tend to the establishment of their Throne; which is not only a supposition, in case it be done, but a supposed precept to do it, with an insinuation of the necessity and expediency of it, that it is as suitable as the taking away of the dross from silver, in order to the production of a vessel, *Prov.* xxv, 4, 5. *Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness*; which is not only there given to Kings, for then it would be in the second person spoken to them, but to the people to do it *before them*, as the people did with *Baal*'s prophets from before *Ahab*. And our Progenitors many times have done with wicked Counsellors, as may be seen in the foregoing Representation, and more fully in the History of the *Douglasses*, and in *Knox*'s and *Calderwood*'s Histories. Hence, if it be duty to reform the Court, and to take away a King's wicked Sycophants, Counsellors, Agents and Instigators to Tyranny; then it must be lawful, in

some

some cases of necessity, to restrain their Insolency, and repress their Tyranny, in executing Judgment upon such of them as are most insupportable, who are made drunk with the blood of Innocents; but the former is true: Therefore ---.(5.) For the omission of the executing of this Judgment on Oppressors and Murderers, involving the whole Land in blood-guiltiness, which cannot be expiated but by the blood of them that are so criminal; not only Magistrates, but the whole people have been plagued. As for *Saul's* murdering the *Gibeonites*, the whole Land was plagued, until *the man that consumed them, and devised against them to destroy them, seven of his sons were delivered unto them, to be hanged up before the Lord*, 2 Sam. xxi. 5, 6. So also for the sins of *Manasseh*. The reason was, because if the Magistrate would not execute Judgment, the people should have done it: for not only to the *King*, but also to *his servants, and to the people that entered in by the gates*, the Command is, *Execute ye judgment, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor*, Jer. xxii. 2, 3. tho' it be true, this is to be done by every one in their station, *Justice and Order being preserved, and according to the Measure of their Office*, and it chiefly belongs to Judges and Magistrates: yet this is no wrong to Justice, nor breach of Order, nor sinful transgression of peoples vocation, not only to hinder the shedding of innocent blood, to prevent God's executing of what he there threatens, but also to execute Judgment on the Shedders, to prevent their progress in murdering villany, when inferior as well as superior Magistrates are oppressing and tyrannizing: therefore this *seeking*, and *doing* and *executing judgment* is so often required of the people, in such a Case, when Princes are rebellious and Companions of Thieves, and in the City where Judgment used to be, now Murderers bear sway, *Isa.* i. 17, 21. *the Lord is displeased* where there is none, *Isa.* lix. 15, 16. *Jer* v. 1. See this vindicated in *Lex Rex, quest.* 34. *p.* 367. and in *Jus popul. cap.* 10. *p.* 237.

3. That Command concludes the same against Idolaters, Apostates, and Enticers thereunto, *Deut.* xiii. 6, &c. *If thy brother —— or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, let us go and serve other gods*

*gods*—— *thou ſhalt not ſpare nor conceal him, but thou ſhalt ſurely kill him*—— *becauſe he ſought to thruſt thee away from the Lord thy God*—— *And all Iſrael ſhall hear, and fear, and do no more any ſuch wickedneſs.* And verſ. 13, &c. *If thou ſhalt hear ſay in one of thy cities*—— *ſaying, Certain men, the children of Belial, are gone out*—— *and have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, ſaying, let us go to ſerve other gods*——*Then ſhalt thou enquire*---- *and behold if it be truth, and the thing certain*—— *thou ſhalt ſurely ſmite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the ſword, deſtroying it utterly*----This Cauſe of the open Enticers to Idolatry was not brought to the Judges, as common Idolaters, and ſuch who were enticed *to ſerve other gods, and worſhip them, were to be brought to the gates, and to be ſtoned firſt by the hands of witneſſes, and afterwards by all the people*, Deut. xvii. 3, 5, 7. But this is another Law; of which the *Jewiſh* Antiquaries, and particularly *Grotius* out of *Philo* and the *Rabb. upon the place*, ſaith, 'Whereas in other crimes the guilty uſed to be kept after the Sentence a night and a day, that if he could ſay any more for himſelf he might, theſe were excepted from this benefit; and not only ſo, but it was permitted to any to execute Judgment upon them (*viz.* Enticers to Idolatry) without waiting for a Judge. The like was uſed againſt ſacrilegious Robbers of the Temple, and prieſts who ſacrificed when they were polluted, and thoſe who curſed God by the Name of an Idol, and thoſe who lay with an Idolatreſs: chiefly thoſe who denied the Divine Authority of the Law: and this behoved to be before the people, at leaſt ten, which in *Hebrew* they called *Hheda.*——Neither is this to be admired in ſo grievous a Crime, when even the manſlayer without the place of refuge might have been killed by the Kinſman of the defunct.' And upon *Numb.* xv. 30. the puniſhment of preſumptuous Blaſphemers, he ſays, 'But here theſe are to be underſtood thus, that the guilty ſhall not be brought to the Judges, but be killed by them that deprehended them in the Crime, as *Phinehas* did to *Zimri*;' and proves it out of *Maimonides*, *Pool. Synopſ. Critic.* on the place. And it muſt be ſo; for in this caſe no mention is made either of Judges, or Witneſſes, or

further

further Judgment about it, than that he that was tempted by the Enticer should fall upon him, and let the people know it, that they might lay hands on him also; otherwise evil Men might pretend such a thing when it was not true. But in case of a Cities Apostasy, and hearkning to Enticers, the thing was only to be solicitously enquired unto, and then tho' it was chiefly incumbent upon the Magistrate to punish it, yet it was not astricted to him, but that the People might do it without him. As upon this moral Ground, was *Israel*'s war stated against *Benjamin*, Judg. xx. 13. When there was no King nor Judge, and also when there were Kings that turned Idolaters and Tyrants, they served them so, as here is commanded: Witness *Amaziah*, as is shewed above. Hence not only *Moses*, upon the peoples defection into Idolatry in the Wilderness, commanded all on the Lord's side, *every Man to put his sword by his side,* ——— *and slay every Man his Brother, and every man his Companion, and every Man his Neighbour*, whereby three thousand fell at that time by the Sword of the *Levites*, Exod. xxxii. 27, 28. But also *Joash*, *Gideon*'s Father, upon the same moral Ground, though he was no Magistrate, could say to the *Abiezrites*, *Will ye plead for Baal,* ——— *he that will plead for him, let him be put to death while it is yet morning,* ——— Judg. vi. 31. Moreover, (as Mr *Mitchel* adduces the example very pertinently, we see that the People of *Israel* destroyed Idolatry, not only in *Judah* wherein the King concurred, but in *Ephraim*, and in *Manasseh*, where the King himself was an Idolater; and albeit, they were but private Persons, without publick Authority: for what all the people was bound to do by the Law of God, every one was bound to do it to the uttermost of his power and capacity. Mr. *Mitchel* offers this place to vindicate his Fact of shooting at the prelate, *Deut.* xiii. 9 Wherein, (says he) it is manifest, 'That the Idolater or Enticer to worship a false god, is to be put to death by the 'hand of those whom he seeks to turn away from the 'Lord: Which Precept I humbly take to be moral, and 'not merely *judicial*, and that it is not at all *Ceremonial* 'or *Levitical*. And as every moral Precept is universal, as to the extent of place, so also as to the extent of 'Time,

'Time, and Persons.' The chief thing *objected* here is, That this is a *judicial* Precept, peculiarly suited to the old Dispensation; which to plead for as a Rule under the New Testament, would savour of *Jewish* rigidity inconsistent with a Gospel Spirit. *Ans.* How Mr. *Knox* resels this, and clears that the Command here is given to all the people, needs not be here repeated; but it were sufficient to read it in the foregoing Representation, *Period* 3. *Pag.* 30. As it is also cited by *Jus Pop. pag.* 212. &c. But these general Truths may be added, concerning the *judicial Laws*, 1. None can say, That none of the *judicial* Laws, concerning political Constitutions, is to be observed in the New Testament: for then many special Rules of natural and necessary Equity would be rejected, which are contained in the judicial Laws of God: Yea, all the Laws of Equity in the World would be so cast; for none can be instanced, which may not be reduced to some of the judicial Laws: and if any of them are to be observed, certainly these penal Statutes, so necessary for the preservation of Policies, must be binding. 2. If we take not our measures from the judicial Laws of God, we shall have no Laws for punishment of any Malefactors by death, *of divine right*, in the New Testament. And so all capital punishments must be only human Constitutions; and consequently they must be all *Murders:* for to take away the Life of Man, except for such Causes as the Lord of our Life (to whose Arbitriment it is only subject) hath not approven, is Murder, as Dr. *Ames* saith, *De homicidio Conscienc. Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 31. *Quest.* 2. For in the New Testament, tho', in the general, the power of punishing is given to the Magistrate, yet it is no where determined, neither what, nor how Crimes are to be punished. If therefore penal Laws must be taken from the Old Testament; the Subject of executing them, as well as the Object, must be thence deduced; that is, what is there astricted to the Magistrate must be so still, and what is permitted to the People must remain in like manner their Privilege; since it is certain, the New Testament-Liberty is not more restricted as to penal Laws than the Old. 3. Those judicial Laws, which had either somewhat *Typical*, or

*Peda-*

*Pedagogical*, or peculiar to the then *judaical* State, are indeed not binding to us under that formality; tho' even these doctrinally are very useful, in so far as in their general nature, or equity of proportion, they exhibite to us some Documents of Duty; but those penal Judgments, which in the matter of them are appended to the moral Law, and are, in effect, but accurate determinations and accommodations of the Law of Nature, which may suit our Circumstances as well as the *Jews*, do oblige us as well as them. And such are these penal Statutes I adduce; for, that Blasphemy, Murder, and Idolatry, are heinous Crimes, and that they are to be punished, the Law of Nature dictates; and how, and by whom, in several cases, they are to be punished, the Law *judicial* determines. Concerning the moral Equity even of the strictest of them, *Amesius de Conscienc. Lib.* 5. *Mosaical appendix of Precepts*, doth very learnedly assert their binding Force. 4. Those judicial Laws, which are but *positive* in their Form, yet if their special, internal, and proper Reason and Ground be moral, which pertains to all Nations, which is necessary and useful to Mankind, which is rooted in, and may be fortified by human reason, and as to the Substance of them approven by the more intelligent Heathens; those are moral, and oblige all *Christians* as well as *Jews:* And such are these Laws of punishing Idolaters, *&c.* founded upon moral grounds, pertaining to all Nations, necessary and useful to Mankind, rooted in, and fortified by human Reason; to wit, that the Wrath of God may be averted, and that all may hear and fear, and do no more so wickedly; especially if this Reason be superadded, when the case is such, that innocent and honest people cannot be preserved, if such wicked Persons be not taken order with. 5. Those judicial Laws, which being given by the Lord's immediate Authority, tho' not so solemnly as the moral decalogue, are neither as to their end, *dead*, nor as to their use, *deadly*, nor as to their Nature, *Indifferent*, nor in any peculiar respect restringible only to the *Jews*, but the transgressions whereof both by omission and commission are still Sins, and were never abolished neither formally nor consequentially in the New Testament, must be moral;

ral; but such, as these *penal Laws* I am speaking of, they cannot be reputed among the *Ceremonial* Laws, dead as to their end, and deadly as to their use, or indifferent in their nature: for sure, to punish the innocent upon the account of these Crimes, were still sin, now as well as under the Old Testament; and not to punish the guilty, were likewise sin now as well as then. If then the matter be moral and not abolished, the execution of it by private persons, in some cases when there is no access to publick Authority, must be lawful also. Or if it be indifferent, that which is in its own Nature indifferent, cannot be in a Case of extreme Necessity unlawful, when otherwise the Destruction of ourselves and Brethren is in all human Consideration inevitable. That which God hath once commanded, and never expresly forbidden, cannot be unlawful in extraordinary Cases, but such are these Precepts we speak of: Therefore they cannot be in every Case unlawful. Concerning this Case of the Obligation of judicial Laws, *Amef. de Conscienc. Lib. 5. Cap. 1. Quest. 9. 6.* Those Laws which are predicted to be observed and executed in the New Testament times, cannot be *judicial* or *judaical*, restricted to the Old; but such is this. In the day, that a *Fountain shall be opened for the House of David for sin, and for Uncleanness*; which clearly points at Gospel-times; it is said, *The Lord will cause the Prophets and the unclean Spirits to pass out of the Land: and it shall come to pass, that when any shall yet Prophesy, then his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, thou shalt not live ——— and shall thrust him through when he prophesieth, Zech.* xiii. 3. Which cannot be meant of a spiritual penetration of the heart: for it is said, he shall not live; and the wounds of such as might escape, by resistance or flight, are visible in his hands, *ver.* 6. It is therefore to be understood of corporal killing Inticers to Idolatry, according to the Law, *Deut.* xiii. 9. either by delivering them up to the Judges, as *Piscator* on the place says, or as *Grotius* saith, *they shall run through*, as *Phinehas* did *Zimri*, *Numb.* xxv. *Understand this of a false Prophet, desiring to intice the people to the worship of false gods; for the Law impowered every* Jew *to proceed against such ——— which Law expresly adds, That they should*

*should not spare their Son, if guilty of such a Crime.* From all which I conclude, if people are to bring to condign punishment idolatrous Apostates, seeking to intice them; then may oppressed people, daily in hazard of the death of their Souls by Compliance; or of their Bodies, by their constancy in Duty, put forth their hand to execute Judgment, in case of necessity, upon idolatrous Apostates and Incendiaries, and the principal murdering Emissaries of Tyrants, that seek to destroy people, or inforce them to the same Apostasy; but the former is true: Therefore, *&c.*

4. The same may be inferred from that Command of rescuing and delivering our Brother, when in hazard of his life; for omitting which duty, no pretence, even of ignorance, will excuse us. *Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, behold we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy Soul doth not he know it, and shall not he render to every man according to his works?* That is, 'Rescue out of the hand of the Invader, Robber, unjust Magistrate, *&c.* and that either by defending him with 'your hand, or tongue, or any other lawful way: Men 'use to make a great many excuses, either that they know 'not his danger nor his innocence, nor that they were 'possessed of so great Authority that they might relieve 'him, that they have enough to do to mind their own affairs, and not concern themselves with others, *&c.* He 'proposes and redargues here, for examples sake, one excuse, comprehending all the rest.' As Commentators say, *Pool Syn. Crit. in loc.* This precept is indefinitely given to all: principally indeed belonging to righteous Magistrates; but in case of their omission, and if, instead of defending them, they be the persons that draw or send out their destroying Emissaries to draw them to death, then the precept is no more to be restricted to them, than that *vers.* 1. *not to be envious against evil men*, or that *vers.* 10. *If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small*, can be said to be spoken only to Magistrates. Hence, if it be a Duty to rescue our Brethren from any prevailing power that would take their lives unjustly, and no pretence

tence even of ignorance will excuſe the forbearance of it, then it muſt be lawful, in ſome extraordinary caſes, to prevent the murdering violence of publick Incendiaries, by killing them, rather than to ſuffer ourſelves or our Brethren to be killed, when there is no other way, in probability, either of ſaving ourſelves, or reſcuing them; but here the former is commanded as a duty: therefore the latter alſo muſt be juſtified, when the duty cannot otherwiſe be diſcharged.

Now, having thus at ſome length endeavoured to diſcuſs this ſome way odd and eſteemed odious Head, to which Task I have been as unwillingly drawn, as the Actors here pleaded for were driven to the occaſion thereof, whom only the neceſſity of danger did force to ſuch Atchievements, to preſerve their own and Brethrens lives, in proſecuting the Cauſe; and nothing but the neceſſity of duty did force me to this Undertaking, to defend their Name from Reproach, and the Cauſe from Calumnies. I ſhall conclude with a humble Proteſtation, that what I have ſaid be not ſtretched further than my obvious and declared Deſign doth aim at; which is not to preſs a practice from theſe precedents, but to vindicate a Scripture-truth from invidious or ignorant obloquies, and not to ſpecify what may or muſt be done in ſuch Caſes hereafter, but to juſtify what hath been done in ſuch Circumſtances before. Wherein I acknowledge, that though the Truth be certain, ſuch things may be done, yet the duty is moſt difficult to be done with Approbation. Such is the fury of corrupt paſſion, far more fierce in all than the pure Zeal of God is to be found fervent in any, that too much Caution, Tenderneſs, and Fear, can ſcarce be adhibite in a Subject, wherein even the moſt warrantable provocation of holy zeal is ordinarly attended with ſuch a concurrence of Self-intereſt, and other carnal temptations, as it is impoſſible without the ſignal aſſiſtance of ſpecial Grace to have its exerciſe in any notable meaſure or manner, without the Mixture of ſinful allay; as the *True Non-conformiſt* doth truly obſerve *as above*, *Pag.* 391. Yet this Doctrine, tho' in its defined and uncautioned Latitude be obnoxious to accidental abuſes (as all Doctrines may be abuſed

abuſed by men's corruption, or ignorance; miſapplying the ſame) is nevertheleſs built upon ſuch Foundations, that Religion will own to be firm, and Reaſon will ratify their force. And I hope it is here ſo circumſcribed with Scripture-boundaries, and reſtricted in the narrow circumſtantiation of the caſe, that as the ungodly cannot captate advantage from it, to encourage themſelves in their Murdering villanies, ſeeing they never were, never can be ſo circumſtantiate, as the Exigence here defined requires; ſo as for the Godly, I may preſume upon their tenderneſs, and the Conduct of that Spirit that is promiſed to lead them, and the zeal they have for the honour of Holineſs, with which all real cruelty is inconſiſtent, to promiſe in their Name, that if their Enemies will repent of their wickedneſs, and ſo far at leaſt reform themſelves, as to ſurceaſe from their cruel Murdering violence, in perſecuting them to the death, and devouring them as a prey; then they ſhall not need to fear from the danger of this Doctrine, but as ſaith the proverb of the Ancients: *Wickedneſs proceedeth from the Wicked, but their hand ſhall not be upon them.* But if they ſhall ſtill proceed to Murder the Innocent, they muſt underſtand, they that hold this truth in *Theory*, will alſo reduce it to *practice*. And bloody Papiſts muſt know, that Chriſtians now are more Men, than either ſtupidly to ſurrender their throats to their Murdering ſwords, or ſupinely to ſuffer their villany to paſs unpuniſhed; and tho their favours have flattered many, and their fury hath forced others, into a faint ſuccumbing and ſuperſeding from all Action againſt them; yet all are not aſleep: and I hope there are ſome, who will never enter in any terms of peace with them, againſt whom the Mediator hath declared and will proſecute a war for ever, but will ſtill own and aim at this, as the higheſt pitch of their ambition, to be found among his choſen, called, and faithful ones, who maintain a conſtant oppoſition againſt them. However, tho' the Lord ſeems, in his Providence, to put a bar upon all publick appearances under a diſplay of open war againſt them; and it is not the deſign of what is ſaid here on this and the foregoing head, to incite or invite to any: yet certainly;

even at this present, all that have the zeal of God and love to his righteous cause rightly stated in their hearts, will find themselves called not to supersede altogether from all actions, of avowed and even violent opposition against them, whom we are all bound both by the morality of the duty, and the formality of solemn and sacred Covenants, to hold out from a violent intrusion into and peaceable possession of this land devoted to God, and to put them out, when they are got in either by their fraud or force; and this plea, now brought to an end, will oblige all the loyal Lovers of Christ, to an endeavour of these, 1. To take alarms, and to be fore-warned and fore-armed, resolute and ready to withstand the invasion of *Popery*; that it be neither established by law, thro' the supineness of such, who should stand in the gap, and resolve rather to be sacrificed in the spot, by a valiant resisting, than see such an abomination set up again; nor introduced by this liberty, through the wiles of such, whose chiefest principle of policy is perfidy, who design by this wide gate, and in the womb of the *wooden horse* of this toleration, to bring it in peaceably; nor intruded by force and fury, fire and sword, if they shall fall upon their old game of murders and massacres. It concerns all to be upon their guard, and not only to *come out of Babylon*, but to be making ready to go against it, when the Lord shall give the call. 2. To resist the beginnings of their invasions, before they be past remedy: and for this effect, to oppose their gradual erections of their idolatrous monuments, and not suffer them to set up the Idol of the *Mass* in city or country, without attempting, if they have any force, to overthrow the same. 3. In the mean time, to defend themselves and the Gospel, against all their assaults, and to rescue any out of their hands, upon all occasions, that for the cause of Christ they have caught as a prey, and to oppose and prevent their own and the nation's ruin and slavery.

But to conclude: as it will be now expected, in justice and charity, that all the Vassals and Votaries, Subjects and Servants, of the one common Lord and King, Christ Jesus, every where thro' out his dominions, who may see this representation of the case and vindication

of

of the cauſe of a poor waſted and wounded, perſecuted and reproached, remnant of the now declining, ſometimes renounced Church of *Scotland*, will be ſo far from ſtanding *Eſau*-like on the other ſide; either as *Enemies*, rejoicing to look on their affliction in the day of their calamity; or as *neutral*, unconcerned with their diſtreſſed conditions; or as *Strangers*, without the knowledge or ſenſe of their ſorrows and difficulties; or as *Gallio's* caring for none of theſe things, or thinking their caſe not worthy of compaſſion, or their cauſe of conſideration; or poſſibly condemning their ſufferings, as at beſt but ſtated upon ſlender, ſubtile, and nice points, that are odd and odious, and invidiouſly repreſented: it is now expected, I ſay, that Chriſtians, not poſſeſſed with prejudice, (which is very improper for any that bear that holy and honourable Signature), and not willing to be impoſed upon by miſinformations, will be ſo far from that Unchriſtian temper towards them, as to be eaſily biaſſed with all reports and reproaches to their diſadvantage, that if they weigh what is in this Treatiſe offered, and truly I may ſay candidly repreſented, without any deſign of prevarication, or painting, or daubing, to make the matter either better or worſe than it will ſeem to any impartial Obſerver; they will admit and entertain a more charitable conſtruction of them, and not deny them brotherly ſympathy and Chriſtian compaſſion, nor be wanting in the duty of prayer and ſupplication for them; that at length the Lord would turn his hand upon the little ones, and bring at leaſt a third part, a remnant of mourners, through the fire. So, to that little flock, the poor of the flock, that wait upon the Lord, and deſire to keep his way; I ſhall only ſay, Though I judged neceſſity was laid upon me, inſtead of a better, to eſſay this vindication of your cauſe, as ſtated betwixt you and your, and your Lord's enemies, the men that now ride over your heads, that ſay to your ſoul, *Bow down that we may go over you*, I deſire not that you ſhould, yea I obteſt that you may not, lay any ſtreſs on the ſtrength of what I have ſaid; but let its weight ly where it muſt be laid, on that firm foundation, that will bear you and it both, that ſtone, that tried ſtone,

that precious corner-ſtone, that ſure foundation Chriſt Jeſus: and ſearch the Scriptures of Truth, to ſee whether theſe things be ſo or not: and I doubt not, but by that touchſtone if theſe precious Truths be tried, they will be found neither hay nor ſtubble, that cannot abide the fire, but as ſilver tried in a furnace of earth purified ſeven times. Do not offend, that they are contemned as ſmall, and contradicted as odious, but look to the importance of his Glory, whoſe truths and concerns they are, and from whom they are ſeeking to draw or drive you, who oppoſe and oppugn theſe truths. Stand faſt therefore in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and hold faſt every word of his patience, that you may be kept in this hour of tentation. Let no man take your crown, or pull you down from your excellency, which is always the deſign of your wicked enemies, in all their ſeveral ſhapes and ſhews, both of force and fraud, craft and cruelty. Beware of their ſnares, and of their tender mercies, for they are cruel; and when they ſpeak fair, believe them not, for there are ſeven abominations in their hearts. 'Say ye not a Confederacy, to all them to 'whom this people ſhall ſay a Confederacy, neither fear 'ye their fear, nor be afraid; ſanctify the Lord of Hoſts 'himſelf, and let him be your fear, and let him be your 'dread, and he ſhall be for a Sanctuary, but for a ſtone 'of ſtumbling, and a rock of offence, to both the houſes 'of *Iſrael*, for a gin and for a ſnare to the inhabitants of 'Jeruſalem. Wait upon the Lord, who hideth his face 'from the houſe of *Jacob*, and look for him, among his 'children,' though now you be reputed for ſigns and wonders in *Iſrael*, from the Lord of Hoſts which dwelleth in Mount *Zion*. 'Who knows, but therefore will the 'Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you, and there-'fore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon 'you, for the Lord is a God of judgment, bleſſed are all 'they that wait for him.' To whom be all the Glory. *Amen.*

Having come to a Concluſion of the ſix heads propoſed to be treated of; I judged it conducing by way of Poſtſcript to ſubjoin a *Seventh*, in vindication of theſe con-

conscientious and truly tender sufferers, who in the dread and awe of the holy, sovereign, and supreme Law-giver, who commandeth his Subjects and Followers to *abstain from all Appearance of Evil*, did, in obedience to him and his Royal Law, choose rather to suffer the Rage, Robberies, and Violence of cruel and bloody Enemies, together with Censures, Reproaches, Obloquies, and contempt of apostatizing Professors, than to give any aid or Encouragement to the avowed and declared Enemies of Christ, that might contribute to the promoving their Sacrilegious, Tyrannical, and hellish Projects and Practices, calculate and prosecute against the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ, the covenanted reformed Religion of the Church, the Rights, Laws, and Liberties of the people, and to the introducing of Antichristian Idolatry, Tyranny and Slavery, by paying any of their wicked and wickedly imposed exactions, raised for furthering their hellish designs, of which, none who pays them can be innocent.

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# HEAD VII.

## *The Sufferings of many, for refusing to pay the wicked Exactions of the Cess, Locality, Fines, &c. vindicated.*

IT will possibly seem impertinent, or at least preposterous at such a time, when the pressure of these Burdens is not more pinching to the Generality of professing People, and in a such a retrograde order, as after the Discussion of the foregoing Heads, to subjoin any Disquisition of these Questions, which are now out of Date and Doors with many. But considering that the Impositions of these Burdens are still pressing to some, and the Difficulties of Doubts and Disputes about them still puzling, the sin and scandal of complying with them still lying upon the Land, not confessed nor forsaken, the Leaven of such Doctrine as daubs and defends the like Com-

Compliance still entertained, the Sufferings of the faithful, for refusing them, still contemned and condemned, and the Fears and Expectations of more Snares of that Nature, after this fair weather is over, still encreasing; if I may be so happy as to escape Impertinencies in the manner of managing this Disquisition, I fear not the Censure of the Impertinency or needlesness of this Essay. As to the order of it, it was intended to have been put in its proper Place among the *Negative* Heads of Sufferings; but knowing of how little worth or weight any thing that I can say is with the prejudged, and having a Paper writ by two famous Witnesses of Christ against the Defections of their day, Mr. *M'Ward* and Mr. *Brown*, more fully and largely detecting the Iniquity of the Cess (from which the Wickedness of other exactions also may be clearly deduced) tho' at such distance at the writing of the foregoing Heads, that it could not be had in Readiness to take its due Place, and Time would not allow the suspending other Things until this should come to hand; I thought it needful, rather than to omit it altogether, to insert it here. However, tho' neither the form of it, being by way of *Letter*, nor the method adapted to the design of a moving Dissuasion, nor the length and prolixity thereof, will suffer it to be here transcribed as it is; yet to discover what were their sentiments of these things, and what was the Doctrine preached and homologated by the most faithful, both Ministers and Professors of *Scotland*, eight or nine Years since, how closly continued in by the contendings of this reproached Remnant, still persecuted for these things, and how clearly abandoned and reviled from, by their complying Brethren now at ease, I shall give a short Transumpt and Compend of their Reasonings, in a Method subservient to my Scope, and with Additions necessary for applying their Arguments against the other Exactions here adduced in this Head, and bringing them also under the dint of them, though not touched by them expressly. I must put altogether, because it would dilate the Treatise, already excressed, into a Bigness, far beyond the Boundaries I designed for it, to handle them distinctly; and their affinity, both as to their fountain, nature, and ends,

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e such, that what will condemn one of them will condemn all. What and how many and manifold have been the exorbitant Exactions, as the Fruits and Foments of this cruel Tyranny, that the Godly in our Land have been groaning under these 27 years, and upon what Occasions they have been, at diverse times, and in diverse Manners and Measures, imposed. I need not here relate, the first part of the Treatise doth represent it. The first of these Tyrannical Exactions, were the *Fines* for not hearing the Curates, and other parts of Non-conformity; which, together with paying the Curates stipends, were too universally at first complied with; but afterwards upon more mature consideration, and after clearer discoveries of the Imposers projects and practices, they were scrupled and refused by the more tender. And their sufferings, upon the account of that Recusancy, have been very great and grievous, to the utter Impoverishment and Depopulation of many Families, besides the personal Sufferings of many in long Imprisonments, which some choose rather to sustain with patience, than pay the least of those Exactions. Yea, some when ordered to be legally liberate, and set forth out of Prison, choosed rather to be detained still in bondage, than to pay the *Jaylor's Fees*, their keepers demanded of them. Many other wicked Impositions have been pressed and prosecuted with great Rigour and Rage, as *Militia-money*, and *Locality*, for furnishing Soldiers, listed under a Banner displayed against Religion and Liberty, with necessary provision, in and for their wicked Service; which of late Years have been contended against by the Sufferings of many, and daily growing a Trial to more. But the most impudently insolent of all these Impositions, and that which plainly paraphrases, openly expresses and explains all the rest, calculate for the same ends, was by that wicked Act of Convention, enacted in the 1678, declaring very plainly its ends, to levy and maintain Forces for suppressing Meetings, and to shew unanimous affection for maintaining the King's Supremacy established by Law. Or as they represent it in their Act, for continuation of it, *Act.* 3. *Parl.* 3. *Char.* II. *August* 20. 1681. 'Seeing the 'Convention of Estates holden at *Edinburgh* in the Month

'of

'of *July* 1678, upon weighty considerations therein spe
'cified, and particularly the great danger the Kingdom
'was under, by seditious and rebellious *Conventicles*, and
'the Necessity which then appeared, to encrease the
'Forces, for securing the Government, and suppressing
'these *rebellious Commotions*, which were fomented by
'*seditious Principles and Practices*, did therefore humbly
'and dutifully offer a chearful and unanimous Supply of
'800,000 pound *Scots*, —— in the space of five Years,
'—— And the Estates of Parliament now conveen-
'ed, having taken to Consideration, how the Dangers
'from the foresaids Causes do much encrease, in so far
'as such as are seditiously and rebelliously enclined, do
'still propagate their pernicious Principles, and go on
'from one degree of rebellion to another, till now at last
'the horrid villanies of murder, assassination, and avow-
'ed Rebellion, are owned, not only as things *lawful*,
'but as Obligations from their Religion, —— do there-
'fore, in a due sense of their duty to God, to their sacred
'Sovereign, and the Preservation of themselves, and
'their posterity, of new make an humble, unanimous,
'chearful, and hearty offer, for themselves, and in name
'of, and as representing this his Majesty's ancient King-
'dom, of a Continuation of the foresaid Supply, grant-
'ed by the Convention of Estates; and that for the
'space of five Years, or ten Terms successive, beginning
'the first Term's Payment at *Martinmas* 1683, which
'yet is to be continued until *Martinmas* 1688.' Here is a Sample of their wicked Demands, shewing the Nature, Quality, and Tendency of all of them: Wherein we may note, 1. That they continue it upon the same Considerations, upon which it was first granted. 2. That these were, and yet remain to be, the danger of the Meetings of the Lord's people for Gospel-ordinances, by them forced into the Fields, which they call *Rebellious Conventicles*; and the necessity of securing their Usurpation upon the Prerogatives of Christ, Liberties of his Church, and Privileges of Mankind (which they call their Government) and suppressing the Testimonies for the Interest of Christ (called by them *Rebellious Commotions.*) 3. That their motive of continuing it, was their con-

considerations of some weak Remainders of former zeal for God, in prosecuring the Testimony for the Interests of Christ, and Principles of the Covenanted Reformation (which they call *propagating pernicious Principles*) and some weak attempts to oppose and resist their Rebellion against God, and vindicate the Work, and defend the people of God, from the destruction they intended against them, and their lawful and obliged endeavours to bring these Destroyers and Murderers to condign punishment (which they call *horrid Villanies of Murder, Assassination, and avowed Rebellion.*) Here all the active Appearances of the Lord's people, vindicated in the foregoing Heads, are industriously represented, under these odious and invidious Names, as motives to contribute this supply of Means to suppress them, and to involve all the Contributers in the guilt of condemning them. 4. That as a Test of their Allegiance unto, and Confederacy with that execrable Tyrant, (which they call *their duty to their sacred Sovereign*) they enact this as Representatives of the Kingdom, and must be owned as such by all the payers. 5. That it is the same Cess that was granted by the *Convention of Estates*, and the Term of its continuation is not yet expired. And hence it is manifest, that that Act of Convention, tho' its first date be expired, and thereupon many plead for the lawfulness of paying it now, that formerly scrupled at and witnessed against it, yet is only renewed, revived, and corroborated, and the Exaction continued upon no other basis or bottom but the first State Constitution; which was, and remains to be a consummating and crimson wickedness, the cry whereof reaches Heaven: Since, upon the matter, it was the setting of a day, betwixt and which (exceeding the *Gadarenes* wickedness, and short of their Civility) they did not beseech Christ and his Gospel to be gone out of *Scotland*, but with armed violence declared, they would with the strong hand drive him out of his Possession; in order to which their Legions are levied, with a professed Declaration, That having exauctorate the Lord's Anointed by Law, and cloathed the Usurper with the spoils of his Honour, they will by Force maintain what they have done; and having taken to themselves the House of God

God in possession, they will sacrifice the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of all in the Nation, to secure themselves in the peaceable possession of what they have robbed God; and that there shall not be a Soul left in the Nation, who shall not be slain, shut up, or sold as slaves, who will own Christ and his Interest. All which they could not, nor cannot accomplish, without the subsidiary Contribution of the peoples help. This is the plain sense of the Act for the *Cess*; and, tho' not expressed, the tacite and uniform intention of all the rest; yet, for as monstrous and manifest the wickedness of these designs are, so judicially were the bulk of our Seers plagued with blindness, that many of them were left to plead for the payment of these Impositions; others, tho' they durst not for a world do it themselves, to be silent, and by their silence to encourage and embolden many to such a Compliance; presuming with themselves, and without further enquiry, that the zeal of God, and love to his Glory, and the Souls of their Brethren, would constrain them to speak in so clamant a case, if they did observe any sin in it. Whereby the Universality was involved in the guilt of these things, especially deceived by the patrociny and pleadings of such of late, who formerly witnessed against it. O that it might be given to us to remember *Lot's* Wife turned into a Pillar of Salt, to season us, lest the stink of our Destruction, and what may follow upon it, be all that the posterity get for a warning not to tread our paths. As for the few that have suffered upon this Head, they have been so discruciated with perplexities, in their conflicts with the rage of Enemies, and reproach of Friends, and fear of these snares attending every lot or occupation they could put themselves in, that they have been made to desire death, as their best refuge, and only retreat wherein they may find rest from all these rackings: for, in no place could they escape the reach of some of these Impositions, nor the noise of their clamorous contendings of Arguments that pleaded for it. But some have had more Love to Christ and his Interests, than language to plead for him, and more resolution to suffer, than Learning to dispute for his Cause; and where pure zeal for Christ, and love

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to his bleeding Interests; in a time when he is crucified afresh, and put to open shame, and the concurrence of all is required to help forward the War against him, is in integrity and vigour, it will burn with its flame those knots that it cannot in haste loose; and chuse rather to ly under the Imputation of being zealous without knowledge, than lose, or let go such an opportunity of witnessing a good Confession; yea, when it could do no more, expire with an *Ichabod* in its mouth.

But shortly to come to the Point, I shall, 1. Premit some *Concessions*. 2. Propose some parallel *Questions*. 3. Offer some *Reasons* to clear it.

1. I shall willingly grant in the General, concerning paying of Exactions, Impositions, or Emoluments.

1. They are to be paid to these to whom they are *due*; as *Tribute* and *Custom* is to be paid to the Powers ordained of God, and *for this Cause, that they are God's Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing*, Rom. xiii. 6, 7. So Stipends and all outward Encouragements are due to Ministers of the Gospel, who sow spiritual things, and should *reap these carnal things*, 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12. Fines also, and all legal Ammercements for Delinquencies against such Laws, must be paid, *Deut.* xxii. 19. And whatsoever is due by Law to Officers, appointed by Law, for keeping Delinquents in custody, as all Debts whatsoever. But Tyrants Exactions, enacted and exacted for promoving their wicked designs against Religion and Liberty; Hirelings Salaries, for encouraging them in their Intrusions upon the Church of God; Arbitrary Impositions of pecuniary Punishments for clear Duties; and extorted Hirings, of the subordinate Instruments of Persecuters oppressions, are no ways due, and cannot be debt, and therefore no equity to pay them.

2. It is lawful to pay them, when due and debt, either by Law or Contract, even tho' they should be afterward *abused* and misimproven to pernicious ends. But these payments for such wicked ends, either particularly specified and expressed in the very Act appointing them, or openly avouched by the Exactors, are of another Nature, than Impositions fundamentally appointed for the publick Good; and the after misapplication thereof, made

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by such as are entrusted therewith, is no more imputable unto the Land or Payers, than is the theft of a Collector stealing or running away with the same, without making Compt or Reckoning to Superiors. It is then a foolish thing to say, that former Impositions were peaceably paid, tho' we saw and were convinced that their Use was perverted, and they were used against the good of the Land and God's people: for no such thing was laid down as the ground, or declared as the end of these Exactions; but what fell out was by the personal abuse and perversion of those in power; which was their own personal fault, and posterior to the legal engagement and submission to the payment thereof by the Land in their Representatives.

3. It is lawful to pay them sometimes, even when fundamentally and *originally* from the first Constitution of them they were not due, but *illegally* or usurpatively challenged and exacted, if afterwards they were by dedition or voluntary engagement, legally submitted unto by the true Representatives. But not so, when they were never either lawfully enacted, or legally exacted, or voluntarily engaged by the Representatives, except such as represented the enslavement of the Nation, and betrayed the Country, Religion, Liberty, Property, and all precious Interests, and declaredly imposed to further the destruction of all. Nor can any with reason say, that this case is but like the case of the people of *Israel* under the feet of Enemies, paying to them of the Fruits of their Ground, as was regrated and lamented by *Nehemiah*, Chap. ix. 36, 37. for so they must say, the Exactions now in debate are their *Redemption-money*, and by these they purchase their Liberty of Life and Lands, and own themselves to be a people under Conquest. And yet they cannot deny, but they are both exacted and paid as Tests of their Allegiance as Subjects, and Badges of their Loyalty and Obedience. But this is answered before, *Head 2. Concess. 7. Sect. 2. Pag.* If any should object the practice of Christ, tho' otherwise free, yet paying Custom, lest he should offend: it is fully resolved, *ibid. Head 2. Concess. 9. Pag.* Here 'tis sufficient to hint (1.) That which made them marvel at his wise Answer was, that

that he left the Title unstated, and the Claim unresolved, whether it belonged to *Cesar* or not, and taught them in the general to give nothing to *Cesar*, with prejudice to what was God's; which condemns all the Payments we speak of, which are all for carrying on the War against God. (2) *Cesar* was no Tyrant nor Usurper at this time, because they had legally submitted themselves unto several *Cesars* successively before. (3) It was, lest he should offend: but here it will be evident, that the offence and scandal lieth upon the other hand, of paying the Exaction. And it is against all Religion to say, that both the doing and refusing to do the same Act, can give offence. But (4.) make the Case like ours, and I doubt not to call it Blasphemy to say, That Christ would have paid, or permitted to pay a Taxation, professedly imposed for levying a War against him, or banishing him and his Disciples out of the Land; or to fill the mouths of the greedy *Pharisees*, devouring widows houses, for their pretence of long Prayers; or that he would have paid, or suffered to pay their Extortions, if any had been exacted of him or his Disciples, for his preaching, or working Miracles; or if help or hire had been demanded, for encouraging those that rose to stone him for his good deeds.

4. It is lawful to pay *a Part, to preserve the whole*, when it is extorted only by force and threatnings, and not exacted by Law; when it is a yielding only to a lesser suffering, and not consenting to a Sin to shift suffering. The Objection of a man being seized by a Robber, transacting with him to give him the one half, or more, to save the rest and his life, commonly made use of to justify the paying of these Impositions, while under the power and at the reverence of such publick Robbers, cannot satisfy in this Case. It is thus far satisfying, that there is a manifest Concession in it, that instead of righteous Rulers, we are under the power, and fallen into the hand of Robbers, from whom we are not able to rise up. But there is no parity. For to bring it home without halting, and make it speak sense, we must suppose that the Robber not only requires a part for himself, and a part for his underling Shavers, Horse-rubbers,

bers, &c. but a part upon this declared Account, that he may by that supply be enabled and furnished with all things necessary for murdering my Father, Mother, Wife, Children, Kinsmen and Friends (all whom he hath now in his power) yea, and for doing that besides, which is worse than all these put together Whether then shall I, by giving the Robber that part which he seeks, enable him to do all these mischiefs; or by refusing, expose myself to the hazard of being robbed or slain? Let the Conscience of any man answer this (for nothing can be here alledged against the party as now propounded) and then I fear not but the Objection shall be found a blaze of empty words, blown away by any breath. But alas! will this Tattle of a Robber be found relevant in that day, when the publick Robbers shall be proceeded against by the just Judge? Let them who think so, think also, they see the Court fenced, and the Judge set, and hear these words sounding in their ears, *Ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation*; and then they are like to lay as little weight on the Objection, for fear of falling under the weight of the Curse, as I do.

5. It is lawful *passively* by forcible constraint to submit to the execution of such wicked *Sentences*, as impose these burdens, if it be not by way of *Obedience* to them: this is suffering and not sinning. Hence it is easy to refel that Objection, if it be lawful (which hitherto was never questioned) for a man, who is sentenced to die, to go to the place of execution, then a man, being under the moral force of a Law, which is equivalent, may pay *Cesses*, *Localities*, *Fines*, &c. *Answ.* 1. Might it not be doubted, whether a man's going upon his own feet to be execute, had as manifest, and *from the nature of the thing*, a tendency, yea and proper Causality to advance the design of the enemy, and his refusing to go, had as clear a Testimony against the clamant wickedness of their Course, as his refusing to pay their Impositions. Whether, I say, in this case, a man might not, yea, ought not to refuse to go to the place of execution. But 2. Whosoever would conclude any thing from it, to give it either life or legs, must make it run thus: Let the order run in this

this form (else there is no parallel, and so no inference) we appoint all the Oppolers of our Course (that is all the Lovers of our Lord Jesus) whom we have for their rebellious Rendezvouzing at Conventicles sentenced as Enemies and Traitors to die, to come and be hanged by virtue of our sentence; otherwise besides the moral force of the Law, adjudging them to die, we shall use force, and drag them like Dogs to the place of execution; and in putting us to this Trouble, they shall fall under the reproach, that being sentenced to die, they scrupled forsooth, yea refused to go on their own legs to the Gibbet. Let this, I say, be made the Case, which to me is the exact parallel, and there every Child will know what to answer, or to hiss the Objection as pure ridicule. 3. I suppose the objection speaks of a righteous and innocent person, who for Righteousness is brought, as a sheep to the slaughter (for a Malefactor, who hath lost all right to his life, is not to be understood) then to make the Case parallel, it must be taken for granted, (1) There is a publick Law with the penalty of death, statute for the violation thereof. (2) That the person to be executed, hath not only transgressed that Law, but his disobedience to the Law is notour. (3) That he is processed and convict of the transgression thereof: Whereupon followes. (4) The Sentence, and then the Execution. Now the Law being wicked, and the man from the fear of God, being constrained to disobey the Law, he can in nothing be justly construed active, but in that disobedience or renitence: But in the whole of what befalls him for this, he being a captive Prisoner, is to be looked upon as passive. Yea the very Act of going to the place of execution in the present Case, howbeit, as to its Physical entity, it is of the same kind with the Executioners Motion that goes along with him, yet in in its Moral and Religious being, whence it hath its specification, its, wholly the Suffering of a Captive. Well then, ere any thing can be pleaded from the pretended party; seeing there are Laws, made for paying such Exactions, *Cesses*, *Salaries*, and *Fines*, for the declared ends of ruining the people and Interests of Christ; 'tis necessary, in order to a just parallel, that the Law must be first

first disobeyed. (2) The disobedience must be notour. (3) The delinquent must be processed and pursued, as guilty of the transgression, and convicted thereof, whereupon Sentence passeth against him for the breach of the Law. Here I grant all with advantage to the Cause: As in the first Case, so in this, he who is judged guilty of the breach of this wicked Law, and who is sentenced for that violation, ought to suffer *patiently the spoiling of his goods*, and not to decline suffering, if it were unto blood, striving against this sin.

6. 'Tis lawful of *two evils* of Sufferings to chuse the least: where both come in the election, as in the Cases forementioned, and in a man's throwing of his goods over board in a storm; these and the like are deeds in the present exigent voluntary and rational, being upon deliberation and choice, where the least evil is chosen under the notion of good, yea of the best that can be in the present case, and accordingly the will is determined, and meets and closes with its proper object: Or one of them only be proposed to be submitted to, but another lesser evil of suffering is in a mans power to chuse and propose, for purchasing his immunity from a greater; which is not imposed nor exacted of him, either by a wicked Law, or for wicked ends declared, but voluntarily offered; as in the Case of parting with some money to a Robber or Murderer to save the life, when he is seeking only the life; as the ten men that were going to the House of the Lord, said unto *Ishmael*, *slay us not for we have treasures in the field*, for which he *forbare and slew them not*, *Jer.* xli. 8. In this a man does nothing, which under such circumstances is not only lawful, (one of the main ends for which goods are given to him, to wit, the preservation of his life, being thereby attained), but it were a grievous sin, and would conclude him guilty of self-murder, not to make use of such a mean for preservation of his life, which God hath put in his power, and is in the case called for by his precepts. But however force may warrant one to do that, which may be done for shunning a greater evil of loss; yet it is never sufficient to make one do that which is a greater evil, than all the evil that can be said to be shunned: for the evil shunned is suffering, but

but the evil done to shun this, is real and active concurrence, in manner, measure, and method, enjoined by law, in strengthning the hands of those who have displayed a banner against all the Lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ; a manifest choosing of sin to shun suffering, and a saving of life with the prejudice of that in the preservation whereof he should be ready to lay down all, and be at a point to endure the worst this wicked world can make him suffer, ere he be found guilty in the matter of a compliance of that nature. And tho' the rod of the wicked should seem to rest on his lot, for his refusal, and he be the object of their rage and revenge, for holding his integrity; yet he shall be honoured as a faithful witness, helped to endure, and seeing him who is invisible, and amidst all his sufferings and sorrows, made to rejoice, in the hope that when God shall lead forth these Workers of iniquity, he shall not be found amongst the company of these who have turned aside with them into their crooked courses, and for that shall be overturned and crushed with them, under the curse that is hovering over their heads. It is true, a man should not cast himself and his family (which if he provide not for, he is worse than an Infidel) upon sufferings, either needlessly or doubtfully, when he is not persuaded it is truth and duty he suffers for, and of value sufficient to countervail the loss he may sustain for it. But, on the other hand, in the present and all like cases it is highly of the concernment of all men to be careful and circumspectly cautious, when the case comes to be stated upon suffering or not suffering, in examining well whether the course, whereby a man shuns suffering be of God, and not to take plausibilities for demonstrations; seeing the flesh is not only ready to inculcate that doctrine, *spare thyself*, but is both witty of invention to plead for what will afford ease, and as unwilling to listen to what would, if attended unto, expose us to the malice and rage of rigorous emies: it being always more becoming the Professors of the Gospel, and the Followers of our Lord Jesus, who must walk to Heaven bearing his Cross, to abstain at all hazards, when the case is doubtful, than to rush forward upon an uncertainty, when it is not evident they have

God's approbation for what they do. Yea, suppose a person erred to his own hurt in the first case, through weakness, yet it will argue much more sincerity and uprightness towards God, and is done with less danger than in the other. And as many as walk according to this rule, are like to have the peace of the *Israel* of God, to compense whatever of trouble or loss they may meet with in the world, when others shall not have this *bird of Paradise* to sing in their bosom.

II. But shunning prolixity, to come nearer the point, because perhaps some may alledge such cases are not determined in the Scriptures, nor can any case be found parallel to these under consideration, from which we may gather the determination thereof; which I think indeed hard to find, because in the wickedness of former ages such monstrous exactions had never a precedent, for such declared ends, so declaredly impudent. I shall make some suppositions, and propose some questions, all of a piece, and some way parallel to this under debate, and leave any conscience touched with the fear of God, to answer.

1. Suppose, when our Lord *Jesus* and his Disciples were tossed upon the waves by the storm at sea, and he was sleeping, that then *Herod* or *Pilate*, or the Chief Rulers, had sent peremptory orders to all men, to supply and furnish with such things as he had, the men they imployed, to capacitate them once for all and for ever to sink that floating bottom out of sight; and that somewhat should be given to the Soldiers engaged in that enterprize, somewhat to the *Pharisees* for persuading them to it, and Fines to be exacted from the Recusants, and rewards to be given to such as should keep them in custody that should fall in their hands, either of them that refused to pay the moiety prescribed, or of such of them as should escape drowning. In this case would, or durst any of the Lovers of *Jesus* comply with any of these demands? and not rather chuse to perish with him, or in opposition to such wicked attempts? Now, hath not the Lord Jesus, and all the interest he hath in the nation, been imbarqued as it were in one bottom, and floating like a wreck in the sea? And have not these

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called Rulers in this Land, in their rage against the Lord's Anointed, and the handful who adhere to him, sent their peremptory orders to pay a *Cess* for sinking his floating interests; and to pay the *Curates* for persuading to it; and *Fines* for not concurring in it; and rewards to *Jaylors* and others that are appointed to oppress the Recusants? Who durst concur then in this compliance, who had love to Christ in exercise, and who had his Friends in the same bottom imbarqued? And besides, seeing the great God had the man of whom this is required, bound with his own consent, under a sacred and solemn Oath, and under the penalty of never seeing his face, if he do not venture life and fortune to preserve that precious interest, and all who are imbarqued with it from perishing. Shall he, notwithstanding of this, give what these enemies to Christ, call for as his concurrence, to enable them to execute their wicked contrivance? Does any man think or dream, that the pitiful plea, of what they call a *moral Force*, will clear and acquit him before God from the guilt of a concurrence in this Conspiracy, while in the mean time he furnished whatsoever these enemies demanded of him, with this express *Declaro*, that it was for this cause exacted, and for this end imposed? Or can he think to be saved, when they shall be sentenced, who with so much deliberation and despight have done this thing? O let us consider the after reckoning! And let us not with pretenees distinguish ourselves into a defection, or distract ourselves into the oblivion of this, that God is righteous to whom the reckoning must be made.

2. Let it be supposed, under *Saul's* Tyranny, when the *Ziphims* informed him of *David's* hiding himself with them, or when *Doeg* informed him of *Ahimelech's* resetting him, that an order had been given forth to all *Israel*, with this narrative: Whereas that Rebel *David* had now openly despised authority, had been entertained by the Priest, received *Goliath's* sword from him, and gathered a Company of armed men together, therefore to the end he and his Complices, may be brought to justice, We ordain all from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, to concur either personally in this expedition against him, or to pay

*Cess* to our standing forces to maintain them in this expedition, or so much to gratify the *Ziphims* for their kindness, or to furnish *Doeg* with a sword, to murder the Priests of the Lord. Would any that favoured *David*'s righteous cause, have dared to do any of these? Would these that durst not concur themselves, contribute any encouragement to the Concurrers? Would *Sauls* Servants that would not fall upon the Priests of the Lord themselves, have given *Doeg* one of their swords to do it, or money to buy one, if it had been demanded? To the same purpose, suppose a party comes to a *Dissenter*, with an express order, and this narrative, Whereas there is such a Minister met with some people, at an *execrable Conventicle*, as they call it, (but in itself the pure worship of God) therefore to the end the Minister may be taken and murdered, and the Servants of the Lord for the countenance they gave him may be brought to the same punishment, they ordain him, for the accomplishing of their design, to furnish that party with all necessaries, or to pay such a sum of money for not concurring with them: now, should he in this case not only forbear to lay down his life for his brethren, and forbear to deliver them, that are thus drawn unto death on such an account, (into which forbearance the Great God will make so accurate an inquiry, *Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. as may make us tremble, whether we look backward or forward) but also furnish according to the tenor of this order, that party of the *Dragon*'s legions, in their war against the Prince *Michael* and his angels, with supplies, and think to put off the matter and plead innocent with this, that he was under the moral force of a law, accompanied with such military force, as if he had refused, they would have taken away all he had, *&c.*? For this plea, in its full strength, is to do evil, that some good may come of it, (no true good) which brings just damnation, *Rom.* iii. 8. or to choose sin rather than affliction.

3. What if *Manasseh*, or other idolatrous Princes, that sacrificed to Devils, and made children pass through the fire to *Molech*, had enacted a *Cess*, or under severe impositions of *Fines* had commanded all to concur to a solemn sacrifice of that nature, charging every man against

gainſt a certain day, to bring in his proportion, in order to celebrate the ſacrifice with all its ſtatute ſolemnities; or ſhould have taken a child from every father, and then made a law, that each of theſe ſhould contribute ſuch a ſum, for furniſhing with all neceſſaries, and maintaining theſe Murderers, whom they had conduced to ſhed the blood of their innocent children, or ſacrifice them to *Molech*: Could it be expected that any of the godly would have paid ſuch exactions, and then have wiped his mouth with the notion of a moral force? This comes home enough to our caſe: for no ſacrifice they can offer to the Devil, can be more real or ſo acceptable, as what they declare they intend to do; being ſo direct, not only an oppoſition to the coming of the kingdom of Chriſt, but the deletion of his precious intereſts, and extirpation of his faithful Remnant, and the giving Satan ſuch an abſolute dominion in the nation, as that they who have made the decree, and all who put it in execution, practically declare thereby they have manicipate themſelves to his ſlavery, and ſold themſelves to work wickedneſs in the ſight of the Lord: ſo likewiſe, that all the reſt of the nation, may with themſelves become his vaſſals, and in evidence of their oppoſition to Chriſt, and in recognition of Satan's ſovereignty, and their ſubjection, they are appointed to pay theſe back meals.

4. Let it be ſuppoſed, that after *Nebuchadnezzar* had made the decree, for all to fall down and worſhip his Image, and the three Children were apprehended for refuſing it, he had made another, that all the *Jews* eſpecially ſhould contribute, every one a Faggot, or Money to buy it, to heat the furnace, or a rope to lead them to it; Can any Man ſuppoſe, that *Daniel*, or the reſt of the faithful, would have paid it? Even ſo, let it be ſuppoſed, that any one of theſe faithful Ambaſſadors of Chriſt, or all theſe zealous Workers together with God, who have laboured among the People in the preached Goſpel, ſhould fall into the hands of theſe Hunters, and then they ſhould make a Law, and appoint every man in the Nation to ſend but one thread, to make a Tow, to hang that Miniſter, or to hang the whole Company of Chriſt's Ambaſſadors, and a Farthing to pay the Executioner: Can

Can any man, without horrour, think of complying so far as to contribute what is commanded? Or would not a gracious man, frighted into an abhorrence at the atrociousness of the wickedness, or fired into a flame of zeal for God, say without demur, as not daunted with fear of what flesh could do unto him, I will rather venture my All to keep them alive, or be hanged with them, than by doing what is demanded, be brought forth and classed in the cursed and cruel Company of those who shall be dragged before the Tribunal of Christ, with their fingers dyed and dropping with the blood of those who are peculiarly dear to him? I know it will be said, that in all these cases it would be a clear case of Confession. Well, that's all I would have granted: for that which doth overballance to a Testimony, in all the cases mentioned, is so far from being wanting in the cases now under consideration, that they have all to enforce the duty, that all of them put together do include; as will be clear to any who consider (1.) The preciousness of the things and Interests to be destroyed. (2.) The Concurrence called for from every one, that this desperate design may be accomplished. (3) The great, manifold and indispensible obligations all are under, not only to abstain from the required concurrence, but to preserve also and maintain these things in opposition to all whom Satan sets on work to serve him in this Expedition against the Son of God, and to do it, or endeavour it with the loss of life, and all things dearest to men, to the end, that these things which are Satan's eyesore, as only obstructive of his kingdom, may be preserved among the poor Remnant, and propagate in their power and purity to the posterity. Happy he, who shall be found so doing now, when the Dragon and his angels are drawn into the fields, and have proclaimed the war, and published to the world the causes thereof; so that now this General having laid aside all his old disguises, doth in his true shape march upon the head of his black Legions, who wear his badge and colours, and fight under his banner and standard.

III. In the last place, with all possible brevity, I shall

shall offer some *Reasons* against compliance with these Exactions *in cumulo*.

1. To pay these Impositions, upon such declared Accounts, for such declared Causes, and for such declared Ends, would condemn the Contendings and Sufferings of many eminently godly, especially in our day, who have refused them. Of these Questions and Sufferings thereupon, among the godly in former times, we cannot instruct much, for such insolent impositions, as to all the dimensions of their heinousness, were never heard before. But we want not examples of the Saints refusing to give their money and other such things to wicked men, either to comply with their wicked demands, obey their wicked laws, encourage their wicked courses, or further their wicked designs. In Scripture we find *Paul* would not give *Felix* money that he might be loosed, tho' he sent for him often for that end, *Acts* xxiv. 26.

Mr. *Durham* in his Exposition of the *Revelation*, chap. vi. verf. 9. *Lect.* 6. *p.* gives an account, 'That when 'in the persecution of *Diocletian*, the Persecutors sought 'but the Bibles, poors coats, money, or cups (wherewith 'they served) to be given them, as some evidence of their 'ceding: but they refused to accept deliverance upon 'these terms; yea, when the soldiers, partly wearying 'to be so bloody, partly desirous of seeming victory over Christians, did profess themselves content to take 'any old paper or clout in place of the Bible, they refused 'to give any *Ecvola* (as it was called from the Greek 'ἐκβαλλω) or *cast-away Clout*; yea, when Soldiers 'would violently pluck such things from them against 'their wills, they would follow them, professing their 'Adherence unto the Truth, and that they had not any 'way willingly delivered these things, as is to be seen in '*Baronius*, *An.* 303, *p.* 748. it is reported of one *Marcus Arethusius*, who was put to torment under *Julian*, 'because he would not build the Idol Temple which he 'had formerly demolished, when they were content to 'accept some part of the Expenees from him, and to 'spare his life, he refused to give *obolum*, or *one half-penny*, *Sozom. lib.* 5. 9. *Cent. Mag. Cent.* 4. *p.* 797 and 833.

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By which and many other instances we may see, how resolutely the primitive Saints held fast their Testimonies: from which especially they were called *Martyrs* or *Witnesses*; and by which often, not only many weak ones were strengthned, but also many Persecuters convinced, and made to cry out, *Certainly great is the God of the Christians*; while as they saw, that no Allurements on the one side, nor Terrors on the other, could make them loose their grips, but still Truth and Christ were born witness unto, and well spoken of by them. It will not be unnecessary here to consider some of Mr. *Durham*'s observations on the fourth Lecture; for clearing whereof he adduced these matters of *Fact*, such as *Obs.* 7. That the giving of a Testimony by outward Confession of the Truth, when called for, is necessary and commendable, as well as soundness of Faith; yea, it is oftentimes the outward testifying of the Truth before men, more than the Faith of it before God, that bringeth on suffering: and there was nothing more abhorred in the primitive Christians than dissembling of a Testimony, to evite suffering, as appeareth in *Augustine*'s Writings *concerning a Lie, and against a Lie*, and the Writings of others to that purpose. *Obs.* 8. That every Truth of the Word may be a ground of suffering warrantably: for the least thing that hath a Truth in it, as well as the more concerning fundamental Truths, is the Word of God, and so cannot be dispensed with by his people. *Obs.* 9. Every Truth in the Word hath an outward Testimony joined to it, and sometimes may be called for upon very great hazards. *Obs.* 10. When it is called for, this Testimony or Confession to any Truth before Men, is no less necessary, and ought as peremptorily to be held and stuck to as the former; therefore it is called (*Rom.* x.) *Confession unto Salvation*, and called for by a peremptory certification, *Matth.* x. 32, 33. *Obs.* 11. That these who are sound in the Faith of the Word, will be also exceeding tenacious of their Testimony; in Scripture, and in primitive times, we will find the Saints sticking at, and hazarding themselves on things which appear of very small moment,

'ment, yet were to them of great concernment, becauſe 'of the Teſtimony, which was involved in them, which 'they would not let go. Such was *Mordecai*, *Eſther* iii. '*Daniel* vi. his not ſhutting of his windows. Yea fur-'ther, in his lately printed Sermons on *Matth* xvi. 24. '*Serm.* 7. *p.* 155. the ſame Author ſaith: There is not 'in ſome reſpect a more and a leſs in the matter of duty 'and in the matter of Truth, or in reſpect of ſuffering. 'And a little after, Sect. 5. he ſays, We would not limit 'ſufferings for Chriſt to things ſimply lawful or unlaw-'ful; for it may be ſometimes for things *indifferent* in 'their own nature, which yet being ſo and ſo circum-'ſtantiated to us, may draw on ſuffering; a thing may 'be indifferent and lawful to ſome, which to others, 'ſtated under ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, may be coun-'ted a receding from ſome part of a juſt Teſtimony; 'even tho' the matter be not ſuch in itſelf, and in its 'own nature, yet it may be ſo circumſtantiate to ſome 'perſons, as it may be liable to that Conſtruction, if 'they ſhall recede from or forbear it; as in the Example 'of *Daniel*, who ſuffered for opening his windows, 'which was a thing indifferent in itſelf, and not eſſen-'tial to his worſhipping of God; but——he finds him-'ſelf bound in conſcience, and that on very juſt ground, 'to do as he was wont to do before, and that on the 'manifeſt hazard of his life, leſt his malicious enemies 'ſhould have it to ſay, that he receded from his duty, 'and that he thought more ſhame now, or was more a-'fraid now, than before, to worſhip the true God.'

How worthy Mr. *Knox* argueth for with-holding E-moluments from the falſe Biſhops and Clergy, may be ſeen before, *Part* 1. *Per.* 3. *p.* 28, 29.

The General Aſſembly, in their Declaration, dated *July ult.* 1648. concerning the then unlawful Engagement in a War againſt *England*, plainly and poſitively dehort-eth all Members of the Kirk of *Scotland* from contribu-ting any Aſſiſtance thereunto, expreſſed as followeth, 'That they do not concur in, nor any way aſſiſt this 'preſent Engagement, as they would not partake in o-'ther mens ſins, and ſo receive of their plagues; but 'that by the grace and aſſiſtance of Chriſt, they ſtedfaſtly 'reſolve

'resolve to suffer the rod of the wicked, and the utmost 'which wicked mens malice can afflict them with, rather 'than to put forth their hands to iniquity.' In which Declaration may be seen at large that candour, faithfulness and freedom which becometh the Ministers of the Gospel, and dignity of Watchmen, in their seasonable warning and diswading all from assisting any way to that unlawful Engagement, perceiving the Sin and Snare thereof, so obviously tending to the involving the Land in guilt, and exposing to wrath; yea, and that notwithstanding of the fair and plausible Pretexts of the Engagers and Joiners therein, who pretended and professed their Undertaking to be for the furthering Reformation, establishing and securing the Covenanted Religion from the Plottings and Endeavours of the Popish, Prelatick and Malignant Enemies thereof, and prosecuting the Ends of the Covenants; Pretences which no doubt our silent and time-serving Ministers (if they had any such now to plead) would strenuously improve, in vindication of their prudent Silence, sinful and shameful Compliances. Alas, how sad and lamentable is the Condition of the Church and Nation now! that even when the Case is so far altered, that not only all such Pretences are laid aside, Reformation deserted and disdained, the established Religion razed and ruined, the Covenant broken and burned, and the owning the Obligation thereof declared Treason, but also an absolute Power pleaded and exercised, to the suspending, stopping and disabling all penal Laws against Popery and Prelacy, a Gap opened by an Antichristian Toleration to the letting in all the Heresies, Idolatries and Blasphemies of the *Mother of Harlots*, and the Land openly defiled therewith, unjust and wicked Taxations arbitrarily imposed and levied, for the most dreadful, sacrilegious and hellish Ends that ever was published to the World, far exceeding in wickedness these testified against by the Assembly 1648, or any formerly. While the Watchmen have so far abandoned their Duty of setting the Trumpet to their Mouth, and giving due Warning of the sin and danger of those dreadful and Judgment-procuring Courses, that they are caught in the Snare, and found complimenting and encouraging the

the principal Instrument of all these Evils, by their scandalous flattering Addresses.

How faithful and tender some have been even in our Day their Sufferings and Losses in a measure above others makes manifest, amongst whom the worthy *Laird of Kersland* is not to be forgotten, whose Estate, heritable and moveable, was declared forfeited and seised, for his appearing in Arms to join with that faithful Party, who, by horrid Oppression, were forced to betake themselves to defensive Resistance in the Year 1666; who, considering the Equity of the Cause he appeared for, the indispensibleness of the Obligations binding him to that Duty, and how much a good Conscience is to be preferred to an Estate, durst not part with the sweet Comforts of the one for the uncertain Profits of the other: And as he was earnest with God by frequent and fervent Prayer, for Light and Stedfastness in the matters of his Suffering and Testimony, so it pleased the Lord so to determine his Heart therein, as that all the Endeavours and Perswasions used both by Friends and Foes, to move him to a Composition with the Enemies for his Estate, proved unsuccessful; yea, it is well known how that severals, both of his near Relations and others, who used the most forcible and perswasive Arguments, as the consideration of the ancient and honourable Family he was descended from; the miserable case that he, his Lady and Children should be in, without his Estate; the Counsel and Judgment of grave and godly Ministers; the Freedom and Practice of other learned and knowing Men; together also with the Imputation of vain Scrupulosity, simple and unwarrantable Nicety and Precisenes, &c. that yet even some of those who dealt most with him, were, by his Defences and Reasonings, convinced of the Equity of his Cause, and brought to commend his upright Resolution, and to applaud his Tenderness and Faithfulness; and in particular his own Father, who pleaded much that he would only consent, that he, with others of his Friends, might compone in favours of his Family, and that he himself should be noways concerned in it further than to assent that the Thing be done; but could not pre-

prevail, who afterwards blessed God that he did not; declaring, that he had much more satisfaction and comfort in his Son's Honesty and Stedfastness, than many such Estates could ever have afforded him.

I shall here mention some Considerations which prevailed with him to decline all Composition directly or indirectly with the Enemies in that matter. (1) That he could never attain to Freedom to use any such manifest Dissimulation, as deliberately to assent to any thing that might import his acknowledging that to be a Sin and Fault, (yea such a Sin and Fault as Rebellion) which he was convinced in his Conscience to be unquestionable Duty both before God and Man, nor thereby dissemblingly to insinuate his undoubted Right to his Estate, to be in the person, or at the disposing of any other. (2) Considering that there can be no new Right procured upon a Composition, and granted to any, but such as shall carry in the Narrative thereof that he had forfeited that Estate by Rebellion, with a long Preamble, condemning the Cause of God, and dutiful Endeavours of his People for Reformation, and in defence of Religion and Liberty, all as Sedition, Rebellion and Treason; whereupon he resolved rather to part with his Estate, than be any way instrumental and occasional to the indignifying that holy and honourable Cause, with such disdainful, reproachful and blasphemous Epithets. And albeit such Tenderness in Principle and Practice of this worthy Gentleman, and of many others of the faithful Sufferers in our Day, be censured and condemned by the lukewarm and worldly-wise Professors in this Age, as an unprecedented Novelty, or precise and unwarrantable Notion; yet we find it the same with the faithful Sufferers in former Ages, and exactly agreeing with the Doctrine and Principles of the most orthodox and famous Divines; for the reverend and learned *Calvin* having the same Case of Conscience proposed to him by the Godly, persecuted in his Age, to which his solid and faithful Answer is extant in his 375 *Epistle*, *Article* 3. thus proposed and answered: 'Whether the Confiscation of 'Goods can be sought back again from a Prince, in the 'name

'name and behalf of these who are forfeited for Religion?' To which he answers, 'That it is certain it 'cannot be done without Sin; for the new Right, or 'the *De Novodamus* (as we call it) granted by the Prince, 'doth really contain open Blasphemies against the Glory 'of God; because therein Mention is made of Errors, 'Crimes, and divine Lese-majesty, whereof the con-'demned are found guilty; which new Right must, in 'Law, be exhibited by him who intendeth to use the 'same; and that as a certain kind of Approbation, no-'ways to be tolerate. Wherefore, I see not that it is 'lawful for a Godly Man rightly instructed in the Go-'spel, to involve himself into such Fictions.'

2. From the *Fountain* and *Conveyance* whence they proceed, the Iniquity of these Payments might be concluded; which is nothing else than that arbitrary Power domineering over us, and oppressing and overpressing the Kingdoms with intolerable Exactions; which to pay is all the Consent and Concurrence required of us to entail Slavery on the Posterity. I mean, to pay it out of Submission only to the Moral Force of its Imposition, which is all the Justification required of that absolute Tyranny imposing it. For we have the Testimony of a King for it, (*King* James's *Speech to the Parliament, in* 1609.) *That a King degenerateth into a Tyrant, when he leaveth to rule by Law, much more when he begins——to set up an arbitrary Power, impose unlawful Taxes*, &c. It can be denied by none, that know either Religion or Liberty, and are not Enemies to both, that these Impositions under Consideration, upon such Accounts, for such Ends, are as unlawful Taxes, and as illegally and arbitrarily imposed, as ever could demonstrate the most despotical Absoluteness, Paramount to all Law, or Precedent, but that of *Benhadad*, of a very tyrannical Strain, *Thus saith* Benhadad, *thy silver and thy gold is mine--yet I will send my servants, and they shall search thine house, and it shall be that whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put in their hand, and take it away.* 1 Kings, xx. 3, 6. which even an *Ahab* and his Elders would not hearken to nor consent. But from an exotick Dominator this were not so intolerable, as from such as pretend

pretend an hereditary Right to govern, who should *remove violence and spoil, and take away their exactions from the Lord's people*, as *the Lord saith*, Ezek. xlv. 9. But instead of that, *That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward: and the great man uttereth his mischievous desire: so they wrap it up*, Mic. vii. 3. the easy Compliance with which, makes *Zion* as the grape-gleanings of the vintage. If those Exactions be wicked, then Compliance with them must be iniquity: for it justifies the Court that enacts and exacts them, a packed *Junto* of a prevalent Faction, made up of perjured Traitors, in a course of enmity against God and the Country, who, to prosecute the War against the Almighty, and root out all his people out of the Land, condescend upon these *Cesses*, *Fines*, &c. as a fit and adapted *Medium* thereunto. Wherefore, of necessity, all that would not own that Conclusion, as their own deed, in these Representatives, and own them as their Representatives in that deed, must bear witness against the same, by a Refusal to own the Debt, or pay the same. But I shall conclude this, with observing (1.) The holy and remarkable righteousness of the Lord, that we, who would not contend earnestly for the Liberty of the Gospel, who would not acquit ourselves like men, in witnessing our Loyalty to Christ, were not fixed in our Engagements, nor stedfast in holding the Liberties wherewith Christ hath made us free, did not reclaim nor reluctate, when we saw our Royal Master's Prerogative invaded; should be trode upon in all Civils, and treated as Slaves, even by these, whom we had gratified with a base and sinful forbearance to plead for God, and preserve from their violence these things, these precious and invaluable things, which we should have kept more tenderly than the apple of our eye. O the reluctancy of this righteousness, in making the gods whom we have served smite us, and in making them whose interest we minded, with a Misregard and Perjury-involving neglect of the Interest of Christ, thus to destroy our poor pitiful Interests! And thus having taught them to be Captains over us, we must now sit in the house

house of bondage in our Land. (2.) Who will not adore and admire the Righteousness of the Lord, particularly in leaving some of these to be designedly trode upon, who not only were involved in the common guilt of not withstanding these Enbroachments, but first went a great way in concurring to the making of these wicked Laws; and now have been made to ly under the load, laid upon their loins by the hands of such, to whom they gave the hand in overturning the Work of God? Why should not they be spoiled? Why should not the young lions rore upon them, and make their Land waste? Why should not men of the same metal and foul with the children of *Noph* and *Tahapanes*, break the Crown off their head (or feed upon their Crown) who have sold, and set the Crown of Christ upon another's head, and concurred to crush his faithful Remnant? O let us learn to read and revere! Let us not be wheedled with we know not what, out of our good old Principles, into the espousing the Interest, or embarking into the same bottom with men of such Principles and Practices. And *whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord.* Great loving kindness, that he hath shewed to his poor Remant, in delivering us from deliverances by such Deliverers, whereby the work had been more really and more shamefully ruined, and the hope of the posterity more certainly razed.

3. From the declared *Ends* of all of them, declared either verbally or virtually, and indisputably and universally known; to wit, that by such exactions they might be enabled to maintain and prosecute the national rebellion against Christ, and root out his Gospel, and all the faithful Preachers and Professors thereof. These designs being notour, and the impositions demanded being the best expedients, and most adapted means to attain them, it cannot but be manifest, that whosoever complies with the means do co-operate with the ends: which, if any thing, will involve the Compliers in the Contriver's sin, and make the Payers obnoxious to the Enacters judgments. If they that take rewards to slay Innocents,

nocents, be liable to a curse, *Deut.* xxvii. 25. they cannot be free who give them; they cannot say *Amen* to it, who so co-operate to the effectuating the slaughter. If any thing make *Zion* liable to be plowed as a field, when the heads thereof judge for reward, *Mic.* iii. 11, 12. it must be, when they demand such rewards, and the demands are complied with. But some may pretend, and under that pretence think to shut the shower of suffering, and command the serenity and sun-shine of a good conscience too, and to shelter their soul under that shadow; that these exactions may be necessary for other ends: Can any State be without exactions? Is it not necessary that forces be maintained, and such as are in publick office in the kingdom? Wherewithal shall the nation be guarded against foreign invasion? Alas! the pretence is so false and frivolous as he could not escape the censure of foolish, who in answering it appeared serious, save in a just indignation at its empty vanity. What are these forces and publick Officers for? What are they employed about, but to promote the *Dragon*'s designs, and serve his drudgery? Shall these guard the nation, who, together with Religion, tread upon the poor remaining shadow of Liberty? Do they indeed fear a foreign invasion? No; it doth not hold us here: these called Rulers hide not their designs, but hold them to our eye that we may not pretend ignorance. They will do the greatest haste first: Christ and his interest is their great eyesore. This one *Jesus*, who calls himself a King, (yea, and he will be so to their cost), and his Subjects as the most dangerous party, are to be discussed in the first place: and thereafter, when they are liberate from that fear of his returning to his throne, whom they have exauctorate, (for, if ever he do, they are ruined, make haste, O Lord!) and have eaten the flesh and drunk the blood of his people, then they will be in a better case to defend the land, by shewing the enemy those teeth and tusks, wherewith they have torn the people of the Lord. But will men put out their own eyes, that they may be taken with the more tameness to grind in their mill, and make them merry at our madness? Have we lost our

senses,

senses, that we may with confidence jeopard our souls? Have they not invaded the Mediator's kingdom, and taken to themselves his house in possession? And because Reavers may not be Rewers, they will destroy all in the land, who seem faithful to Christ, and resolute to follow the Captain of the Host of *Israel*. But is it not enough that they menace Heaven? Will they mock us into the same rebellion with themselves? He will not be mocked, but turn their jest into earnest. I cannot here shift the transcribing some of the very words of that Author, whose reasonings I am but gleaning on this subject. 'Oh *Britain!* O *Scotland!* bent into, and bold in backsliding, the wrath of God, and thy wo seems to be 'upon the wing. And alas! I am afraid, that, by this 'crowning and Crimson wickedness, the Lord God Almighty is making a way to his anger, and preparing 'the nation for a sacrifice, to expiate in the sight of the 'world our perjury, defection and heaven-daring provocations. Alas! I am afraid, that the sword of the 'Lord, which shall avenge the quarrel of his Covenant, 'is near to be drawn,————that the Contributers, as 'well as the stated party of Contrivers, Decreers and 'cruel Executioners of these decrees, may fall under the 'blow of the furbished sword of the Lord God: and 'that the land of such abominations may be swept of 'its inhabitants with the besom of destruction, and soaked with the blood of those, who, instead of contending 'for Christ, have by this payment associate with his stated, his declared, and implacable enemies, whose rage 'is come up before him, and will bring him down to 'take revenge. Alas! my fears, my fears are multiplied upon me, that the war shall not only at last land in '*Britain:* But that he hath been all this while training 'up a *Militia* abroad, breeding them in blood, and teach-them how to be skilful to destroy, against the time he 'give them order to march, and put the flaming sword 'in their hand, to be bathed in the blood of backsliding '*Britain!* Oh, if our turning unto him, that he might 'turn away from the fierceness of his anger, might prevent this woful day! But since, instead of any turning

'unto him, we surpass the deeds of the Heathen, and 'outdo in wickedness all that went before us, and pro- 'ceed, with a petulancy reaching Heaven, from evil to 'worse; I am afraid, that all the bloodshed since the 'sword was drawn in the nations about, all the sacked 'cities, all the burnt dorps and villages, all the wasted 'countries, all the slain of the Lord by sea or land, all 'the pillagings, rapes, murders, outrages, (which rage 'itself could hardly outdo), all the horrid and inhuman 'cruelties, that have been committed during this bloody 'war (wherein the sea hath been dyed, and the land as 'it were drowned with the blood of the slain) all the 'truculent and treacherous murders of that Monster *Alva* 'in the *Low Countries*, all the incredible cruelties of the '*Guises*, and the bloodshed in the massacres of *France*, all 'the tortures that the people of the Lord have been put 'to in the valleys of *Piedmont*, by that little fierce Ty- 'ger the Duke of *Savoy*, all the savage and barbarous 'butcheries of the *Irish* massacre; shall be forgotten, or 'seem things not to be mentioned in one day, when 'what shall be done in *Britain* comes to be remembred. 'O *Britain*, O *Britain*: of all nations under the cope of 'Heaven, most ripe for the sickle of vengeance! shall 'this throne of iniquity, which hath framed so many 'mischiefs into laws, and all that are Complices in this 'wicked conspiracy, who now are gathering themselves 'against the souls of the righteous, and condemning the 'innocent blood, be able to save its subjects, when he 'comes to make inquisition for that blood? Or shall 'the subjects, calling in all from 60 to 16, be able to 'support the throne? Alas! in vain shall they offer 'to draw up, and draw the sword and defend, when the 'Lord God of Hosts draws his sword, to accomplish 'upon them the vengeance written, and wrapt up in 'these words, *He shall bring upon them their own iniquity, 'and shall cut them off in their own wickedness, yea the 'Lord our God shall cut them off.* Aud, if it come to this, 'then in that day, escape who will, professing Gentle- 'men, and others, who, in this, have complied with 'the Rulers, shall not escape: then shall they be paid

'for

'for this payment. The storm of his displeasure, (even 'though they get their souls for a prey, yea so much 'the more as he will not suffer them to perish eternally) 'shall be observed to fall particularly upon their houses, 'interests and estates. Who can think upon the wicked-'ness of *Britain*, with its just aggravations, and imagine 'the righteous Lord will proportion his judgments to 'the heinousness of our guilt, and his revenges to the 'rage, whereby he and his Christ hath been, and is op-'posed; and take other measures?'

4. From the *Nature* of these *Payments*, it is notour they are sinful *Compliances* and *Transactions* with Christ's declared enemies, and do pertake of unitive confederacies with them; which are demonstrated to be sinful, *Head* 3. *Arg.* 1. *in gen. pag.* Certainly such bargains cannot be discretive, exacted and complied with by persons no ways incorporate together, being only overcome by mere force: since they are not only demanded and granted acknowledgements of that power that imposes them, as legally lording over them, but obediential submissions to these wicked laws that enacts them; which is a formal justifying of these laws: for laws cannot be obeyed, except they be justified, seeing laws unjust and unjustifiable cannot be obeyed. Therefore, seeing the payment of the *Cess*, *Locality*, *Fines*, *Stipends*, *Fees*, *&c.* is an obediential compliance with the laws that enjoin them, that obedience can no more be justified, than the laws enacting such payments: which none can justify but he that is an enemy to those things for opposing which they are exacted. If then compliances with the wicked impositions and exactions of arbitrary Dominators, enemies to the work and people of God, be in Scripture condemned, then such payments cannot be justified: but such compliances are condemned, and cannot be approven. This was *Issachar*'s brand, that being a *strong Ass*, he couched between burdens, and bowed his shoulders to bear and become a servant to tribute, *Gen.* xlix. 14. This was *Asa*'s folly, that he so far complied with *Benhadad*, as to give money to take his help, 1 *King.* xv. 18. Condemned by the Prophet *Hanani*, 2 *Chron.* xvi. 7. *&c.* much

more if he had given it to help him. It is one of the instances of the evil that *Menahem* did in the sight of the Lord, 2 *King.* xv. 18———20. that when *Pul* the King of *Assyria* came against the land, he gave him a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him, which he exacted of *Israel:* This was certainly evil in the sight of the Lord; for if the confederacy was evil, then this price to procure it was evil also: and if *Menahem*'s exaction was evil, then *Israel*'s compliance was evil also; for thus *Ephraim* was oppressed and broken in judgment, because he *willingly walked after the Commandment*, *Hos.* v. 11. It was also a part and proof of *Ahaz*'s confederacy with *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Assyria*, that he sent money to him, 2 *King.* xvi. 8. Which to all the fearers of the Lord is condemned and discharged, *Isa.* viii. 12, 13. Which, if it was evil, then also *Hezekiah*'s compliance with *Sennacherib*, giving him money, and offering to *bear* that which was *put on him*, 2 *King.* xviii. 14, 15. was evil: and also *Jehojakim*'s taxing the land, to give the money according to the commandment of *Pharaoh*, 2 *King.* xxiii. 35. was sinful to the Exacter, and likewise to the Compliers. These were all sinful compliances and confederacies with the wicked, making their peace with them to whom they paid them: therefore all peace-making payments, by way of unitive agreement with the wicked, must be sinful. And accordingly in the time of *Montrose*, the *General Assembly* made an Act for *Censuring the Compliers with the publick Enemies of this Church and Kingdom*, *June* 17. 1646, *Sess.* 14. See *Part.* 1. *Per.* 5. *Pag.* 96 and 97.

5. Where these exactions are extorted only as badges of bondage, without consent unto the law imposing them, it is a case more suitable for lamentation than censure that *she that was Princess among the provinces should become tributary*, *Lam.* i. 1. But when they are acknowledgements of the Lawgivers, and an exact obedience to the law, and voluntary agreement and bargain with them, strengthening them to the prosecution of their mischiefs, they cannot be free of the Imposer's sin. It was the sin of the men of *Shechem*, and a proof of their heart's *inclination*

*nation* to follow *Abimelech*, that they gave him threescore and ten pieces of silver, enabling him to kill threescore and ten persons, and to hire vain and light persons to follow him, which they paid as an acknowledgement of his usurped power, *Judg.* ix. 3----5. for which afterwards fire came out of the house of *Abimelech* and devoured them. Certainly a voluntary consent unto a mischief is a partaking with the sin of it, a consent unto theft is a partaking with it, *Psal.* l. 18. But if there be any consent unto a mischief, it must be when the person agrees it be done against himself, and voluntarily subjects himself to the Force of the Law imposing it, and not only does not oppose or witness against the doing of it against others, but yields to its reaching himself, and gives what is demanded to strengthen the Robbers to exercise their Robbery over all. As the Payer of the *Cess*, *Fines* and *Fees*, *&c.* gives all the consent required of him to these Mischiefs framed into Law, not only to rob himself, but the Church and Nation of its dearest Treasure the Gospel, for the punishment of owning which, and as Means to remove it, these Payments are exacted. But the Plea of the Payers is, That they are constrained to it, and they do it against their will. *Ans.* 1. He who says he understands this, that the Payer of these Exactions can purge himself of the Guilt of them, is like to buy an After-wit at a dear Rate. Can it be thought by any man of knowledge and conscience, that so remote a Force makes the Deed involuntary, whereby the Payer is purged from the Guilt of accession to the Imposers Deed, whom hereby, in this very Imposition, he owns as his Representatives! 2. The Payment cannot be involuntary; for the Law enjoining it, being the publick and declared Will of the Nation, requires no other Voluntariness but Obedience, and judgeth no other Thing Involuntariness but Disobedience. So that the Law being satisfied, it absolves the Satisfier from all transgression, and looks upon all who yield Obedience as equally willing, and equally out of the reach of its appended Penalty, in case of Disobedience. Neither are we to please ourselves with other Fancies and fictitious Unwillingness, when real Obedience is yielded, whereby the Law is satisfied, and

and the Lawmaker capacitated thereby to act all his intended Mischiefs. For to be unwilling to part with Money in the case, as it is no Virtue in itself, so I suppose there are few who will be sollicitous to purge themselves of this. And to be unwilling from some strugglings of Light and Conscience, is such an unwillingness as aggravates the guilt of the Giver, and makes it more heinous in the sight of God, and hateful in the Eyes of all tender Men: the Law enjoining such Payments, takes no notice of such Reluctancies, only requireth Obedience; and when that is yielded, the Law is satisfied, as to the voluntariness of the Action, and must construe the Agent a willing Walker after the Command, and a voluntary Complier with the publick Will of the Nation. 3. It must be simply, really, and truly a voluntary deed, when there is *Deliberation* and *Election*. The Law requiring these Payments being promulgate, every man must be supposed to put the Question to himself, What shall I do in the Case? Shall I obey and be free? or disobey and suffer? Here is election and choice upon mature Deliberation; and so the deed becomes truly voluntary. This will be confirmed, if we consider the Law of God, *Deut.* xxii. 25. concerning *Rapes*. Where, to make the unvoluntariness of the betrothed Virgin, she must not only be supposed to struggle and resist the Attempt made upon her Chastity and Honour by the Villain; but she must cry for Assistance in that Resistance, without which she is held in Law willingly to consent to the committing of that Wickedness. And moreover, if we consider the Law, *ver.* 13. it will be manifest, in order to her escaping of death, that when violented, and the Villain hath committed this Villany, she is to carry as *Tamar* (when defiled of that beast, tho' of the Blood-Royal) did, 2 *Sam.* xiii. 19. that is, to complain and cry, and crave Justice against him, and be wanting in nothing, that may bring him to condign punishment. This doth aptly correspond to our Case. *Scotland* is the betrothed Virgin: We were espoused to Jesus Christ, and joyned to him, by a Marriage Covenant, never to be forgotten; but the Rulers, and with them the body of the Land have

have treacherously broken it; yet there is a Remnant that adhere to him as Head and Husband; because of which, these called Rulers incensed against him, will violently commit a *Rape* upon them, and have them prostitute their bodies, their fortunes, yea their Souls and Consciences to their lusts, and thus they will needs ravish the Queen in the King's presence. And so, while with displayed banner they declare they will drive our Covenanted Husband out of the Nation, and destroy all who will own him as such, they call for our Assistance and Complyance, to enable them to accomplish this wickedness. Now either must we make all the Resistence that is in our power; or the Law judgeth us willingly to consent, and because of that we fall in the hands of the Righteous Judge, and have neither the evidence of our Resisting, nor Crying, nor pursuing the wicked for this violent *Rape*, to produce and plead upon, why Sentence should not pass, and the Laws just severity be execute upon us. What? Alas! do they declare they will stone our Husband? (Ah! for which of his good deeds is this done) And shall they make a Law whereby we shall be obliged to furnish them with stones to do it? And shall they be obeyed? Is this our struggling? Is this our Crying? Is this our endeavour that the wicked may be brought to condign punishment? Oh! let us meditate terror, lest we be brought forth as willing Consenters! For whatever vengeance the jealous and just God shall execute upon them, who have committed the Rapt, shall equally, in its crushing and everlastingly confounding weight, fall upon them who do not by their Refusing, and their resisting make their unwillingness manifest; which in the present Case is their struggling, their Crying, and calling God and man, to witness, they are not Consenters, but continue constant and loyal in their love to their betrothed Husband.

6. A formal *Consent* to the wickedness of these Impositions were the less matter, if the payment of them were not also a *Concurrence* to assist them, and a strengthening their hands in it. But this is so manifest, that the paying of the *Cess*, *Locality*, *Fines*, *Fees*, &c. is a Con-

Concurrence with, and Contributing towards the promoving the wicked designs for which they are impoſed, that he muſt have a conſcience of braſs, and in a great meaſure ſeared who will run upon ſuch a formal Engagement againſt the Lord and his anointed King in *Zion*. If it was *Aaron's* ſin which *made the people naked, and which brought ſo great a ſin upon them*, to take, and the peoples ſin and ſhame to give, that Contribution of Golden ear-rings for making a Calf, *Exod.* xxxii. 3. &c. And if it was *Gideon's* ſin to take, and *Iſrael's* to give, that Contribution of the ear-rings of their prey, to make an *Ephod*, *Judg.* viii. 25. Then, as it is our oppreſſors ſin to take, ſo it muſt be our ſin and ſhame to give, their demanded Exaction to help them in erecting ſuch Idols of Jealouſie, as they have ſet up, and are commanding all to bow to, to provoke the Lord to Jealouſie, eſpecially when they affrontedly require ſuch Contributions to be payed, both as puniſhments for not aſſiſting, and as means to aſſiſt in their eſtabliſhment. *ſhould we thus help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord*? And will not this bring down *wrath* upon us *from the Lord*? 2. *Chron.* xix. 2. Alas! inſtead of Arguing, it were more fit to fall a weeping, when its come to be a queſtion amongſt us, whether, inſtead of coming to the *help of the Lord againſt the Mighty*, we ſhall really *help the Mighty againſt the Lord*, and that while they call for our aſſiſtance formally upon this declared account. As the very inſcription of their Acts, does carry it in their front, requiring a *ſupply to his Majeſty* &c. If this be not a *Caſting in a Lot among them*, who can tell what it is? Sure it is a *preparing a table for that troup*, and a *furniſhing a drink-offering unto that number*, *Iſa.* lxv. 31. Seeing it is a ſupplying them with neceſſaries, to ſolemnize their Idolatrous feſtivities, who forſake the Lord, and not only forget but lay waſte his Holy Mountain, for which all that have any acceſſion to it, are threatned to be numbered to the ſword. If any thing be a *ſtrenthening the hands of evil doers*, *Jer.* xxiii. 14. certainly this is. For as they cannot accompliſh their curſed ends without theſe Exactions, ſo the payment of them is all the

the present, personal and publick Concurrence in waging this war with Heaven, that is required of the Nation, to wit, such a Sum to furnish them with all Necessaries, and maintain the Executioners of their Hell-hatched and Heaven-daring Decrees and Orders: and the Law requiring no more but contributing what is appointed, looks equally upon all the Givers, as Followers of the Command, and active Concurrers in complying with its end, and carrying on and promoving its design, and so assoils them from all the Statute-severities, in case of deficiency.

7. If it were only a *Concurrence* in their wickedness to pay those their exacted Supplies, it were more easily comported with: but I fear it shall be found a *Hire* and *Reward* for their wicked Service. At first they were only enacted and exacted, as *Helps* to capacitate this Popish, Prelatical and Malignant Faction, to prosecute the War they had undertaken and declared against Christ: But now, having thereby been enabled to carry it through this length, that they have almost got all visible Appearances for Christ, in owning his Gospel, and propagating his Testimony, quite suppressed by means of these Impositions, and having got the fields cleared of those that formerly opposed their Course and Career, and all obstacles removed that might stand in the way of the Reception they have prepared for their Mistress the *Babylonish* Lady, the *Mother of Harlots*; they now demand these payments, as their Wages and *Hire* for their labour; which to pay now, is more than a justifying, seeing it is a rewarding them for their Work. And to pay these Pimps, and to purchase their peace thereby, is worse than to *bring the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord* (Deut. xxiii. 18.) since it is a hiring them to bring the Whore into the House of the Lord. O how hath *Scotland* plaid the Harlot with many Lovers! Is this the zeal we should have had to our covenanted Husband, and the honour of his House, that we have not only suffered his Enemies to come in and take possession of it, but consented to their invasion; and not only consented, but invited them to come in; and not only invited them, but

but prostitute our Estates and Consciences also to their arbitrary lusts; and not only plaid the harlot with them, but hired them also when they had done! And for this the Lord may say to *Scotland*, as he said to his People of old, *They give gifts to all whores, but thou giveſt thy gifts to all thy lovers, and hireſt them, that they may come unto thee on every ſide, for thy whoredom. And the contrary is in thee from other women in thy whoredoms——in that thou giveſt a reward, and no reward is given unto thee; therefore thou art contrary*, Ezek. xvi. 33, 34. There *Iſrael* is taxed for hiring the *Aſſyrians:* But let it be conſidered and enquired into in the Hiſtory, how this was. What evidence can be given of this in their Tranſactions with them? Was only that they were enticed, or did entice them into a Communion with their Idolatry? It is true, *Ahaz* may be an inſtance of that, in his ſending the pattern of the Altar he ſaw at *Damaſcus*, 2 *Kings*, xvi. 10. And it cannot be denied, but in ſeveral reſpects they did partake with the *Aſſyrians* in their *Idolatry*, which was their *Adultery*. But what could be their hire they gave them for it, if it was not their Taxations they paid, and Money they ſent unto them? as *Ahaz* did, verſ. 8. and *Hezekiah* alſo, tho' a good man, 2 *Kings*, xviii. 14, 15. which can no more be juſtified, than *Aſa*'s paying to *Benhadad*. It was then their Confederacies, and the hire of them the Lord calls the hire they gave unto their lovers. With this alſo *Ephraim* is charged, that he hired lovers, *Hoſ.* viii. 9, 10. of this we have inſtances, in *Menahem*'s giving to *Pul* a thouſand Talents of ſilver, and exacting it of the people, 2 *Kings*, xv. 19, 20. And in *Hoſhea* his becoming ſervant to *Shalmaneſar* king of *Aſſyria*, and giving him preſents, 2 *Kings*, xvii. 3. If then hiring wicked men in Confederacies to help the Lord's People, be a hiring of lovers ſo much condemned in Scripture, what muſt a hiring of them to hurt them, and rewarding them after they have done, and when they formally ſeek it for ſuch work, be? but a giving the reward, they ſeek to ſlay the innocent (*Deut.* xxvii. 25.) and a voluntary yielding that which they take (*Ezek.* xxii. 12.) which if it be ſin in the Takers, cannot be

be justified in the Givers, but will render both obnoxious to the indignation of a provoked God, in the day when he shall begin to contend for the Wrongs he hath got, both by the Work and the Wages. Now let all the Acts for the *Cess* and *Continuation* thereof, and other Acts and Edicts for *Fines* and *Forfeitures*, be considered in their just import, according to the true meaning of the Enacters, and the Causes for which they exact them, and will have them complied with; it will be found they were both declared, intended and improved, and accordingly approved by the Compliers, not only as *Helps*, but as *Hires* for our Oppressors and Destroyers, and for such as have been, and are more destructive and explicitely declared Enemies to Christ's Interests and People in *Scotland*, than ever the *Assyrians* were to the Church in the Old Testament. The *Cess* was not only a help, but a hire to the Tyrant and his Complices, for suppressing Meetings for Gospel-ordinances; especially the *Continuation* of it, from time to time, was *humbly, unanimously, chearfully and heartily offered, for themselves, and in name of, and as representing this Kingdom*, as a hire for the doing of it, and an encouragement to suppress what remained of these *Conventicles*. The *Locality* was intended as a help to the Soldiers in their quarterings upon this account; but afterwards, being expresly discharged to be furnished, without peyment according to the current rates of the Country, *Act* 3. *Parl.* 3. K. *Charles* II. *Aug.* 20. 1681. The Contribution of it *for nought* must be interpreted for a reward of their service, *Fines* are appointed, not only for a punishment of Contraveeners of their wicked Laws, but for a hire to their most violent Executers. *Stipends* for a hire to their *hireling Curates*. And *Fees*, as a hire to *Jaylors*, to keep the Lord's People in bondage. By which hires these destroyers have been rewarded, by them whom they have destroyed, and for which the righteous Lord will reward both.

8. Let it be considered, how far these submissions are short of, and how clearly these compliances are inconsistent with, that duty which lies upon us with reference to

to them. Our Obligation to God and our Brethren doth indispensibly bind us to a contrary Carriage. If it bind us in our Station and Capacity to an active Renitency, it doth much more bind us up from such Compliances. Neither is it imaginable, how moral Force can ever justify our doing that deed, we are obliged, by all imaginable bonds, yea, if in any probable Capacity, by the utmost of real Force, to counteract. Can we give them that which they require, and by which they are enabled to murder our Brethren, when we are so indispensibly obliged to rescue our Brethren, *Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. to *relieve the oppressed*, Isa. i. 27. *to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke*, Isa. lviii. 6. What do we owe to these Enemies, but seeing they have constitute themselves by these Acts implacable Enemies to Christ, his People and Interests *in habite*, not only plainly and importunately to pray that he would overturn them, but to oppose their Course, to the utermost of our power, and to concur to wrest that power out of their hands? And since they will needs make the whole Nation a Curse, they are so far from being to be complied with, that for these Exactings and Exactions they are to be looked upon, and carried unto, not only as these who have sold themselves to work Wickedness, but endeavour also to engage with themselves all in the same guilt, and expose them to the same Curse. And therefore, that the Anger of the Lord may be turned away from his people, every one in his station is obliged to endeavour to bring these *Achans* to condign punishment.

9, As it must be taken for granted, thas these wicked Oppressions by Law are *Perjury* avouched in the sight of God; yea, in a peculiar manner, our covenanted Subjection unto him is turned into an open War against him: so we cannot but believe, that for this Height of Wickedness, the Curse of God (to which in the Covenant the Nation in case of breach, is liable by their own Consent) and the Mediator's Malediction shall follow, pursue, overtake, and fall upon the Head of these, who have made the Decrees, and upon all who

who concur in the Execution, and carry on this Course: Oh! 'tis impossible to keep them Company, and not fall with them into the hands of the living God. Well then, seeing every one from whom these Exactions are required, is under an anterior Obligation to God and the Brethren, to preserve these precious Interests, which the Imposers have been long essaying to root out and ruin, and his people whom they have been destroying, with the Loss of all he hath, Life not excepted. (For I suppose none, who acknowledgeth his Soul is still under the bond of the Covenant (and 'tis likely to cost him his Soul who denies it) but he will own this to be Duty; nay, none who hath any sense of Religion; but, abstracting from the subjective Obligation of a sworn Covenant, he will own an objective Obligation from the Law of the great Superior, that doth immediately bind the Conscience to witness against this Course, and to lay down, if it should come to that, his Life for his Brethren.) Then for a Man to give his Goods to destroy these things and persons, which he is obliged to defend and preserve with the loss of all, is so clear a making himself a Tyransgressor, in paying his proportion, and being at the Expence of destroying what he built, and building what he destroyed, that it seems inexplicable how he can dream to be innocent; especially when more lies upon it than the Souls of the Compliers are worth, even the Interest of Christ in the Land. And to close this, I would put home the Question, and pose the Conscience of any that took that Covenant, if in that day the Question had been asked at him, whether he would have judged the paying of a *Cess* for the Ends narrated, to suppress a Testimony for that Covenanted Reformation, the paying of *Fines* and *Fees* (for owning it) to the Overturners, Breakers and Burners of it, to be a plain Perjury and palpable counteracting of the Ends thereof? And let him speak his Soul, and 'tis beyond debate with me, he will not dare to say he took it in a sense which can subsist with these Compliances. Nay, I doubt not, if to any morally serious it had been then said, You will pay Money, &c. for destroying this Covenant and its Ends, and

and deleting the Remnant that shall be found to adhere to it, he would have given *Hazael's* Answer. It concerns every Man, that would be free of the Curse of it, to consider how he is brought to make Enquiry after Vows; or to dream of Consistencies betwixt the performing those Engagements, and the plainest concurring in a counteracting thereof.

10. If then these Impositions be so wicked, and for such wicked Ends and Causes; then, in order to my being free of this heinous Guilt, there is a necessity of my giving a *Testimony*, and such an one, which when brought to the Touchstone, will get God's Approbation, and be my Acquittance from a Concurrence. Now, it is not imaginable that my Testimony can be the exact Obedience to the Law, against the wickedness whereof it is witnessed; but on the contrary, it must be at least a plain and positive refusing to yield Obedience to that Law, when I am in no other case to counteract these Commands; for I must either obey and be guilty, or refuse and be innocent. I shall not here plunge into the Labyrinth of these debates and difficulties, wherewith this matter of Testimonies hath been perplexed, and mostly by those who have had no great mind to the thing. I shall only propound these few Queries. (1) Whether any thing less than a Testimony can free me of this guilt, whereby the Nation involved in it is made a Curse? (2) Whether we believe that the Testimony of every one shall be called for, in the day when God shall seek out this wickedness? (3) Whether, if ever it be necessary, it be not then when Christ is openly opposed, and every one is called either to concur or to testify? (4) Whether a Testimony against a wicked Law must not be notour? for my Testimony must make it evident that the Law is not obeyed by me, else it is no Testimony. (5) Whether it be not necessary also, that it be with that plainness and boldness, as it may keep some proportion with the prodigiousness of that wickedness testified against? (6) Whether to the making it a Testimony indeed, it is not only required, that an Opposition be made at first, but that this be so persisted in, as by no subsequent deed

it

it be weakned? (7) Whether we do not take it for granted, that according as a man hath testified, the sentence of the righteous Judge shall pass? For he who hath not purged himself thereby from the guilt of this Conspiracy, shall be led forth and punished with these Workers of Iniquity. It is a saying which should sink in the Soul of every one who would be saved, especially in such a Day, *Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny*, &c. Oh that men would now judge of things and courses, as in that hour they desire to be judged! and then there would be little difficulty what to determine in the Case.

11. From what is said it appears, that there is no other way of testifying against it, or shunning the sin of this wickedness, imposing and enjoining these Compliances, but by refusing them: which, as it is clear Duty, so it hath many *Advantages* to countervail all the supposed Loss that can be sustained thereby. It is a shameful Subterfuge to say, I strengthen them more by doing thus, which will make them take all, and so put themselves in better case to do the Mischief decreed. For as it is then my Suffering, not my Sin, so it is simply false that I do hereby strengthen their hands; for hereby I do more certainly weaken their hands, and wound their Cause, by my counteracting, testifying and suffering. For, 1. I do really, to the uttermost of the Sphere of my Activity, counteract their Design; and hence, besides my own upmaking Peace of Conscience, (which is my Hundredfold in this Life) I glorify God in the day of Visitation, behaving as the Subject and Soldier of the Prince *Michael*; and tho' I lose my Life in the Conflict, yet the Victory over the *Dragon*, and his Lieutenant and Trustees, and their *Lictors*, is thereby gained, and they are foiled, while I fight and overcome, by my not loving my Life in the present case unto the Death. 2 I do by my Example encourage my Brethren to stand fast, and withstand in this evil Day. 3. I hereby transmit to Posterity a Pattern for Imitation, and so propagate an Oppo-

Opposition to this Course to succeeding Generations. 4. I hereby (so to speak) engage God to arise and appear to plead his own Cause and his Peoples: for when we, out of Love to him and Zeal for his Interests, take our Lives in our Hands, or expose our Substance as a Prey in witnessing for him, then he is engaged to own us, and to plead his Cause, taking the Quarrel then to be against himself. Hence it is that when he puts on the Garments of Vengeance for Cloathing, and goes forth to meet them, who, in their risings up against his people, run upon the bosses of his Buckler, his Arm is said to bring salvation to himself, *Isa.* lix. 16, 17. and *Isa.* lxiii. 5. This keeps a Man in case to pray against such a Party; whereas a Compliance with them, in the least degree, will wound a Man's Faith, and weaken his Confidence, so that he cannot wrestle with God to prevail: For that wherein his Strength lay, a good Conscience, being sinned away, in vain doth he essay, when he hath cut his own Hair, to shake himself as at other Times. Alas! if by keeping a due Distance from his Enemies, we were in case to play the *Samsons* or *Jacobs* on our Knees, this Enemy, who think it their stability to stand upon the Ruins of Christ's Interest, should not stand long upon their feet. He who would have his Prayer heard, *Thy Kingdom come*, should make his Practice, in a conformity thereto, speak this plain Language, *If I perish I perish*, but comply I will not: for 'tis not necessary that I live, or have an Estate, but 'tis necessary I should witness a good Confession against the wrongs done to Christ. 6. This keeps a man in case, either to act for God with advantage, if an Opportunity be put in his hand, or to suffer, as under his Supportings, and the shinings of his Face, whereby, even while dying, he becomes an Ornament to his Profession, gives a Dash to the Enemy, and so becomes more than a Conqueror.

12. Let us consider the matter of Scandal in the present Case, and remember whose Words these are, *Wo to the world because of offences*, and *wo to him by whom offences come:* And it will appear, the payer of these Exactions become highly guilty before God. 1. In stumbling

bling and hardening this Party of Enemies: For, tho' there was never a Party before them in the Nation (and I much doubt if ever a Party can come after them to outdo them) who had so many evidences of Plagues poured upon their Hearts, that he may pour forth his wrath, and cause his fury to rest upon them; and that, in his spotless Justice, he will rain Snares upon them, that thereafter he may rain fire and brimstone, and a horrible tempest, as the portion of their Cup, when he shall come to plead his own Cause: yet we would beware lest we do any thing that may embolden them, or make them bless themselves in this their stated opposition to Christ's. And because we know not but some of the Elect may, for a time, be carried down with the Current of this impetuous Opposition to him, and may concur actively for a season in promoving this Course, we ought, even upon this supposition, so to witness, and so to keep a distance from all apparent or interpretative Compliance with what they contrive and carry on, as they may, by beholding our stedfastness, be provoked to consider their own Course; that considering at last how their feet go down to death, and their steps take hold on hell, they may hasten their escape from the company of his Enemies, lest they be consumed with the fire of his Indignation, if found congregate with the men of these God-provoking practices. 2. By paying what is required, I stumble also and offend my weak Brethren, while by my example they are encouraged to rush into the same Compliance. O! let every man, whose Practice may be pleaded as a Pattern, remember that Word, and who spoke it, *It were better that a milstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea, than offend any of these little ones.* 3. Sufferers for refusing this payment are offended, when the payer doth not only encourage the Persecuters to proceed with rigour and rage against him, as a peevish and froward Malecontent, but does what in him lies to wound the heart and weaken the hands of such a faithful Witness: whereas, if the poor Sufferer saw himself, by a joint Testimony owned by his Brethren, he would be comforted, strengthened, and be-

come more confident in the Conflict. 4. In paying these things the Compliers, either by their example, lay a snare for the posterity, to whose knowledge their carriage may come; and so instead of leaving them a Pattern of contending earnestly for the Faith, they spread a net for their feet, yea pave them a way to Defection and Apostasy; or else they engage the Great God, out of zeal to his own Glory, and tenderness to his People who shall succeed, for preventing of their following of such Progenitors, wherein they have not been followers of him fully, to give such a Testimony against their untenderness, and set such Marks of displeasure upon their Course, that the thoughts of turning aside with them, and following their steps shall be terrible to all that hear of it, lest, for such a Compliance, they fall as they did, for falling from their own stedfastness into the hands of the living God. But alas! for the Posterity, under whose Curse we are like to go off the Stage, because of our not having done what we ought, yea what we might; both for transmitting pure Ordinances unto them, and for not transcribing in our Practice the noble Example of our zealous and heroick Ancestors, who valiantly resisted when violently attacked, and by their valour wrestled us into a state of Liberty? Well, if we leave those that shall succeed us such an Example as this, he is like to make us such an Example as will fright the following Generations, and force them to serve themselves heirs to them who have gone before us, who did acquit themselves as the good Soldiers of Jesus Christ, and not to us, the debt of whose declensions and defections cannot be paid, without the destruction of those who shall serve themselves Heirs to us. But alas! who does think on what he ows to the poor Posterity; or who doth make Conscience to preserve for them that precious Treasure put in our custody, and judges it more necessary than to live, to leave the Tract of a way of contending zealously for God, and the Preservation of his Interests, and the Propagation of his own pure Ordinances to the Posterity, shining so clearly by Suffering and Blood, as the way-faring Man, and they who shall come after, tho'

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Fools, need not err therein. Our only Comfort is, that the Lord, who shall see his Seed, and must prolong his Days, will make his Pleasure prosper, and preserve some to be Witnesses of it to his Praise.

*FINIS.*

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## A POEM upon the MARTYRS Sufferings.

( 1 )

*LIKE as the Hinds and pleasant Roes*
*are chas'd, their Blood to spill;*
*So are the Followers of the Lamb*
*Pursu'd by Earth and Hell.*

( 2 )

*They are the Jewels of the Earth*
*That's precious in God's Eye,*
*Therefore the World them persecutes,*
*And holds them at Envy.* (John xvi. 33.)

( 3 )

*Ever since God did build his Church*
*She never hath had Rest;*
*But, like the Ark, in Waters deep,*
*With Troubles hath been tost.*

( 4 )

*Since* Abel *was by* Cain *slain,* (Gen. iv. 8.)
*Through Malice and Envy;*
*So hath been many Thousands since,*
*Whose Blood for Vengeance cry.*

( 5 )

*To Heaven their Blood sends up a Voice* (Rev. vi. 10.)
*That never will be still,*
*Until the Lord avenge the same*
*Upon their En'mies all.*

*The*

( 6 )

*The Cauſe for which they Witneſs bear* (Rev. xi. 10.)
*Doth ſo torment the Earth,*
*That at them they will Arrows ſhoot*
*So long as they have Breath.*

( 7 )

*The Teſtimony which they bear,*
*By it they ſhall o'ercome:*
*A glorious Victory ſhall they get,*
*Through the Blood of the Lamb.* (Rev. xii. 11.)

( 8 )

*And they that ſuffer with him here,* (2 Tim. ii. 12.)
*Shall alſo with him reign*
*Upon his Royal Throne above,*
*Where Saints and Angels ſing.* (Rev. v. 11, 12.)

( 9 )

*Why ſhould we then diſcourag'd be,* (Pſal. xlii. 5.)
*While we ſtand on this Stage,*
*Becauſe that Earth and Hell doth join* (Pſal. lxxxiii. 8.)
*Againſt the Saints in Rage?*

( 10 )

*But let us ſtand with Courage bold*
*For Rights of Chriſt our King,*
*With Sword of Faith, drawn in our Hand:* (Eph. vi. 16.)
*Chriſt will us Safety bring.*

( 11 )

*For 'tis through Tribulations great*
*That we muſt paſs that Road,*
*That Saints and Martyrs all have gone;*
*Who now are with the Lord.* (Rev. vii. 14.)

( 12 )

*O! let us then with chearful Voice,*
*With Praiſes ſing aloud*
*To Him that lov'd us, and us bought,*
*And waſh'd us in His Blood.*

( 13 )

*And makes us Kings and Prieſts to God.*
*And to His Father then* (Rev. i. 5, 6.)
*Be Glory, Honour evermore,*
*Amen, yea and Amen.*

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here done: For, in the Lord's Sight, we durſt do no leſs, whatever Occaſion of Perſecution our God's Enemies may take from the ſame: for we could not ſee at the Time any other Way to diſcharge our Duty before the Lord, to exoner our Conſciences, and to free ourſelves of the Connivance at Popery, which we pray the Lord may ſtop, and not lay the Guilt of its Increaſe to the Charge of us and our Poſterity.

Therefore we appoint and ordain, That incontinently ye our Emiſſaries, paſs upon the Twenty eighth Day of *May*, 1685 Years, unto the Market Croſs of *Sanquhar*, and there, by open Proclamation, make Intimation of this our Declaration, leaving Copies of the ſamen affix'd upon the forſaid Market Croſs, and other patent Places of the foreſaid Burgh.

Given at upon the 28th Day of *May*, 1685

*Let King JESUS Reign, and all his Enemies be ſcattered.*

*FINIS.*